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THE JOURNAL OF
THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.



J Fletcher

THE JOURNAL

OF THE REV.

JOHN WESLEY, A.M.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

ENLARGED FROM ORIGINAL MSS., WITH NOTES
FROM UNPUBLISHED DIARIES, ANNOTA-
TIONS, MAPS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

EDITED BY

NEHEMIAH Curnock

ASSISTED BY EXPERTS

STANDARD EDITION

VOL. VI

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CHARLES H. KELLY

25-35 CITY ROAD, AND 26 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.4

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Issued in 1779; other editions, 1791, 1797

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PART THE SEVENTEENTH
THE JOURNAL

FROM SEPTEMBER 13, 1773, TO JANUARY 2, 1776

The American War, even before the outbreak of hostilities, was the background of the present sections of Wesley's Journal. Both in England and New England politicians were beating ploughshares into swords. The Church, too feeble or too deeply compromised to interpose, gazed with unseeing eyes on the moral problems involved. Meanwhile, two men of providence wrestled with the situation. John Wesley saved England; Francis Asbury, in the same sense and by exactly similar means, saved America. Asbury, in labours, suffering, spiritual force, intensity and persistency of purpose, and absolute selflessness, rivalled, if he did not outrival, Wesley. Through mother, master, and early friends; through the evangelical clergy heard in the old parish church of West Bromwich and Methodist preachers heard in the great hollow near Wednesbury, he became a faithful replica of Wesley. His novitiate began under Alexander Mather. His school of athletic fitness for a prodigious physical task was his Methodist master's forge. His theological college was his mother's class-meeting, in which also he learned and practised the mystery of extempore prayer and exposition. His brotherly oversight of his master's son taught him the true pastor's art, and won for him a life-long friendship. Another companion of early youth, Richard Whatcoat, saintly and faithful, became coadjutor-bishop of his old age.

In four English appointments (1766 to 1770) Asbury learned the 'Methodist plan'—itinerancy, early morning, lay, and field preaching, society meetings, Quarterly Meeting finance, Conference rule and discipline—the value of time, method, health, books, music, and the incessant breaking of new ground. Inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, he attended the Bristol Conference of 1771, and was accepted as a volunteer. His circuit was America. He went saturated with Wesley's thoughts, resolutely set on carrying out the 'Methodist plan.' Within a fortnight after his arrival in New York he was facing colleagues who urged him to settle in the occupied cities. But he had heard the call of the wilderness and of the Lord of the wilderness. 'Calm and dauntless, he declared himself fixed to the Methodist plan.' For nearly fifty years he was the outrider of an ever-growing army of apostolic men who knew neither self nor fear, who conquered a continent and covered it with a network of circuits and conferences.

THE JOURNAL

From September 13, 1773, to January 2, 1776

1773. SEPT. 13, *Mon.*—My cold remaining, I was ill able to speak. In the evening I was much worse, my palate and throat being greatly inflamed. However, I preached as I could; but I could then go no farther. I could swallow neither liquids nor solids, and the windpipe seemed nearly closed. I lay down at my usual time, but the defluxion of rheum was so uninterrupted that I slept not a minute till near three in the morning. On the following nine days I grew better.¹

Fri. 17.—I went to Kingswood, and found several of the children still alive to God. *Saturday* the 18th² I gave them a short exhortation, which tired but did not hurt me.

Sun. 19.—I thought myself able to speak to the congregation, which I did for half an hour; but afterwards I found a pain in my left side and in my shoulder by turns, exactly as I did at Canterbury twenty years before.³ In the morning I could scarce lift my hand to my head; but, after being electrified, I was much better; so that I preached with tolerable ease in the evening; and the next evening read the letters,⁴ though my voice was weak. From this time I slowly recovered my voice and my strength, and on *Sunday* [26th] preached without any trouble.

¹ On Sept. 15 he wrote from Bristol to Francis Wolfe: 'Franky, are you out of your wits? Why are you not at Bristol?' This is Wesley's shortest letter. The appointments to Bristol in 1773 were, 'John Allen, Francis Wolfe, Joseph Bradford; John Pawson, supernumerary.' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 491.)

² He wrote to J. Bredin (*Wesleyan Times*, 1861); on the next day to Miss Bishop concerning the Mystics, who have 'as

many religions as books. Each of them makes his own experience the standard of religion.' (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 25.)

³ See above, vol. iv. p. 87; and for a photograph of his electrical machine, *ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴ It was his custom, in society meetings, to read letters describing the work in other places or containing accounts of religious experience.

Wed. 29.¹—After preaching at Pensford, I went to Publow,² and in the morning spent a little time with the lovely children. Those of them who were lately affected did not appear to have lost anything of what they had received; and some of them were clearly gaining ground, and advancing in the faith which works by love.

OCT. 3, *Sun.*—I took a solemn leave of the society at Bristol, now consisting of eight hundred members.

Mon. 4.—I went, by Shepton Mallet, to Shaftesbury, and on *Tuesday* to Salisbury.

Wed. 6.—Taking chaise at two in the morning, in the evening I came well to London. The rest of the week³ I made what inquiry I could into the state of my accounts. Some confusion had arisen from the sudden death of my book-keeper; but it was less than might have been expected.⁴

Monday the 11th and the following days, I took a little tour through Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire. Between Northampton and Towcester we met with a great natural curiosity, the largest elm⁵ I ever saw; it was twenty-eight feet in circumference, six feet more than that which was some years ago in Magdalen College walks at Oxford.⁶

Mon. 18.⁷—I began my little journey through Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. In the way I read over Sir Richard

¹ He wrote from Bristol to 'A Young Disciple' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 450).

² See above, vol. v. pp. 484, 526; and below, p. 78.

³ On Oct. 7 he wrote to Christopher Hopper (*Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1896, p. 28).

⁴ See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. pp. 155, 156. On Oct. 9 he wrote from Windmill Hill to Samuel Sparrow. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 476.)

⁵ Easton Neston Park is rich in fine elms, and local testimony tells of three in particular standing beside the road which at that time crossed the Park. Two are gone through decay, one of which is doubtless the tree referred to in the text. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 63.

⁶ The Rev. Thomas Moscrop writes :

'When Oliver Wendell Holmes, who had a passion for measuring trees (*The Post at the Breakfast Table*, pp. 21, 22; *The Autocrat*, pp. 208, 214), visited Oxford in 1886 he measured the Magdalen College elm, and found it to be twenty-five and a half feet round at five feet from the ground (*The Hundred Days in Europe*, p. 121). Assuming that this is the tree Wesley refers to, and that the measurements were equally taken, the tree had grown three and a half feet in girth in the interval.'

⁷ On Oct. 17 he wrote from London to Miss Bosanquet, appointing her his book-steward for Birstall. 'All those who keep my books for the future, I shall desire to state their accounts once a month.' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 404.)

Blackmore's *Prince Arthur*.¹ It is not a contemptible poem, although by no means equal to his poem on the Creation, in which are many admirably fine strokes.²

Mon. 25.—I went to Shoreham, and spent two days both agreeably and profitably.³ The work of God which broke out here two or three years ago is still continually increasing. I preached near Bromley on *Thursday*, and on *Friday* the 29th had the satisfaction of dining with an old friend. I hope she meant all the kindness she professed. If she did not, it was her own loss.

Nov. 1, Mon.—I set out for Norfolk, and came to Lynn while the congregation was waiting for me. Here was once a prospect of doing much good; but it was almost vanished away. Calvinism, breaking in upon them, had torn the infant society in pieces. I did all I could to heal the breach, both in public and private; and, having recovered a few, I left them all in peace, and went on to Norwich on *Wednesday*.

Fri. 5.—I preached at noon to the warm congregation at Loddon, and in the evening to the cold one at Yarmouth. I know there is nothing too hard for God; else I should go thither no more.

Mon. 8.—I found the society at Lakenheath⁴ was entirely vanished away. I joined them together once more, and they seriously promised to keep together. If they do, I shall endeavour to see them again; if not, I have better work.

Tues. 9.—I preached at Bury [St. Edmunds]; and on *Wednesday* at Colchester, where I spent a day or two with much satisfaction, among a poor, loving, simple-hearted people.⁵ I returned to London on *Friday*, and was fully employed in visiting the classes from that time to *Saturday* the 20th.

In my late journey I read over Dr. Lee's *Sophron*.⁶ He is

¹ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 205; also Cowper's Letters, No. 74, and Boswell's *Johnson*, p. 151 (Fitzgerald's ed.)

² On October 23 he wrote from London to Joseph Benson, insisting on itinerancy for Scotland, and 'travelling preachers or none'; and on the 27th to Miss Chapman. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 419; vol. xiii. p. 88.)

³ With Vincent Perronet.

⁴ Mrs. Ann Marshall, who died at

Lakenheath on March 8, 1826, had for forty years been a member there, and during all that time had entertained the preachers (*Meth. Mag.* 1826, p. 429).

⁵ On Nov. 17 he wrote to Miss Bosanquet respecting the imperfect assortment of books in the Birstall house (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 404).

⁶ Published in 1758, in 3 vols. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 205.

both a learned and a sensible man ; yet I judge his book will hardly come to a second impression, for these very obvious reasons : (1) his language is generally rough and unpleasing—frequently so obscure that one cannot pick out the meaning of a sentence without reading it twice or thrice over ; (2) his periods are intolerably long, beyond all sense and reason—one period often containing ten or twenty, and sometimes thirty, lines ; (3) when he makes a pertinent remark he knows not when to have done with it, but spins it out without any pity to the reader ; (4) many of his remarks, like those of his master, Mr. Hutchinson, are utterly strained and unnatural, such as give pain to those who believe the Bible, and diversion to those who do not.

Mon. 22.—I set out for Sussex, and found abundance of people willing to hear the good word ; at Rye in particular. And they do many things gladly ; but they will not part with the accursed thing, smuggling. So I fear with regard to these our labour will be in vain.

Mon. 29.—I went to Gravesend ; on *Tuesday* to Chatham ; and on *Wednesday* to Sheerness, over that whimsical ferry,¹ where footmen and horses pay nothing, but every carriage four shillings ! I was pleasing myself that I had seen one fair day at Sheerness ! But that pleasure was soon over. We had rain enough in the evening. However, the house was crowded sufficiently. I spoke exceeding plain to the bigots on both sides. May God write it on their hearts !²

DEC. 6, *Mon.*—I went to Canterbury in the stage-coach, and by the way read Lord Herbert's *Life*,³ written by himself ; the author of the first system of Deism that ever was published in England. Was there ever so wild a knight-errant as this ? Compared to him, Don Quixote was a sober man. Who can wonder that a man of such a complexion should be an infidel ?

¹ Murray (*Kent*) speaks of a ferry from Sheerness to the Isle of Grain, only one mile and a half across, but the passage of which is not always to be accomplished without difficulty, as the fare varies from one and sixpence to ten shillings, according to the weather ! But Wesley refers to King's Ferry. See Hasted's *Hist. and*

Survey of Kent, vol. ii. p. 643, who does not mention the charge of one shilling per wheel.

² On Dec. 1 he wrote from Sheerness to Mrs. Bennis (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 397), and on the 3rd from Lewisham to 'A Young Disciple' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 451).

³ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 206.

I returned to London *Friday* the 10th, with Captain Hinderon, of Chatham, who informed us: 'Being off the Kentish coast, on Wednesday morning last, I found my ship had been so damaged by the storm, which still continued, that she could not long keep above water; so we got into the boat, twelve in all, though with little hope of making the shore. A ship passing by, we made all the signals we could; but they took no notice. A second passed near; we made signals and called, but they would not stay for us. A third put out their boat, took us up, and set us safe on shore.'¹

Fri. 17.²—Meeting with a celebrated book, a volume of Captain Cook's *Voyages*,³ I sat down to read it with huge expectation. But how was I disappointed! I observed (1) things absolutely incredible: 'A nation without any curiosity'; and, what is stranger still (I fear related with no good design), 'without any sense of shame! Men and women coupling together in the face of the sun, and in the sight of scores of people! Men whose skin, cheeks, and lips are white as milk.' Hume or Voltaire might believe this, but I cannot. I observed (2) things absolutely impossible. To instance in one, for a specimen. A native of Otaheite is said to understand the language of an island eleven hundred degrees⁴ distant from it in latitude, besides I know not how many hundreds in longitude! So that I cannot but rank this narrative with that of Robinson Crusoe, and account Tupia to be, in several respects, akin to his man Friday.

Saturday the 25th, and on the following days, we had many happy opportunities of celebrating the solemn feast-days, according to the design of their institution.⁵ We concluded the year with a fast-day, closed with a solemn watch-night.

¹ On Dec. 11 he wrote from London to Mrs. Savage (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 500).

² He wrote to Miss Chapman (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 87); on the 19th from London to Miss Pywell (vol. xii. p. 364), and on the 23rd to Walter Churchey (vol. xii. p. 432).

³ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 206; Boswell's *Johnson*, p. 260; Cowper's *Letters*, Nos. 20, 98, and 148.

⁴ Probably 'miles.'

⁵ Wesley followed the 'Primitive Church,' of which in his view the Church of England, plus Methodism, was the truest type extant. See below, p. 54, his letter to Walter Churchey (Dec. 23), and Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 157. On Dec. 28 he wrote to Samuel Sparrow (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 477).

1774. JAN. 4, *Tues.*—Three or four years ago¹ a stumbling horse threw me forward on the pommel of the saddle.² I felt a good deal of pain, but it soon went off, and I thought of it no more. Some months after I observed *testiculum alterum altero duplo majorem esse*. I consulted a physician; he told me it was a common case, and did not imply any disease at all. In May twelvemonth it was grown near as large as a hen's egg. Being then at Edinburgh, Dr. Hamilton insisted on my having the advice of Drs. Gregory³ and Monro.⁴ They immediately saw it was a hydrocele, and advised me, as soon as I came to London, to aim at a radical cure, which they judged might be effected in about sixteen days. When I came to London I consulted Mr. Wathen.⁵ He advised me (1) not to think of a radical cure, which could not be hoped for without my lying in one posture fifteen or sixteen days, and he did not know whether this might not give a wound to my constitution which I should never recover; (2) to do nothing while I continued easy; and this advice I was determined to take.

Last month the swelling was often painful, so on this day Mr. Wathen performed the operation, and drew off something more than half a pint of a thin, yellow, transparent water. With this came out (to his no small surprise) a pearl of the size of a small shot, which he supposed might be one cause of the disorder, by occasioning a conflux of humours to the part.

Wed. 5.—I was as perfectly easy as if no operation⁶ had been performed.⁷

¹ Cf. above, vol. v. pp. 447, 474.

² William the Conqueror's death occurred in this way.

³ *Arm. Mag.* 1789, p. 499.

⁴ See above, vol. v. p. 460.

⁵ Dr. Wathen attended Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wesley in 1751-2. A Bristol surgeon of the same name was a member of the first Methodist class. Samuel Wathen, M.D., a graduate of Aberdeen, Sept. 18, 1752, was admitted Licentiate of the College of Physicians on Sept. 30, 1756. He died at Dorking in Sept. 1787 ('Roll of the Royal College of Physicians'; see *Meth. Rec.* July 9, 1903). See also H. J. Foster's identification of Samuel Wathen, *W.H.S.* vol.

iii. pp. 40, 41, vol. iv. p. 98, vol. v. pp. 4 and 251.

⁶ See a letter to his brother, June 2, 1775 (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 142).

⁷ On Jan. 8 he wrote from London to Joseph Benson on reading too much, and on visiting the society. On the 10th he wrote to John Mason on 'Perfection' as the cure for love of the world and flatness and coldness in the society. On the 18th to Mrs. Bennis: 'By visiting from house to house you can judge of their conduct and dispositions in domestic life, and may have opportunity to speak to the young of the family' (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 420, 452, 398).

Tues. 11.—I began at the east end of the town to visit the society from house to house. I know no branch of the pastoral office which is of greater importance than this. But it is so grievous to flesh and blood that I can prevail on few, even of our preachers, to undertake it.

Sun. 23.—Mr. Pentycross assisted me at the chapel.¹ Oh what a curse upon the poor sons of men is the confusion of opinions! Worse by many degrees than the curse of Babel, the confusion of tongues. What but this could prevent this amiable young man from joining heart and hand with us?

Mon. 24.—I was desired by Mrs. Wright, of New York, to let her take my effigy in waxwork. She has that of Mr. Whitefield and many others, but none of them, I think, comes up to a well-drawn picture.²

Fri. 28.—I buried the remains of that venerable mother in Israel, Bilhah Aspernell.³ She found peace with God in 1738,

¹ Mr. Pentycross was educated at Christ's Hospital, and distinguished himself as a Grecian; whence he went to Pembroke College, Cambridge, and became the friend of the Rev. Rowland Hill. He was noticed by Horace Walpole and the poet Gray, and became the friend of Simpson, Oglethorpe, Whitefield, Lady Huntingdon, Wesley, Richard Hill, and others. In personal character, and because of his many and diverse friendships, he was eminently a peacemaker. At this time he was vicar of St. Mary's, Wallingford, a popular preacher, and a favourite with Lady Huntingdon, in whose chapels he often ministered. He was greatly esteemed by Wesley; Whitefield and Berridge called him 'Dear Penty.' On Dec. 23, 1773, Richard Hill wrote a conciliatory letter to Fletcher, stating that he desired to be at peace with both Wesley and himself, and had stopped the sale of his publications. When Wesley heard of this he wrote Mr. Hill 'a short and civil letter,' in which he said he intended to write nothing more on the controversy between them, and expressed the hope that in the future all would be love and peace. The facts, however, were publicly misrepresented;

and this led Hill to issue his *Three Letters*, in the preface to which he writes:

This letter [the letter above referred to] I took kindly of Mr. Wesley, and therefore, as I went soon afterwards to London, I embraced the opportunity of going one evening, in company with the Rev. Mr. Pentycross, to West Street Chapel; and after service Mr. Pentycross introduced me to Mr. Wesley, when I thanked him for his letter, assured him of my intention to drop the controversy, and added that I hoped there would be no more said upon the subject from any quarter. Mr. Wesley took me by the hand, assured me of his loving, pacific disposition, and we parted very good friends.

(Tyerman's *Wesley's Designated Successor*, p. 289; Sidney's *Life of Richard Hill*, p. 198; and Green's *Anti-Meth. Publications*, No. 461.)

² Mrs. Wright modelled the figure of the Earl of Chatham, now in Westminster Abbey. Her sister, Mrs. Wells, of Philadelphia, modelled the Whitefield figure which she presented to Bethesda College. See Dr. Gillies' *Life of Whitefield*, p. 358.

³ See Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, p. 33, where her name appears in the select society. In a letter to Thomas Walsh, Wesley seems to have asked why

and soon after purity of heart. From that time she walked in the light of God's countenance, day and night, without the least intermission. She was always in pain, yet always rejoicing and going about doing good. Her desire was that she might not live to be useless, and God granted her desire. On Sunday evening she met her class as usual. The next day she sent for her old fellow traveller, Sarah Clay,¹ and said to her, 'Sally, I am going.' She asked, 'Where are you going?' She cheerfully answered, 'To my Jesus, to be sure!' and spoke no more.²

Saturday the 29th, and several times in the following week, I had much conversation with Ralph Mather,³ a devoted young man, but almost driven out of his senses by Mystic Divinity. If he escapes out of this specious snare of the devil he will be an instrument of much good.

FEB. 10, *Thur.*—I was desired by that affectionate man, Mr. P——, to give him a sermon at Chelsea. Every corner of the room was thoroughly crowded, and all but two or three gentlewomen (so-called) were deeply serious while I strongly enforced 'Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life.'⁴

Mon. 14.—In my way to Dorking I gave another reading to the *Life of Anna Maria* [Van] Schurmann,⁵ perhaps a woman of

the brilliant young Irish preacher was not 'as serious as sister Aspernell?' Walsh replied: 'The reason is not because I do not bear so high a character, but because I am not so high in the grace of God,' evidently quoting Wesley. In his own words he continues: 'There is no moment in which I am not serious and circumspect, but I am condemned by my conscience, or reproved by the Spirit of God. There are three or four persons that alarm and entice my natural propensity to levity. You, sir, are one by your witty proverbs' (*Arm. Mag.* 1798, p. 360). 'S. Aspernell' appears several times in his Diary for 1741. See above, vol. ii. pp. 372-450 *passim*.

¹ She was leader of a band in 1745. She died in 1783, aged sixty-six. For an autobiographical account of Sarah Clay see *Arm. Mag.* 1783, p. 528;

and for her death see below, p. 390.

² Tyerman had a manuscript letter by Samuel Bardsley dated Jan. 26: 'Yesterday I got a letter from Mr. Wesley, informing me that the 28th inst. is to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer for the prosperity of the gospel.' Many such days—not named in the Journal—were appointed.

³ See above, vol. v. p. 523.

⁴ On Feb. 9 he wrote from London to Miss Bosanquet. The letter contains a significant allusion to King George III and his favour toward the Methodists (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 404).

⁵ Usually called the 'most learned woman in Europe,' or 'the modern Sappho.' See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 206. He had read the *Life* in his earliest London days. See above, vol. i. p. 453.

the strongest understanding that the world ever saw. And she was likewise deeply devoted to God. So was also Antoinette Bourignon, nearly her equal in sense, though not in learning; and equally devoted to God. In many things there was a surprising resemblance between them, particularly in severity of temper, leading them to separate from all the world, whom they seemed to give up to the devil without remorse; only with this difference—Madame Bourignon¹ believed there were absolutely no children of God but her and her three or four associates; Anna Schurmann believed there were almost none but her and her little community. No wonder that the world returned their love by persecuting them in every country.²

MARCH 3, *Thur.*—I preached at L[eytonstone]. But oh what a change is there! The society is shrunk to five or six members, and probably will soon shrink into nothing.³ And the family is not even a shadow of that which was for some years a pattern to all the kingdom!

Sun. 6.—In the evening I went to Brentford, and on *Monday* to Newbury.

Tues. 8.—Coming to Chippenham, I was informed that the floods had made the road by Marshfield impassable. So I went round by Bath, and came to Bristol just as my brother was giving out the hymn, and in time to beseech a crowded audience not to receive ‘the grace of God in vain.’

Sat. 12.—I went over to Kingswood, and put an end to some little misunderstandings which had crept into the family. At this I rejoiced; but I was grieved to find that Ralph Mather’s falling into Mysticism and Quakerism had wellnigh put an end to that uncommon awakening which he had before occasioned among the children. But the next day I found the little maids at Publow,⁴ who found peace by his means, had

¹ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 206, where this statement is traversed.

² On Feb. 25 he wrote to Walter Churchey and to Miss Chapman; on March 1 to Mrs. Bennis; and on the 4th to Joseph Benson (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 433, 398, 421; xiii. p. 88).

³ Miss Bosanquet had removed to Cross Hall, Yorkshire. The Orphanage

at Leytonstone soon ceased to exist. Henry Moore, in his *Life of Mrs. Fletcher* (p. 73), says that ‘the house of God at Leytonstone,’ dissolving when Miss Bosanquet removed, ‘left no such successors.’ The causes of failure, as described by Moore, are admonitory.

⁴ In Miss Owen’s school. See above, p. 4.

retained all the life which they had received, and had indeed increased therein.

Tues. 15.—I began my northern journey, and went by Stroud, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury to Worcester.

Thur. 17.—I preached in the town hall at Evesham to a numerous and serious congregation.

Fri. 18.—I returned to Worcester. The society here continues walking together in love, and are not moved by all the efforts of those who would fain teach them another gospel. I was much comforted by their steadfastness and simplicity. Thus let them 'silence the ignorance of foolish men!'

Sat. 19.—In the evening I preached at Birmingham, and at eight in the morning. At noon I preached on Bromwich Heath, and, the room being far too small, stood in Mr. Whyley's courtyard,¹ notwithstanding the keen north-east wind. At Wednesday, likewise, I was constrained by the multitude of people to preach abroad in the evening. I strongly enforced upon them the Apostle's words, 'How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?' If we do not 'go on to perfection,' how shall we escape lukewarmness, Antinomianism, hell-fire?

Mon. 21.—I preached at nine in Darlaston, and about noon at Wolverhampton. Here I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Fletcher, and we took sweet counsel together.

Tues. 22.—At five I explained that important truth that God trieth us every moment, weighs all our thoughts, words, and actions, and is pleased or displeased with us, according to our works. I see more and more clearly that 'there is a great gulf fixed' between us and all those who, by denying this, sap the very foundation both of inward and outward holiness. At ten I preached at Dudley, and in the afternoon spent some time in viewing Mr. Bolton's works,² wonderfully ingenious, but the greater part of them wonderfully useless.

¹ Bromwich Heath is now West Bromwich; and Oak House, a fine specimen of a half-timbered mansion, a museum for the County Borough of West Bromwich. The room, commenced by Wheatley and completed by Bayley, Lord Dartmouth's gamekeeper, stood at the back of 56 and 58 Paradise Street. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 157, and v. p. 249.

² Matthew Boulton began at seventeen making buttons, watch-chains, and other trinkets. Succeeding his father (John Boulton, or, as the name was sometimes spelt, Bolton), he removed the works to Soho, two miles north of Birmingham on the road to Wolverhampton. Boulton, who was a man of the highest integrity, prospered, but was limited by the in-

Wed. 23.—I preached at Ashby-de-la-Zouch ; and *Thursday* the 24th went on to Markfield. The church was quickly filled. I preached on those words in the Second Lesson, ‘Lazarus, come forth!’ In the evening I preached at Leicester. Here, likewise, the people ‘walk in the fear of the Lord, and in the comforts of the Holy Ghost.’

Sun. 27.—About noon I preached at Stapleford,¹ six miles west from Nottingham. I stood in a meadow, because no house could contain the congregation. But it was nothing to that at Nottingham Cross in the evening, the largest I have seen for many years, except at Gwennap.

Mon. 28.—About noon I preached at [Castle] Donington. It was a showery day, but the showers were suspended during the preaching. In the evening I preached at Derby, and had the satisfaction to observe an unusual seriousness in the congregation. Careless as they used to be, they seemed at length to know the day of their visitation.

Tues. 29.—About ten I preached in the market-place at Ashbourne to a large and tolerably serious congregation ; and some, I believe, felt the word of God quick and powerful, while I enforced ‘God now commandeth all men everywhere to repent.’ After dinner we went on to Newcastle-under-Lyne (that is the proper name of the river),² where I was invited by the mayor, a serious, sensible man, to lodge at his house. I was desired (our room being but small) to preach in the market-place. Abundance of people were soon gathered together, who surprised me not a little by mistaking the tune,

sufficiency of the water-supply on which his works depended for power. An experimental engine on Captain Savery’s plan proved a failure, as did the water-mills. In May 1774, two months after Wesley’s visit, Watt arrived from Scotland with his now historic engine packed in boxes. When Wesley in 1782 (July 10) again visited the works at Soho (now Boulton and Watt), he formed a very different opinion. See Smiles’s *Lives of the Engineers* : Boulton and Watt, p. 145, &c. ; also *W.H.S.* vol. vi. pp. 128–30 ; Robert K. Dent’s

The Making of Birmingham, pp. 141 ff ; and Boswell’s *Johnson*, p. 253 (Fitzgerald’s ed.)

¹ Methodism here dates from 1773, when a small low building served as the preaching-house.

² Wesley has fallen into error here in saying ‘Lyne’ for ‘Lyme,’ though he states the case with precision on March 27, 1790. *New castle*, to distinguish it from the older and neighbouring castle of Chesterton. Late in the twelfth century it was *Novo Castro super Limam* (Duignan’s *Staffordshire Place-Names*).

and striking up the march in *Judas Maccabeus*.¹ Many of them had admirable voices, and tolerable skill. I know not when I have heard so agreeable a sound; it was indeed the voice of melody. But we had one jarring string: a drunken gentleman² was a little noisy, till he was carried away.

Wed. 30.—I went on to Congleton, where I received letters informing me that my presence was necessary at Bristol. So about one I took chaise, and reached Bristol about half an hour after one the next day. Having done my business in about two hours, on *Friday* in the afternoon I reached Congleton again (about a hundred and forty miles from Bristol), no more tired (blessed be God!) than when I left it.³ What a change is in this town! The bitter enmity of the townfolks to the Methodists is clean forgotten. So has the steady behaviour of the little flock turned the hearts of their opposers.

APRIL 3 (being Easter Day).—I went on to Macclesfield, and came just in time (so is the scene changed here also) to walk to the old church with the mayor⁴ and the two ministers. The rain drove us into the house in the evening—that is, as many as could squeeze in—and we had a season of strong consolation, both at the preaching and at the meeting of the society.

Mon. 4.—I went on to Manchester, where the work of God appears to be still increasing.

Tues. 5.—About noon I preached at New Mills to an earnest, artless, loving people; and in the evening at poor, dull, dead

¹ This doubtless was the martial chorus 'See the conquering hero comes,' found in the early tune-books. It is improbable that the people sang or that he refers to the orchestral *March* in the oratorio.

² See below, p. 99.

³ During his absence Mr. Boardman preached in his place on the Wednesday evening, and Mr. Sanders twice on Thursday, and again on the morning of Good Friday. See Dyson's *Meth. in Congleton*, p. 80. Wesley preached in the evening of Good Friday, and at 5 a.m. on Saturday and Sunday (*ibid.*).

⁴ The mayor who invited Wesley to join him in the procession was John

Ryle, grandfather of Dr. Ryle, first Bishop of Liverpool, and great-grandfather of Dr. Herbert E. Ryle, Bishop of Winchester till 1911, and then Dean of Westminster. The church to which the procession marched was St. Michael's, the only church then in Macclesfield. The two ministers were Thomas Henson, the 'prime curate' as he was called, and his assistant curate the Rev. David Simpson. It must be remembered that at this time nearly all the Methodists in Macclesfield, including John Ryle, were members and communicants of the Church of England. See *Meth. in Macclesfield*, pp. 108-111.

Stockport, not without hopes that God would raise the dead. As one means of this, I determined to restore the morning preaching, which had been discontinued for many years. So I walked over from Portwood in the morning, and found the house well filled at five o'clock.

Wed. 6.—I preached at Pendleton Pole, two miles from Manchester, in a new chapel designed for a church minister, which was filled from end to end.

Thur. 7.—I preached about noon at Northwich, now¹ as quiet as Manchester; and in the evening at that lovely spot, Little Leigh. *Friday* the 8th I went on to Chester. *Saturday* the 9th I visited our old friends at Alpraham, many of whom are now wellnigh worn out, and just ready for the Bridegroom.

Mon. 11.—I preached about noon at Warrington, and in the evening at Liverpool.

Thur. 14.—I preached in Wigan at noon, where all tumult is now at an end, the lives of the Christians having quite put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. In the evening I preached at Bolton, to the most lively and most steady people in all these parts.

Fri. 15.—I preached at a preaching-house just built at Chowbent, which was lately a den of lions; but they are all now quiet as lambs. So they were the next day at the new house near Bury.²

Sat. 16.—At noon I preached in Rochdale, and in the evening near the church in Huddersfield. The wind was high, and very sharp; but the people little regarded it, while I strongly enforced those words, 'What doest thou here, Elijah?'

Sun. 17.—I rode to Halifax. Such a country church I never saw before. I suppose, except York Minster, there is none in the county so large.³ Yet it would not near contain the congregation. I was afraid it would be impossible for all to hear; but God gave me a voice for the occasion, so that I believe all heard and many felt the application of those words

¹ In contrast to (e.g.) Letter CL. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 188).

² At Pits-o'-the-Moor. The first chapel was built about 1760. Wesley was one of the trustees. The second chapel (referred to above) was finished after many

difficulties and much persecution. The Conference granted £200 towards the cost. It was replaced by one more central in 1815. (*Meth. Rec.* Dec. 31, 1908.)

³ Did he forget Beverley? Dr. Leigh was the vicar. See above, vol. iii. p. 16.

(part of the First Lesson), 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!'

While I was at dinner at Dr. Leigh's one came from Huddersfield to tell me the vicar¹ was willing I should preach in the church. Dr. Leigh lending me his servant and his horse, I set out immediately; and, riding fast, came into the church while the vicar was reading the Psalms. It was well the people had no notice of my preaching till I came into the town: they quickly filled the church. I did not spare them, but fully delivered my own soul.

Mon. 18.—The minister of Heptonstall² sent me word that I was welcome to preach in his church. It was with difficulty we got up the steep mountain, and when we were upon it the wind was ready to bear us away. The church was filled, not with curious but serious hearers. No others would face so furious a storm. At the Ewood, in the evening, we had the usual blessing.

Tues. 19.—Mrs. Holmes,³ who has been some years confined to her bed, sent and desired I would preach at her house. As I stood in the passage, both she could hear and all that stood in the adjoining rooms. I preached on Rev. xiv. 1–5. It was a refreshing season to her and to many. At half-hour after ten I preached in the new house at Hightown, and in the evening at Dawgreen.⁴

I found Mr. Greenwood⁵ (with whom I lodged), dying (as was supposed) of the gout in the stomach; but, on observing the symptoms, I was convinced it was not the gout, but the *angina pectoris* (well described by Dr. Heberden,⁶ and still more

¹ The Rev. Henry Venn left Huddersfield in 1771. For the preaching which followed his departure see *Life*, p. 174.

² The minister of Heptonstall was the Rev. Tobit Sutcliffe. See *Christian Miscellany*, 1860, p. 354.

³ See above, vol. iii. p. 16, and below, p. 102.

⁴ During this year 'Sister Chaster,' of Dawgreen, died. It was a proverb in Dewsbury, 'Few could live like Sister Chaster.' When John Nelson visited her she told him that she had never lost her

first love. She was waiting for the call of her Lord. From Mrs. Crosby's pocket-book we learn that on the 20th Wesley preached at Dawgreen in the morning and evening. From Pudsey he went to Cross Hall, where he dined in the evening.

⁵ In Mr. Greenwood's kitchen Wesley preached frequently. See J. Ryley Robinson's *Meth. in Dewsbury*, p. 55, where there is an excellent illustration of the chapel; see also above, vol. v. p. 180.

⁶ See the Warburton *Letters*, p. 346.

accurately by Dr. M'Bride of Dublin). I therefore advised him to take no more medicines, but to be electrified through the breast. He was so. The violent symptoms immediately ceased, and he fell into a sweet sleep.

Thur. 21.—I preached at Morley on 'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?' About two I preached at the new-built house at Pudsey, where the Germans (I was informed) are continually declining.¹ Twenty years since one would have thought they would never have been moved²; but who can stand any longer than God is on their side? This evening and the next I preached to the lively congregation at Bradford, and was much comforted; so were many; indeed all that earnestly desired to recover the whole image of God.

Fri. 22.—I rode and walked to Bradshaw house,³ standing alone in a dreary waste; but, although it was a cold and stormy day, the people flocked from all quarters. So they did at noon the next day to Clough (two or three miles from Colne), where, though it was cold enough, I was obliged to preach abroad. In the evening I preached to our old, upright, loving brethren at Keighley.

Sun. 24.—It being a cold and stormy day, Haworth Church contained the people tolerably well. On *Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday* I preached at Bingley⁴ and Yeadon; and on *Thursday* opened the new house at Wakefield.⁵ What a change is here since our friend was afraid to let me preach in his house, lest the mob should pull it down! So I preached in the main

¹ See above, vol. iii. p. 292.

² And Fulneck is still a Moravian settlement.

³ Near Halifax; part of Holdsworth, near Illingworth. See Walker's *Meth. in Halifax*, pp. 123, 216.

⁴ John Whitley lived at Eldwick, near Bingley. It was on this visit that Wesley called him to be an itinerant. 'I have only two sermons,' said John; 'what am I to do?' 'God,' replied Wesley, 'who has enabled you to preach two sermons, can give you ability to preach two thousand.' Whitley served in the ranks as an itinerant for five years, ended his days as a useful local preacher, and left a son, Francis, who preached for forty-eight

years, and never missed an appointment—in a circuit now covered by at least seven circuits. Only on three occasions did he miss his class-meeting. For Toils Farm at Eldwick, the home of the Whitleys, and its inscribed window, see *W.H.S.* vol. vii. pp. 25-8.

⁵ It was succeeded by West Parade Chapel in 1801; see *Meth. Mag.* 1828, p. 482. The old chapel was sold to the Society of Friends in 1805 (*Meth. Rec.* March 28, 1907). Wesley's sermon was taken down in shorthand and published as a pamphlet in Leeds. It has not hitherto been included in the *Works*. The text was 1 Cor. i. 23, 24. See also above, vol. iii. p. 368, and vol. iv. p. 18.

street¹: and then was sown the first seed which has since borne so plenteous a harvest.

Hence I went to Leeds, and on *Saturday* the 30th to Birstall. Here, on the top of the hill, was the standard first set up four-and-thirty years ago. And, since that time, what hath God wrought!

MAY 1, *Sun.*—I preached at eight on that delicate device of Satan to destroy the whole religion of the heart—the telling men not to regard frames or feelings, but to live by naked faith; that is, in plain terms, not to regard either love, joy, peace, or any other fruit of the Spirit. Not to regard whether they feel these, or the reverse; whether their souls be in a heavenly or hellish frame! At one I preached at the foot of the hill to many thousand hearers; and at Leeds to about the same number, whom I besought in strong terms not to receive ‘the grace of God in vain.’

On *Monday*² and *Tuesday* I preached at Otley and Pateley Bridge.³ *Wednesday* the 4th I went on to Ambleside, and on *Thursday* to Whitehaven.⁴

¹ See above, vol. iii. p. 368.

² On May 2 he wrote from Leeds to Mrs. Bennis (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 399). On the same day he visited the Ritchie family at Otley; see *Life of Mrs. Mortimer*, p. 43. A few days earlier Miss Ritchie had travelled with him in the chaise to Birstall; see *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 79.

³ Richard Burdsall has left a charming description of a Sunday evening spent with Mr. and Mrs. Marshall in their house at Parkgate, near Guiseley (see above, vol. v. p. 474 *n.*):

During the evening the members of the household were called together, and the gentleman, sitting in the midst, read a gospel sermon. His wife stood up and gave out a hymn, in which all joined, singing as it were with one heart. He called on me to pray, and the service was closed. In the morning these exercises were repeated. The breakfast being passed, my host took me to see his canals, shrubberies, &c., which were beautiful to behold.

On May 5 Mrs. Marshall wrote to Mrs. Christopher Hopper, dating her letter from Parkgate:

... We have had dear Mr. Wesley in our neighbourhood a fortnight, but he went off last Wednesday morning for Whitehaven.

I think our good old father has never been more lively, more loving, nor more followed than at this time of his coming amongst us. He has not failed to preach, in general, three or four times a day, besides reading a good deal. I think I never saw him look better, or more active, nor more lively. May the Lord long spare his useful life! He has preached in Halifax church, Huddersfield church, Heptonstall and Haworth churches. I trust he has been a blessing to many in this part, but to the societies in particular. For my own part, I can say it has been a watering-time indeed to my soul, though I have not heard him so often as I could have wished, being in a bad state of health and unable to follow him as usual.

(Laycock's *Methodist Heroes in the Great Haworth Round*, p. 306.)

Earlier, on July 16, 1772, she writes:

We should have been very glad to have had you both at Leeds the ensuing year. But it's perhaps better, for I think there's a good deal of discontent, both among preachers and people. I must confess that I could like to hear that both sides were more content with what Mr. Wesley orders. I am not speaking of Leeds in particular, for there seems a spirit of opposition in more places than one where I have been. I wish I may be mistaken.

⁴ On May 6 he wrote to his brother Charles; the same day to Mrs. Savage

Mon. 9.—I set out for Scotland. At eight I preached in the Castle-yard at Cockermouth to abundance of careless people, on 'Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.' In the evening I preached at Carlisle. On *Tuesday* I went on to Selkirk, and on *Wednesday* to Edinburgh, which is distant from Carlisle ninety-five miles and no more.

Thur. 12.—I went in the stage-coach to Glasgow; and on *Friday*¹ and *Saturday* preached, on the old Green, to a people the greatest part of whom *hear* much, *know* everything, and *feel* nothing.

*Sun. 15.*²—My spirit was moved within me at the sermons I heard both morning and afternoon. They contained much truth, but were no more likely to awaken one soul than an Italian opera. In the evening a multitude of people assembled on the Green, to whom I earnestly applied these words, 'Though I have all knowledge . . . though I have all faith . . . though I give all my goods to feed the poor,' &c., 'and have not love, I am nothing.'

Mon. 16.—In the afternoon, as also at seven in the morning, I preached in the kirk at Port Glasgow. My subjects were Death and Judgement, and I spoke as home as I possibly could. The evening congregation at Greenock was exceeding large. I opened and enforced these awful words, 'Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life.' I know not that ever I spoke more strongly. And some fruit of it quickly appeared, for the house, twice as large as that at Glasgow, was thoroughly filled at five in the morning. In the evening, *Tuesday* the 17th, I preached on the Green at Glasgow once more, although the north wind was piercing cold. At five in the morning I commended our friends to God.

How is it that there is no increase in this society? It is exceeding easy to answer. One preacher stays here two or three months at a time, preaching on Sunday mornings and three or four evenings in a week. Can a Methodist preacher preserve either bodily health or spiritual life with this exercise?

(*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 141, 500), and on the 8th to Miss Ritchie. His 'rule,' as he tells her, was 'not to write to any first. I only answer those that write to me.' With regard to her he willingly makes

an exception (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 51).

¹ On May 13 he wrote from Glasgow to Miss Bolton (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² He wrote to Mr. Churchey (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 434).

And if he is but half alive, what will the people be? Just so it is at Greenock too.

Wed. 18.¹—I went to Edinburgh, and on *Thursday* to Perth. Here likewise the morning preaching had been given up: consequently the people were few, dead, and cold. These things must be remedied, or we must quit the ground.

In the way to Perth I read that ingenious tract, Dr. Gregory's *Advice to his Daughters*.² Although I cannot agree with him in all things (particularly as to dancing, decent pride, and both a reserve and a delicacy which I think are quite unnatural), yet I allow there are many fine strokes therein, and abundance of common sense. And if a young woman followed this plan in little things, in such things as daily occur, and in great things copied after Miranda, she would form an accomplished character.

Fri. 20.—I rode over to Mr. Fraser's, at Monydie, whose mother-in-law was to be buried that day. Oh what a difference is there between the English and the Scotch method of burial! The English does honour to human nature, and even to the poor remains, that were once a temple of the Holy Ghost! But when I see in Scotland a coffin put into the earth, and covered up without a word spoken it reminds me of what was spoken concerning Jehoiakim, 'He shall be buried with the burial of an ass'!

Sat. 21.—I returned to Perth, and preached in the evening to a large congregation. But I could not find the way to their hearts. The generality of the people here are so wise that they need no more knowledge, and so good that they need no more religion! Who can warn them that are brimful of wisdom and goodness to flee from the wrath to come?

Sun. 22.—I endeavoured to stir up this drowsy people by speaking as strongly as I could at five on 'Awake, thou that sleepest'; at seven on 'Where their worm dieth not,' and in the evening on 'I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God.' In the afternoon a young gentleman, in the west kirk, preached such a close, practical sermon on 'Enoch walked with God' as I have not heard since I came into the kingdom.

¹ He wrote from Edinburgh to his wife—a friendly though hasty letter, relating to the payment of accounts

for paper and printing. See *W.H.S.* vol. ii. p. 94.

² See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 206.

Mon. 23.—About ten I preached to a considerable number of plain, serious country people at Rait, a little town in the middle of that lovely valley called the Carse of Gowrie. In riding on to Dundee I was utterly amazed at reading and considering a tract put into my hands, which gave a fuller account than I had ever seen of the famous Gowrie conspiracy in 1600. And I was thoroughly convinced—(1) from the utter improbability, if one should not rather say absurdity, of the King's account,¹ the greater part of which rests entirely on his own single word; (2) from the many contradictions in the depositions which were made to confirm some parts of it; and (3) from the various collateral circumstances, related by contemporary writers, that the whole was a piece of king-craft, the clumsy invention of a covetous and blood-thirsty tyrant to destroy two innocent men, that he might kill and also take possession of their large fortunes.

In the evening I preached at Dundee, and on *Tuesday* the 24th went on to Arbroath. In the way I read Lord K[ames]'s plausible *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*.² Did ever man take so much pains to so little purpose as he does in his essay on 'Liberty and Necessity'? *Cui bono*? What good would it do to mankind if he could convince them that they are a mere piece of clockwork; that they have no more share in directing their own actions than in directing the sea or the north wind? He owns that 'if men saw themselves in this light all sense of moral obligation, of right and wrong, of good or ill desert, would immediately cease.' Well, my lord secs himself in this light; consequently, if his own doctrine is true, he has no 'sense of moral obligation, of right and wrong, of good or ill desert.' Is he not, then, excellently well qualified for a judge? Will he condemn a man for not 'holding the wind in his fist'?

The high and piercing wind made it impracticable to preach abroad in the evening; but the house contained the people tolerably well, as plain and simple as those at Rait. I set out

¹ James I of England, whose life was said (by himself) to have been attempted on August 5 by Alexander Ruthven. The

whole story is wrapped in mystery (Collier).

² See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 206.

early in the morning ; but, not being able to ford the North Esk, swollen with the late rains, was obliged to go round some miles. However, I reached Aberdeen in the evening.

Here I met with another curious book, *Sketches of the History of Man*.¹ Undoubtedly the author is a man of strong understanding, lively imagination, and considerable learning, and his book contains some useful truths. Yet some things in it gave me pain : (1) His affirming things that are not true, as that all negro children turn black the ninth or tenth day from their birth. No : most of them turn partly black on the second day, entirely so on the third. That all the Americans are of a copper colour. Not so : some of them are as fair as we are. Many more such assertions I observed, which I impute not to design but credulity. (2) His flatly contradicting himself, many times within a page or two. (3) His asserting, and labouring to prove, that man is a mere piece of clockwork. And, lastly, his losing no opportunity of vilifying the Bible, to which he appears to bear a most cordial hatred. I marvel if any but his brother infidels will give two guineas for such a work as this !

Sun. 29.—At seven the congregation was large. In the evening the people were ready to tread upon each other. I scarce ever saw people so squeezed together. And they seemed to be all ear while I exhorted them, with strong and pointed words, not to receive ‘the grace of God in vain.’

Mon. 30.—I set out early from Aberdeen, and preached at Arbroath in the evening. I know no people in England who are more loving and more simple of heart than these.

Tues. 31.—I preached at East Haven, a small town inhabited by fishermen. I suppose all the inhabitants were present, and all were ready to devour the word. In the evening I preached at Dundee, and had great hope that brotherly love would continue.

In my way hither I read Dr. Reid’s ingenious essay.² With the former part of it I was greatly delighted ; but afterwards I was much disappointed. I doubt whether the sentiments are just ; but I am sure his language is so obscure that to most

¹ By Lord Kames. It appeared in 1773 in two vols. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 207.

² On the *Intellectual and Active Powers of Man*. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 207.

readers it must be mere Arabic. But I have a greater objection than this—namely, his exquisite want of judgement in so admiring that prodigy of self-conceit, Rousseau¹—a shallow but supercilious infidel, two degrees below Voltaire! Is it possible that a man who admires him can admire the Bible?

JUNE 1, *Wed.*—I went on to Edinburgh, and the next day examined the society one by one. I was agreeably surprised. They have fairly profited since I was here last. Such a number of persons having sound Christian experience I never found in this society before. I preached in the evening to a very elegant congregation, and yet with great enlargement of heart.²

Sat. 4.—I found uncommon liberty at Edinburgh in applying Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones. As I was walking home two men followed me, one of whom said, 'Sir, you are my prisoner. I have a warrant from the sheriff to carry you to the Tolbooth.' At first I thought he jested; but, finding the thing was serious, I desired one or two of our friends to go up with me. When we were safe lodged in a house adjoining to the Tolbooth, I desired the officer to let me see his warrant. I found the prosecutor was one George Sutherland, once a member of the society. He had deposed 'That Hugh Saunderson, one of John Wesley's preachers, had taken from his wife one hundred pounds in money and upwards of thirty pounds in goods, and had, besides that, terrified her into madness; so that, through the want of her help and the loss of business, he was damaged five hundred pounds.'

Before the sheriff, Archibald Cockburn, Esq., he had deposed 'That the said John Wesley and Hugh Saunderson,³ to evade

¹ Boswell: 'Sir, do you think him [Rousseau] as bad a man as Voltaire?' Johnson: 'Why, sir, it is difficult to settle the proportion of iniquity between them. He always appeared to me a bad man. That he was mad I never doubted' (Gray's *Letters*, No. CXI).

² On June 3 he wrote from Newcastle to 'J. C. M.' and the same day to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. pp. 49, 51).

³ For an earlier account of Hugh Saunderson, together with extracts from his Journal, see above, April 24 to July 2, 1773. Tyerman, who has treated the

case of Hugh Saunderson with less than his usual precision and justice, assumes, apparently against the evidence, at all events against the verdict of the Sheriff's Court, that Saunderson was guilty of the charge brought against him. He says that Wesley himself was actually arrested on account of Saunderson's 'peccant conduct.' He should at least have said 'alleged peccant conduct.' He also states that Wesley was taken to the Edinburgh Tolbooth, where he had to wait till his friends, &c. Wesley says distinctly in the Journal that he was 'safe lodged in

her pursuit, were preparing to fly the country ; and therefore he desired his warrant to search for, seize, and incarcerate them in the Tolbooth till they should find security for their appearance.' To this request the sheriff had assented and given his warrant for that purpose.

But why does he incarcerate John Wesley ? Nothing is laid against him, less or more. Hugh Saunderson preaches in connexion with him. What then ? Was not the sheriff strangely overseen ?¹

Mr. Sutherland furiously insisted that the officer should carry us to the Tolbooth without delay. However, he waited till two or three of our friends came and gave a bond for our appearance on the 24th instant. Mr. S[aunderson] did appear, the cause was heard, and the prosecutor fined one thousand pounds.

Sun. 5.—About eight I preached at Ormiston, twelve miles from Edinburgh. The house being small, I stood in the street and proclaimed 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The congregation behaved with the utmost decency. So did that on the Castle Hill in Edinburgh² at noon, though I strongly insisted that God 'now commandeth all men everywhere to repent.' In the evening the house was thoroughly filled, and many seemed deeply affected. I do not wonder that Satan, had it been in his power, would have had me otherwise employed this day.

Wed. 8.—I took my leave of our affectionate friends, and in the evening preached at Dunbar. *Thursday* the 9th, the wind being high, I preached in the court-house at Alnwick, but it was

a house adjoining to the Tolbooth.' And when 'Sutherland furiously insisted that the officer should carry us there without delay,' he 'waited.' Obviously he was not imprisoned in the Tolbooth. In connexion with this episode Tyerman quotes the letter which Wesley wrote five years before, and assumes that Mr. S—— of Armagh is Hugh Saunderson (see above, vol. v. p. 503). Wesley, in a letter to Benson on June 28, 1774 (see new edition of *Wesley Letters*), defends Saunderson against Benson's criticisms of his preaching, and arranges for him (Saunderson) to preach in Edinburgh during the time he is 'obliged to remain

there,' while he tells Benson to 'make an excursion either north, west, or south.'

¹ That is to say, mistaken, acting as under a spell by witchcraft, or as if some evil eye had looked over him.

² Benson, who was then in Edinburgh, sketches Wesley during this visit. He refers to his ability, incomparable diligence, lively fancy, tenacious memory, clear understanding, ready elocution, manly courage, his wonderful exactness even in little things, his quick dispatch of business, his calm and cheerful serenity, his patience and resolution. See *W.M. Mag.* 1825, p. 386; and Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 168,

intolerably hot. *Friday* the 10th, about eleven, I preached in the little square adjoining to the preaching-house in Morpeth. In the evening I preached at Newcastle, and in the morning, *Saturday* the 11th, set out for the Dales. About noon I preached at Wolsingham, and in the evening near the preaching-house in Weardale.

Sun. 12.—The rain drove us into the house both morning and afternoon. Afterwards I met the poor remains of the select society, but neither of my two lovely children, neither Peggy Spenser¹ nor Sally Blackburn, were there. Indeed, a whole row of such I had seen before, but three in four of them were now as careless as ever. In the evening I sent for Peggy Spenser and Sally Blackburn. Peggy came, and I found she had wellnigh regained her ground, walking in the light, and having a lively hope of recovering all that she had lost. Sally flatly refused to come, and then ran out of doors. Being found at length, after a flood of tears, she was brought almost by force. But I could not get one look, and hardly a word, from her. She seemed to have no hope left; yet she is not out of God's reach.

I now inquired into the causes of that grievous decay in the vast work of God which was here two years since, and I found several causes had concurred: (1) Not one of the preachers that succeeded was capable of being a nursing-father to the new-born children. (2) Jane Salkeld,² one great instrument of the work, marrying, was debarred from meeting the young ones, and, there being none left who so naturally cared for them, they fell heaps upon heaps. (3) Most of the liveliest in the society were the single men and women, and several of these in a little time contracted an inordinate affection for each other, whereby they so grieved the Holy Spirit of God that He in great measure departed from them. (4) Men arose among ourselves who undervalued the work of God and called the great work of sanctification a delusion; by this they grieved some and angered others, so that both the one and the other were much weakened. (5) Hence, the love of many waxing cold, the preachers were discouraged, and jealousies, heart-burnings, evil-surmisings, were

¹ Margaret Spenser. See above, (*Arm. Mag.* 1785, p. 335); also below, vol. v. p. 464.

² See letter of Jane Salkeld to Wesley

multiplied more and more. There is now a little revival ; God grant it may increase !

Mon. 13.—At eleven I preached in Teesdale, and at Swaledale in the evening.

Tues. 14.—We crossed over the enormous mountain into lovely Wensleydale,¹ the largest by far of all the Dales, as well as the most beautiful. Some years since, many had been awakened here, and joined together by Mr. Ingham and his preachers. But since the bitter dissension between their preachers, the poor sheep have all been scattered. A considerable number of these have been gleaned up and joined together by our preachers. I came into the midst of them at Redmire. As I rode through the town the people stood staring on every side, as if we had been a company of monsters. I preached in the street,² and they soon ran together, young and old, from every quarter. I reminded the elder of their having seen me thirty years before, when I preached in Wensley church ; and enforced once more 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' When I rode back through the town, it wore a new face. The people were profoundly civil ; they were bowing and curtsying on every side. Such a change in two hours I have seldom seen.

Hence we hasted to Richmond, where I preached in a kind of square.³ All the Yorkshire Militia were there ; and so were their officers, who kept them in awe, so that they behaved with decency. At six I preached at the end of our house in Barnard Castle. I was faint and feverish when I began ; but the staying an hour in a cold bath (for the wind was very high and sharp) quite refreshed me, so that all my faintness was gone, and I was perfectly well when I concluded.

Wed. 15.—I went on by Durham to Sunderland. *Saturday*

¹ See H. Speight's *Romantic Richmondshire*, p. 252.

² In the *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1900, reference is made to the stone erected in remembrance of the spot on which the open-air service was conducted. Wesley was pelted until protected by a stalwart fellow named Horne, the ancestor of

Mr. William Horne, an antiquarian well known in Wensleydale and elsewhere. For Wesley's earlier visit to Wensley, see above, vol. iii. p. 109.

³ In a part of the town called Newbiggin. The house on the steps of which he stood is still in existence. (*Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1900, p. 25.)

the 18th, I preached at Biddick. It was fair while I was preaching, but rained very hard both before and after.

Sun. 19.—I preached at the east end of the town, I think, to the largest congregation I ever saw at Sunderland. The rain did not begin till I had concluded. At two I preached at the Fell, at five in the Orphan House.

Mon. 20.—About nine I set out for Horsley, with Mr. Hopper and Mr. Smith.¹ I took Mrs. Smith and her two little girls in the chaise with me. About two miles from the town, just on the brow of the hill, on a sudden both the horses set out, without any visible cause, and flew down the hill like an arrow out of a bow. In a minute John fell off the coach-box. The horses then went on full speed, sometimes to the edge of the ditch on the right, sometimes on the left. A cart came up against them; they avoided it as exactly as if the man had been on the box. A narrow bridge was at the foot of the hill; they went directly over the middle of it. They ran up the next hill with the same speed, many persons meeting us, but getting out of the way. Near the top of the hill was a gate, which led into a farmer's yard. It stood open. They turned short and ran through it, without touching the gate on one side or the post on the other. I thought, 'However, the gate which is on the other side of the yard, and is shut, will stop them.' But they rushed through it as if it had been a cobweb, and galloped on through the corn-field. The little girls cried out, 'Grandpapa, save us!' I told them, 'Nothing will hurt you: do not be afraid'; feeling no more fear or care (blessed be God!) than if I had been sitting in my study. The horses ran on till they came to the edge of a steep precipice. Just then Mr. Smith, who could not overtake us before, galloped in between. They stopped in a moment. Had they gone on ever so little, he and we must have gone down together!

I am persuaded both evil and good angels had a large share in this transaction; how large we do not know now, but we shall know hereafter.

I think some of the most remarkable circumstances were: (1) Both the horses, which were tame and quiet as could be, starting out in a moment just at the top of the hill, and running

¹ His stepson-in-law.

down full speed. (2) The coachman's being thrown on his head with such violence, and yet not hurt at all. (3) The chaise running again and again to the edge of each ditch, and yet not into it. (4) The avoiding of the cart. (5) The keeping just the middle of the bridge. (6) The turning short through the first gate, in a manner that no coachman in England could have turned them, when in full gallop. (7) The going through the second gate as if it had been but smoke, without slackening their pace at all. This would have been impossible had not the end of the chariot-pole struck exactly on the centre of the gate; whence the whole, by the sudden impetuous shock, was broke into small pieces. (8) That the little girl, who used to have fits, on my saying, 'Nothing will hurt you,' ceased crying, and was quite composed. Lastly, that Mr. Smith struck in just then. In a minute more we had been down the precipice; and, had not the horses then stopped at once, they must have carried him and us down together. 'Let those give thanks whom the Lord hath redeemed, and delivered from the hand of the enemy!'¹

*Fri. 24.*²—I read over Dr. Wilson's tract on the *Circulation of the Blood*. What are we sure of but the Bible? I thought nothing had been more sure than that the heart is the grand moving power, which both begins and continues the circulation. But I think the doctor has clearly proved that it does not begin at the heart; and that the heart has quite another office, only *receiving* the blood, which then moves on through its channels, on the mere principle of suction, assisted by the ethereal fire which is connected with every particle of it.

¹ The elder of the two little girls, Mary Smith, married John Stamp, one of Wesley's preachers, who began his ministry four years before Wesley died. Among the descendants of John and Mary Stamp, in the earlier years of the twentieth century, were two benefited clergymen in the diocese of Durham, a doctor in Cheshire, and the Rev. Thomas William Smith Jones, for many years General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Southern Italy. The late Dr. W. W. Stamp, to whose researches, published in *The Orphan*

House of Wesley, &c., this Standard Edition is largely indebted, was the son of John Stamp and his second wife (*née* Wood). The younger little girl, Jane Smith, was married to Christopher Sundius, a Swede, who served England in the American War of Independence as a naval officer, and was converted through the Methodists. He was one of the founders of the British and Foreign Bible Society. See *Wesley Studies*, pp. 117, 118; *W.M. Mag.* 1904, p. 215; also below, p. 237.

² On June 23 he wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 52).

Sun. 26.—In the morning I preached at the Ballast Hills, among the glassmen, keelmen, and sailors. As these had nothing to pay, I exhorted them ‘to buy wine and milk without money and without price.’

Mon. 27.—I took my leave of this lovely place and people, and about ten preached to a serious congregation at Durham. About six I preached at Stockton-upon-Tees, on a text suited to the congregation, ‘Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.’

Tues. 28.—This being my birthday, the first day of my seventy-second year, I was considering, How is this, that I find just the same strength as I did thirty years ago? That my sight is considerably better now, and my nerves firmer than they were then? That I have none of the infirmities of old age, and have lost several I had in my youth? The grand cause is the good pleasure of God, who doeth whatsoever pleaseth Him. The chief means are (1) my constantly rising at four for about fifty years; (2) my generally preaching at five in the morning—one of the most healthy exercises in the world; (3) my never travelling less, by sea or land, than four thousand five hundred miles in a year.

In the evening I preached at Yarm, about eleven the next day at Osmotherley, and in the evening at Thirsk.

Thur. 30.—I preached at Hutton Rudby,¹ and found still remaining a few sparks of the uncommon flame which was kindled there ten years ago. It was quenched chiefly by the silly, childish contentions of those who were real partakers of that great blessing.

JULY 1, *Fri.*—I preached in Stokesley at six; and many determined to set out anew. In Guisborough I was constrained to preach abroad; and the whole multitude was as silent as the subject—‘Death!’ I never before had such an opportunity at this place. In the afternoon, through miserable roads, we at length got to Whitby.

Sun. 3.—We had a solemn hour at five with the society only; and another at eight, while I enforced those words on a numerous congregation, ‘How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?’ While we were at church a poor man

¹ See above, vol. iv. p. 329, and vol. v. p. 174.

would needs divert himself by swimming; but he sank, and rose no more. The minister preached in the afternoon a sermon suited to the occasion, on 'Be ye likewise ready; for ye know not the hour when the Son of Man cometh.' At five I preached in the market-place on 'Though I speak with the tongue of men and of angels,' &c., 'and have not charity, I am nothing.' I spoke exceeding plain, and the people were attentive; yet few of them, I doubt, understood what was spoken. The society, however, are well established, and adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

Mon. 4.—At eleven I preached in the little square at Robin Hood's Bay. At six I preached, to a numerous congregation, in the new house at Scarborough.¹ It is plain, and yet is one of the neatest and most elegant preaching-houses in England. Now let the people walk worthy of their calling, and there will be a good work in this place.

*Wed. 6.*²—I went on to Bridlington Quay; and in the evening preached in the town, to as stupid and ill-mannered a congregation as I have seen for many years.

Thur. 7.—I preached at Beverley and Hull, where the house would not near contain the congregation. How is this town changed since I preached on the Carr³! *Saturday* the 9th I preached at Pocklington and York.

Sun. 10.—Some of Tadcaster informing me that the minister was willing I should preach in the church, I went thither in the morning.⁴ But his mind was changed: so I preached in the street, to a listening multitude, from the Lesson for the day, on

¹ See *Meth. Rec.* Feb. 16, 1905. William Ripley found them digging foundations April 6, 1771 (see his Journal; also above, vol. v. p. 473).

² On July 8 he wrote from Hull to Henry Brooke, offering to re-edit an edition of his uncle's book, *The Fool of Quality*, referring also to *Juliet Grenville*. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. pp. 172, 173. Henry Brooke, the novelist, was an Irish barrister, the son of an Irish rector. His nephew Henry, an artist, was a devoted Methodist, a friend of Fletcher, and one of Wesley's correspondents. The novelist gratefully accepted Wesley's

offer, and an abridged edition of *The Fool of Quality* was published in two volumes, under the title, *The History of Henry, Earl of Moreland*. See Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 351.

³ Myton Carr (*Hull Methodism*, p. 9).

⁴ Miss Ritchie writes in her Journal: 'I heard my much-honoured father preach at Tadcaster. Afterwards accompanied him to York. . . . We then went to Malton; returned through York and Tadcaster, and reached Leeds on Wednesday. Here he preached again, and the next day at Wakefield, whence this faithful shepherd set out for Doncaster, and I returned with Miss Bosanquet to Cross Hall.' (*Memoir of Mrs. Mortimer*, pp. 49-50.)

the righteousness which exceeds that of the Scribes and Pharisees; in the morning and evening at York.¹

Tuesday the 12th was the Quarterly Meeting. It was a busy and yet a comfortable day. Many were refreshed, both at the lovefeast and while I was describing the 'hundred forty and four thousand,' standing 'with the Lamb on Mount Sion.' Who is ambitious to be of that number?

Thur. 14.—About nine I preached at Wakefield, and in the evening at Doncaster. Here also God has a few names.

Fri. 15.—About eleven I preached at Thorne, and in the evening at Rotherham, to a people who both understand and love the gospel.

Sat. 16.—I went to Epworth, and preached in the market-place to a numerous and quiet congregation.

Sun. 17.—About eight I preached at Misterton. The sun shining in my face was a little troublesome at first, but was soon covered with clouds. We had a useful sermon at Haxey church.² About one I preached at Upperthorpe; and between four and five, the rain being stayed, I began in Epworth market-place. Such a congregation never met there before; and they did not meet in vain.

Mon. 18.—I reached Brigg before eight, and, by the request of the chief persons in the town, preached at nine in the market-place to a large and attentive congregation. Hence I went on to Tealby, and preached near the church to a multitude of plain, serious country-people: very different from the wild, unbroken herd to whom I preached at Horncastle in the evening.

Tues. 19.—I preached at Louth about noon, and at Grimsby

¹ Miss Frances Mortimer (daughter of Timothy Mortimer of York, and sister of the Rev. Dr. Charles Mortimer, who was chosen Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, a little before his death) afterwards became John Pawson's second wife. She was in York and heard Wesley preach on this Sunday evening. She writes in her Diary:

His venerable looks inspired me with a veneration for him which I cannot express. Mrs. [Bathsheba] Hall invited me to breakfast with him. I accepted the invitation, and was much pleased to see how this great

minister of the gospel conducted himself among his preachers, with cheerfulness, ease, and simplicity.

See *Lyth's Meth. in York*, p. 122.

² The vicar was Dr. Spencer Madan, brother of Martin Madan, and afterwards Bishop of Bristol. But whether he or his brother Martin, or his curate, was the preacher on this occasion, we do not know. He held also the rectory of West Halton, Lincolnshire, and afterwards a sinecure. Spencer Madan was a pluralist. (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 205.)

in the evening. At ten, on *Wednesday* the 20th, I preached at Winterton.¹ None of the hearers was more attentive than an old acquaintance of my father's—Mr. George Stovin,² formerly a Justice of the Peace near Epworth, now as teachable as a little child, and determined to know nothing save Christ crucified. About two I preached in an open place at Scotter, and in the evening at Owston. One of my audience here was Mr. Pindar,³ a contemporary of mine at Oxford. But any that observed so feeble, decrepit an old man, tottering over the grave, would imagine there was a difference of *forty*, rather than *two*, years between us!⁴

On *Friday* and *Saturday* I made a little excursion into Yorkshire.

Sun. 24.—I preached at eight at Gringley-in-the-Hill to a huge congregation, among whom I could observe but one person that was inattentive. Here I received an invitation from Mr. Harvey⁵ to give him a sermon at Finningley. I came thither a little before the service began; and the church was filled, but not crowded. Between three and four I returned to Epworth. The congregation there was large last Sunday; but it was nearly doubled now; and never had we, from the beginning, a more solemn and affectionate parting.

Mon. 25.—I went on to Sheffield, and on *Tuesday*⁶ met the select society. But it was reduced from sixty to twenty; and but half of these retained all that they once received! What

¹ See above, vol. iv. p. 475.

² See above, vol. iii. pp. 20, 361.

³ The following entries are from *Alumni Oxon*: Pindar, John, s. Robert, of Owston, co. Lincoln, arm. Lincoln College, matric. Oct. 15, 1722, aged 19, barr. at-law, Inner Temple, 1729; brother of Pindar, Robert, s. Robert, of Owston, co. Lincoln, gent. Lincoln College, matric. Nov. 10, 1726, aged 19; B.A. 1730; M.A. 1733 (probably father of Robert and Thomas next named). In the First Oxford Diary there are occasional references to Mr. Pindar; for instance, Thursday 23rd he breakfasted at home with Mr. Pindar and Mr. Howson. There is nothing, either in the Diary or Journal, to show which of the brothers

was Wesley's friend. Rev. H. J. Foster thought it was John Pindar, who died Mar. 5, 1776, aged 74. See *W.M. Mag.* 1903, p. 411, where, in a facsimile of the Diary, we have 'Sept. 2, Mr. Ward of Kens[ing]ton, Bulm[er] Pind[ar]', his contemporary at Oxford.

⁴ On July 21 he wrote from Epworth to Thomas Rankin (a fragment). *W.M. Mag.* 1850, p. 1146, note.

⁵ He was lord of the manor of Wroot, as well as owner of Ickwell, Bury, and Finningley. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 203.

⁶ On July 26 he wrote to Joseph Benson, then in Edinburgh, among other instructions advising a private subscription to 'wire over the cupola' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 421).

a grievous error, to think those that are saved from sin cannot lose what they have gained ! It is a miracle if they do not, seeing all earth and hell are so enraged against them ; while, meantime, so very few, even of the children of God, skilfully endeavour to strengthen their hands.

Wed. 27.—About one we reached Leek,¹ in Staffordshire. I could not imagine who the Quaker should be that had sent me word he expected me to dinner ; and was agreeably surprised to find that it was my old friend Joshua Strangman² of Mountmellick, in Ireland, whom I had not seen for many years. I found he was the same man still ; of the same open, friendly, amiable temper ; and everything about him was (not costly or fine, but) surprisingly neat and elegant. It began to rain soon after we came in, but the rain stayed while I was preaching, and it seemed the whole town, rich and poor, were gathered together, and listened while I explained, ‘God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.’ I preached at Burslem in the evening ; and on *Thursday* the 28th, in the afternoon, came to Shrewsbury.

Sat. 30.—I went on to Madeley ; and in the evening preached under a sycamore-tree, in Madeley Wood, to a large congregation, good part of them colliers, who drank in every word. Surely never were places more alike than Madeley Wood, Gateshead Fell, and Kingswood.

*Sun. 31.*³—The church could not contain the congregation either morning or afternoon ; but in the evening I preached to a still larger congregation at Broseley, and equally attentive. I now learned the particulars of a remarkable story, which I had heard imperfectly before. Some time since, one of the colliers here, coming home at night, dropped into a coal-pit, twenty-four yards deep. He called aloud for help, but none heard all that night, and all the following day. The second night, being weak and faint, he fell asleep, and dreamed that his wife, who had been some time dead, came to him, and greatly comforted

¹ The Methodists were now meeting in a club-room in the old ‘Black’s Head’ Yard. See *Meth. Rec.* Feb. 28, 1901.

² He married Ann Toft, of Leek, Staffordshire, which accounts for Wesley

finding him resident there. See above, vol. iii. p. 407 ; *W.M. Mag.* 1847, p. 767 ; and *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 224.

³ He wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 53).

him. In the morning, a gentleman going a-hunting, a hare started up just before the hounds, ran straight to the mouth of the pit, and was gone; no man could tell how. The hunters searched all round the pit, till they heard a voice from the bottom. They quickly procured proper help, and drew up the man unhurt.

AUG. 1, *Mon.*—I preached at Bewdley,¹ in an open place at the head of the town; and in the evening at Worcester, which still continues one of the liveliest places in England. Here I talked with some who believe God has lately delivered them from the root of sin. Their account was simple, clear, and scriptural; so that I saw no reason to doubt of their testimony.

Tues. 2.—I preached at ten in the town-hall at Evesham, and rode on to Broadmarston.

Thur. 4.—I crossed over to Tewkesbury, and preached at noon in a meadow near the town, under a tall oak. I went thence to Cheltenham. As it was the high season for drinking the waters, the town was full of gentry; so I preached near the market-place in the evening, to the largest congregation that was ever seen there. Some of the footmen at first made a little disturbance; but I turned to them, and they stood reproved.

Sat. 6.—I walked from Newport² to Berkeley Castle. It is a beautiful though very ancient building; and every part of it kept in good repair, except the lumber-room and the chapel; the latter of which, having been of no use for many years, is now dirty enough. I particularly admired the fine situation, and the garden on the top of the house. In one corner of the castle is the room where poor Edward II was murdered. His effigy is still preserved, said to be taken before his death. If he was like this, he had an open, manly countenance, though

¹ His first visit here. See *Meth. Rec.* Nov. 22, 1906.

² A village on the main road between Gloucester and Bristol, just outside the south-east wall of the park. There are two chapels, one now used as a muniment-room; the larger one, mentioned by Wesley, rests on the vault of the great

cellar. Both chapels enjoyed special privileges from Pope Urban II. See Cassell's *Historic Houses* for a description of the dungeon, the scene of the murder. Dean Spence says that the beautiful face of the recumbent King was carved from a mask taken after death. See also *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1805, p. 997.

with a cast of melancholy. In the afternoon we went on to Bristol.¹

The Conference,² begun and ended in love, fully employed me on *Tuesday*, *Wednesday*, and *Thursday*; and we observed *Friday* the 12th as a day of fasting and prayer for the success of the gospel.³

Mon. 15.—I set out for Wales, but did not reach Cardiff till near eight o'clock. As the congregation was waiting in the town-hall,⁴ I went thither without delay; and many, I believe, did not regret the time they had waited there.

Tues. 16.—I preached about noon in the great hall at Llandaff,⁵ on 'It is appointed unto men once to die.' Strange doctrine, and not very welcome to the inhabitants of palaces!

Wed. 17.—At eleven I preached in the town-hall at Cowbridge; the neatest place of the kind I have ever seen. Not only the floor, the walls, the ceiling, are kept exactly clean, but every pane of glass in the windows.

Hence I hastened on to Swansea, and at seven preached in the Castle to a large congregation. The next morning I went on to Llanelly; but what a change was there! Sir Thomas Stepney,⁶

¹ On Aug. 8 he wrote from Bristol to Joseph Benson (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 421).

² There are two private accounts of this Conference. Thomas Taylor writes in his MS. Journal:

Aug. 9.—Most of the day was taken up in temporal matters, which is dry business.

Aug. 10.—This morning our characters were examined, and that closely. The afternoon was chiefly spent in taking in new preachers. In the evening Mr. Wesley gave us but an indifferent sermon. *Aug.* 11.—We spent this day pretty profitably in considering some things of importance, especially how to prevent levity, idleness, and evil speaking. At night Mr. Wesley gave us a profitable discourse on brotherly love.

Miss March, in an unpublished letter, dated Aug. 23, 1774, observes:

Our Conference is now ended. I promised myself a jubilee, a time of holy rejoicing, but found it rather a season of hurry and dissipation. Mr. Wesley opened the Conference with a plan of great and necessary business. His preaching was chiefly to the preachers—of the searching, reproving kind. The preachers said there was much concord amongst them, and one observed, Mr. Wesley

seemed to do all the business himself. Friday was the best time, and the evening sermon, from Matt. vii. 24, was the prettiest and most simple discourse I ever heard on that text. Mr. Wesley left us on Monday for Wales. When he first came he looked worn down with care and sorrow; but he left us well and lively.

³ On Aug. 13 he wrote from Bristol to the Rev. T. Stedman (*Wesley Banner*, vol. i. p. 140).

⁴ Formerly in High Street. Distinct from the Shire Hall. See above, vol. v. p. 231.

⁵ Llandaff Court, built by Admiral Matthews. See above, vol. iii. p. 128; *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 83.

⁶ See above, vol. v. p. 333. He died Oct. 7, 1772; his body was brought from London to Llanelly by road. The parish register gives forty-eight years as his age. 'He largely developed the mineral wealth that lay beneath his land, encouraged the coal trade, and the transport by water. He also made improvements in the fisheries of the neighbourhood.'

the father of the poor, was dead : cut down in the strength of his years ! So the family was broke up, and Wilfred Colley, his butler, the father of the society, obliged to remove. Soon after, John Deer, who was next in usefulness to him, was taken into Abraham's bosom. But just then Col. St. Ledger, in the neighbourhood, sent to Galway for Lieutenant Cook¹ to come and put his house into repair, and manage his estate. So another is brought, just in time to supply the place of Wilfred Colley. I preached at five near Sister Deer's door,² to a good company of plain country people ; and then rode over to the old ruinous house, which Mr. Cook is making all haste to repair. It is not unlike old Mr. Gwynne's house at Garth, having a few large, handsome rooms. It is also situated much like that ; only not quite so low ; for it has the command of a well-cultivated vale, and of the fruitful side of the opposite mountain.

Fri. 19.—We rode on to Laugharne ferry ; and, seeing a person just riding over the ford, we followed him with ease, the water scarce reaching above our horses' knees. Between two and three we came to Pembroke.

Sun. 21.—At nine I began the service at St. Daniel's, and concluded a little before twelve. It was a good time. The power of the Lord was unusually present, both to wound and to heal. Many were constrained to cry, while others were filled with speechless awe and silent love.

After dinner I went over to Haverfordwest, but could not preach abroad because of the rain. Both here and at Pembroke I found the people in general to be in a cold, dead, languid state. And no wonder, since there had been for several months a total neglect of discipline. I did all I could to awaken them once more, and left them full of good resolutions.

¹ See above, vol. v. p. 129.

² The house and shop still stand in Church Street. Charles Wesley preached to John Deer's society on Aug. 26, 1741. Wesley first visited Llanely on the invitation of Robert and John Deer. Widow Deer told Hugh Hughes her reminiscences of Wesley's visits to her house. These were published in the

Eurgrawn in 1842. One of the children on whose head Wesley placed his hand, praying that the boy might become a man after God's own heart, was afterwards one of the most promising members of the medical profession in the country. See, for early Llanely Methodism, Rev. D. Young's *Methodism in Wales*, p. 223.

Tues. 23.—I went to the New Inn, near Llandilo; and on *Wednesday* the 24th to Brecknock.

In the evening I preached in the town-hall to most of the gentry in the town. They behaved well, though I used great plainness of speech in describing the narrow way.

Thur. 25.—At eleven I preached within the walls of the old church¹ at the Hay. Here and everywhere I heard the same account of the proceedings at [Llancroyes]. The Jumpers² (all who were there informed me) were first in the court, and afterwards in the house. Some of them leaped up many times, men and women, several feet from the ground; they clapped their hands with the utmost violence; they shook their heads; they distorted all their features; they threw their arms and legs to and fro, in all variety of postures; they sung, roared, shouted, screamed with all their might, to the no small terror of those that were near them. One gentlewoman told me she had not been herself since, and did not know when she should. Meantime the person of the house was delighted above measure, and said ‘Now the power of God is come indeed.’

Sat. 27.—Being detained some hours at the Old Passage, I preached to a small congregation, and in the evening returned to Bristol.

Mon. 29.—I set out for Cornwall, and preached at Cullompton in the evening. I spoke strong words to the honest, sleepy congregation; perhaps some may awake out of sleep.

Tues. 30.—I preached to a far more elegant congregation at Launceston; but what is that, unless they are alive to God?

Wed. 31.—The rain, with violent wind, attended us all the way to Bodmin. A little company are at length united here. At their request I preached in the town-hall³ (the most dreary one I ever saw), to a mixed congregation of rich and poor. All behaved well; and who knows but some good may be done even at poor Bodmin? In the evening I preached at Redruth.

¹ The older church of St. John fell in 1700 and was never restored.

² See above, vol. v. p. 27. Lloyd's *Evening Post*, June 27, 1763, publishes a description of these enthusiasts. William Williams, the Welsh hymnist, wrote a

pamphlet defending their proceedings.

³ An ancient building with a curious carved doorway. A circular window has relieved the gloom of the room in which Wesley preached. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 193.

SEPT. 1.¹ *Thur.*—After preaching at St. John's² about noon, I went on to Penzance. When the people here were as roaring lions, we had all the ground to ourselves; now they are become lambs, Mr. S——b³ and his friends step in, and take true pains to make a rent in the society. But hitherto, blessed be God, they stand firm in one mind and in one judgement! Only a few, whom we had expelled, they have gleaned up; if they can do them good, I shall rejoice. In the evening I took my stand at the end of the town, and preached the whole gospel to a listening multitude. I then earnestly exhorted the society to follow after peace and holiness.

Fri. 2.—I preached in the market-place at St. Ives to almost the whole town. I could not but admire the number of serious children, as well-behaved as the eldest of the congregation. This was a happy meeting; so was that of the society, too, when all their hearts were as melting wax.

Sat. 3.—We had the Quarterly Meeting at Redruth. This is frequently a dull, heavy meeting; but it was so lively a one to-day that we hardly knew how to part. About six I preached at Trewergy, and applied closely to the Methodists, 'What do ye more than others?' One cried out, 'Damnable doctrine!' True; it condemns all those who hear and do not obey it.

Sun. 4.—The rain drove us into the house at St. Agnes. At one it was fair; so I preached in the street at Redruth. But the glorious congregation assembled at five, in the amphitheatre at Gwennap. They were judged to cover four-score yards, and yet those farthest off could hear.

To-day I received the following note :

¹ He wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 53).

² See above, vol. iii. p. 131. He may, of course, mean here the St. John's which was part of Helston, but geographical and other considerations point to the possibility of another interpretation. The Rev. H. J. Foster suggested that the St. John's was a misprint for Mr. Johns, and referred to April 12, 1744. From Redruth to St. John's (Helston) would have been many miles out of his way, and it is doubtful whether even Wesley

himself could have covered the ground and fitted in all the work here described in the allotted time. 'Mr. Johns, near Penzance,' would make everything possible. See route of this journey and Cary's road map of Cornwall.

³ Neither Secumb nor Slocumb, who have both been suggested, is at all probable. They were brave and devoted men whose stories are worth preserving. See Atmore's *Memorial*; above, vol. iii. p. 379; and C. Wesley's *Journal*, July 13, 1744.

The sermon you preached last Thursday evening was, by the grace of God, of great good to my soul. And when you prayed so earnestly for backsliders (of whom I am one), an arrow dipped in blood reached my heart. Ever since I have been resolved never to rest till I find again the rest that remains for the people of God.

I am, dear sir,

A vile backslider from the pure love of Jesus,
and from the society at Gwennap,

Mon. 5.—I preached at Cubert; *Tuesday*, the 6th, at Port Isaac.

Wed. 7.—Having preached at Camelford and Launceston, I did not think of preaching at Tavistock; but, finding a congregation waiting, I began without delay. I had scarce half finished my discourse in the square at Plymouth Dock, when the rain began. At first I did not regard it; but, as it grew heavier and heavier, I thought it best to shorten my sermon.

It seems, after a long interval of deadness, God is again visiting this poor people. The society is nearly doubled within this year, and is still continually increasing. And many are athirst for full salvation; particularly the young men. *Friday* the 9th I set out early from the Dock; and the next afternoon reached Bristol.

*Fri. 16.*¹—We had a solemn watch-night at Kingswood. It seemed every one felt that God was there; so that hardly any went away till the whole service was concluded.

In the following week I visited many of the country societies. At Frome I learned the remarkable case of sister Whitaker. Last Sunday she met her class as usual, and, after saying, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' dropped down, and in a few minutes, without any struggle or pain, expired.

Tues. 27.—I preached at Freshford and Bradford; *Wednes-*

¹ He wrote to 'A Member of Society' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 296), and on the 18th to Joseph Benson. This is one of the lively letters of the series. 'It will be best to keep a horse; then both your health and your soul will prosper.' He plays on the name of a preacher whose dilatoriness often caused trouble. 'If William Eels crawls in at last, send him directly to

Aberdeen.' He craves Dr. Hamilton's receipt (*sic*) for extracting the opiate from sow-thistles, and adds a postscript concerning the ninety members he had left in the Edinburgh society. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 422.) The same day he also wrote from the Devizes to Mrs. Turner (*Wesleyan Times*, 1850).

day the 28th at Bath, where many of the people seemed much moved ; chiefly those who had long imagined they were 'built on a rock,' and now found they had been building 'upon the sand.'

Thur. 29.—I preached at Pill on the 'worm' that 'dieth not, and the fire' that 'is not quenched'; if haply some of these drowsy ones might awake, and escape from everlasting burnings.

Monday, OCTOBER 3, and *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*, I examined the society.

Thur. 6.¹—I met those of our society who had votes in the ensuing election, and advised them (1) to vote, without fee or reward, for the person they judged most worthy ; (2) to speak no evil of the person they voted against ; and (3) to take care their spirits were not sharpened against those that voted on the other side.²

Sun. 9.—The evening being fair and mild, I preached in the new square. It was a fruitful season :

Soft fell the word as flew the air³ ;

even 'as the rain into a fleece of wool.' Many such seasons we have had lately ; almost every day one and another has found peace, particularly young persons and children. Shall not they be a blessing in the rising generation ? In the evening we had a solemn opportunity of renewing our covenant with God—a means of grace which I wonder has been so seldom used either in Romish or Protestant churches.

Mon. 10.—I preached at Salisbury, and on *Tuesday* the 11th

¹ He wrote to Miss Chapman (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 88), and on the 8th to Mrs. Barton (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 378).

² The poll was declared on Nov. 3. It was one of the most important and exciting elections that Bristol had ever passed through. The candidates were Lord Clare, Henry Cruger, Matthew Brickdale, and the great Edmund Burke. It was Burke's first election, and the country was on the eve of the War

of American Independence. The polling resulted as follows : Cruger, 3,565 ; Burke, 2,707 ; Brickdale, 2,456 ; Lord Clare, 283. Castleman, one of the leading Bristol Methodists, voted for Cruger and Burke. Cruger was American born, and advocated conciliatory measures towards the colonists. See Pawlyn's *Bristol Methodism*, p. 78, and, for a full account, Latimer's *Bristol*.

³ Prior's *Lady's Looking-Glass*.

set out for the Isle of Purbeck.¹ When we came to Corfe Castle, the evening being quite calm and mild, I preached in a meadow near the town, to a deeply attentive congregation gathered from all parts of the island. I afterwards met the society, artless and teachable, and full of good desires. But few of them yet have got any farther than to 'see men as trees walking.'

Wed. 12.—I preached to a large congregation at five, who seemed quite athirst for instruction. Afterwards we took a walk over the remains of the Castle,² so bravely defended in the last century, against all the power of the Parliament forces, by the widow of the Lord Chief Justice Banks.³ It is one of the noblest ruins I ever saw: the walls are of an immense thickness, defying even the assaults of time, and were formerly surrounded by a deep ditch. The house, which stands in the middle, on the very top of the rock, has been a magnificent structure. Some time since the proprietor fitted up some rooms on the south-west side of this, and laid out a little garden, commanding a large prospect, pleasant beyond description. For a while he was greatly delighted with it; but the eye was not satisfied with seeing. It grew familiar, it pleased no more, and is now run all to ruin. No wonder; what can delight always but the knowledge and love of God?

About noon I preached at Langton [Matravers], three or four miles from Corfe Castle, to a large and deeply serious congregation. Here is likewise a little society; but I did not find any among them who knew in whom they had believed. In the evening I preached in a meadow near Swanage, to a still larger congregation. And here at length I found three or four persons, and all of one family, who seemed really to enjoy the faith of the gospel. Few others of the society (between thirty and forty in number) appeared to be convinced of sin. I fear the preachers

¹ On the invitation of Mrs. Burt, who had walked forty miles from Swanage to Salisbury, carrying her baby. She waited on Wesley after the preaching, and asked him to come to Swanage. A tablet in the Wesleyan Methodist church records the fact. The house in which he was entertained is still shown. No doubt Mrs. Burt and her baby returned with Wesley in the chaise. See *W.M. Mag.*

1893, p. 274, and Dr. Simon's *Meth. in Dorset*, p. 12.

² Few ancient castles surpass this in varied interest. At the east end of the Fourth Ward is the sally-port by which the castle was surprised by the Parliamentary forces, who succeeded in bribing one of the officers of the heroic lady.

³ Sir John Banks, 1643-5.

have been more studious to please than to awaken, or there would have been a deeper work.

The Isle (or properly Peninsula) of Purbeck is nine or ten miles broad, and perhaps twenty long, running nearly from north-east to south-west. Two mountains run almost the whole length, with valleys both between them and on each side, but poorly cultivated. The people in general are plain, artless, good-natured, and well-behaved. If the labourers here are zealous and active, they will surely have a plentiful harvest.

Thur. 13.—I set out early, and reached Gosport (seventy-two miles) not long after six. Finding a boat ready, I crossed, and went straight to the room. It was full enough: so I began without delay, and enforced our Lord's words (one of my favourite subjects), 'My yoke is easy, and My burden is light.'

Fri. 14.—I visited as many as I could, sick or well, and endeavoured to settle those that had been shaken by those bigots who are continually waiting to receive the weak 'unto doubtful disputations.' I had intended, after preaching in the evening, to meet the society alone; but the eagerness of the people to stay induced me to suffer a great part of them. Yet it was little to their satisfaction; for when I warned our brethren not to have 'itching ears,' they ran away in all haste.

Sat. 15.—Setting out (as usual) at two, I reached London early in the evening.¹

Mon. 17.—I set out for Oxfordshire, and preached at Wallingford in the evening.

Tues. 18.—About nine I preached at Nuneham; at noon in the garden at Oxford; and in the evening at Finstock (a village near Cornbury House,² built by the great Earl of

¹ On Oct. 16 he wrote to Joseph Benson a peremptory letter, the refrain of which, as of so many of his letters to Scotland at this time, was 'While I live, itinerant preachers shall be itinerants' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 422).

² 'Here the Earl of Leicester died tragically in 1588. In the next century the famous Lord Clarendon, whose second title was Viscount Cornbury, obtained the estate, and in 1681 his son entertained

here Charles II. In the eighteenth century Lord Cornbury, eldest son of the last Earl of Clarendon, made the house a centre of Jacobite intrigue. Of Lord Leicester's house little or nothing remains, since it was rebuilt in the seventeenth century by Henry, Lord Danvers (Earl of Danby), who died here in 1643. It was afterwards altered by Lord Clarendon.'—Brabant's *Oxfordshire* (Methuen).

Clarendon, but not inhabited by any of his descendants !), to a plain, artless people.

Wed. 19.—I rode to Witney, and found more life than I expected, both in the congregation and the society.

Thur. 20.—I preached at Watlington, at the front of Mr. Stonill's¹ house. The whole congregation was seriously attentive. In the evening I preached at High Wycombe, to many more than the room would contain; and I believe not in vain.

Fri. 21.—I preached in Chesham, and on *Saturday* returned to London.

Mon. 24.—I set out for Northamptonshire, and received a particular account of one that eminently adorned the gospel :

1. Susannah Spencer was born at Whittlebury, in the year 1742. When she was young she contracted a very general acquaintance, and was exceedingly beloved by them, having an agreeable person, a good understanding, and much sweetness of temper; and, being modest and decent in her whole behaviour, she seemed, like others, to think she had religion enough.

2. In 1760, Thomas Grover came down, and preached several times at Whittlebury and at Towcester. She went to hear him, but with a fixed resolution, 'not to be caught,' as she called it; but her resolution was vain. In a sermon she heard at Towcester she was cut to the heart. Her convictions grew deeper and deeper from that time, for about a year. She was then hearing him preach, but felt her heart as hard as the nether millstone. Yet at the lovefeast which followed it was suddenly broke in pieces, and she was all melted into tears by those words applied to her inmost soul, in an inexpressible manner :

My God is reconciled,
His pardoning voice I hear,
He owns me for His child;
I can no longer fear.²

3. The day following, being exercised with strong temptation, she gave up her confidence; but the next night, wrestling with God in prayer, she received it again with double evidence: and, though afterwards she frequently felt some doubts, yet it never continued long;

¹ In July 1766 Thomas Stonill married Hannah, the fourth daughter of William and Sarah Chapman, of Watlington, in Oxfordshire. See *Meth. Mag.* 1807, p. 410.

² Hymn 363, verse 5, in *Methodist Hymn-Book*, 1904. From *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1742, Part II, p. 323. Hymn entitled 'Behold the Man!' Osborn's edition of *Wesley Poetry*, vol. ii.

but she had, in general, a clear, abiding sense of the pardoning love of God.

4. From that time she walked steadily and closely with God, and was a pattern to all around her. She was particularly exact in reproofing sin, and lost no opportunity of doing it. In her whole conversation she was remarkably lively, and yet gentle towards all men. Her natural temper indeed was passionate, but the grace of God left scarce any traces of it.

5. From the very time of her justification she clearly saw the necessity of being wholly sanctified, and found an unspeakable hunger and thirst after the full image of God; and in the year 1772 God answered her desire. The second change was wrought in as strong and distinct a manner as the first had been. Yet she was apt to fall into unprofitable reasonings; by which her evidence was often so clouded that she could not affirm she was saved from sin, though neither could she deny it. But her whole life bore witness to the work which God had wrought in her heart. She was as a mother in Israel, helping those that were weak, and tenderly concerned for all; while she sunk deeper into the love of God, and found more and more of the mind that was in Christ.

6. In the summer, 1773, she took cold by lying in a damp bed. This threw her into a violent fever, which not only brought her very low, but fixed a deep cough upon her lungs, which no medicine could remove. It quite wore her down; especially when there was added the loss of both her sisters and her mother, who were all taken away within a little time of each other. She had likewise a continual cross from her father, and was at the same time tried by the falsehood of those friends in whom she confided, and whom she tenderly loved. The following year, 1774, she had a presage of her death; in consequence of which she was continually exhorting the young women, Betty Padbury in particular, to fill up her place when God should remove her from them.

7. In the beginning of winter I¹ understood that, weak as she was, she had not proper nourishment, being unable to procure it for herself, and having no one to procure it for her; so I took that charge upon myself; I worked with her in the day (for she would work as long as she could move her fingers), lay with her every night, and took care that she should want nothing which was convenient for her.

8. For some time her disorder seemed at a stand, growing neither better nor worse; but in spring, after she had taken a quantity of the bark, she was abundantly worse. Her cough continually increased, and her strength swiftly decayed, so that before Easter, she was

¹ Elizabeth Padbury.

obliged to take to her bed ; and, having now a near prospect of death, she mightily rejoiced in the thought, earnestly longing for the welcome moment ; only still with that reserve, 'Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.'

9. Mr. Harper ¹ (the preacher) took several opportunities of asking her many questions. She answered them all with readiness and plainness, to his entire satisfaction. She told him abundance of temptations which she underwent from time to time ; but still witnessed that the blood of Christ had cleansed her from all sin. She often said to us—

The race we all are running now !
And if I first attain,
Ye too your willing heads shall bow ;
Ye shall the conquest gain !²

10. Commonly, when I came into her room, I was not able to speak for a time. She would then say, 'Why do not you speak ? Why do not you encourage me ? I shall love you better when we meet in heaven, for the help you give me now.'

11. In the last week or two she was not able to speak many words at a time ; but as she could, with her feeble, dying voice, she exhorted us to go forward. Yet one day, some of her former companions coming in, her spirit seemed to revive ; and she spoke to them, to our great surprise, for near an hour together. They seemed deeply affected ; and it was some time before the impression wore off.

12. Her father now frequently came, sat by her bedside, and expressed tender affection, weeping much, and saying he should now be quite alone and have no one left to whom he could speak. She spoke to him without reserve. He received every word, and has never forgotten it since.

13. A few days before she died, after we had been praying with her, we observed she was in tears, and asked her the reason. She said, 'I feel my heart knit to you in a manner I cannot express, and I was thinking, if we love one another now, how will our love be enlarged when we meet in heaven ! And the thought was too much for me to bear ; it quite overcame me.'

14. On Friday she seemed to be just upon the wing. We thought she was going almost every moment. So she continued till Tuesday. We were unwilling to part with her, but, seeing the pain she was in, could not wish it should continue, and so gave her up to God. I sat up with her that night, and the next day, June 7, she fell asleep.

¹ Joseph Harper, 1767 to 1813, for whom see *Meth. Mag.* 1813, p. 707. He died in the Wetherby Circuit 'with an unblemished character,' aged eighty-four.

² Adapted by change of person from *Wesley's Hymns* (1876) No. 947, verse 5 ;

Osborn's *Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, vol. vi. Funeral Hymns, p. 217, No. ii. v. 5.

*They, too, their willing heads shall bow ;
They, too, the prize shall gain.*

Omitted from *Methodist Hymn-Book*, 1904

Monday the 31st and the following days I visited the societies near London.

NOV. 4, *Fri.*—In the afternoon John Downes¹ (who had preached with us many years) was saying, 'I feel such a love to the people at West Street that I could be content to die with them. I do not find myself very well, but I must be with them this evening.' He went thither, and began preaching on 'Come unto Me, ye that are weary and heavy-laden.' After speaking ten or twelve minutes he sank down, and spake no more till his spirit returned to God.

I suppose he was by nature full as great a genius as Sir Isaac Newton. I will mention but two or three instances of it. When he was at school, learning algebra, he came one day to his master and said, 'Sir, I can prove this proposition a better way than it is proved in the book.' His master thought it could not be, but, upon trial, acknowledged it to be so. Some time after, his father sent him to Newcastle with a clock, which was to be mended. He observed the clockmaker's tools and the manner how he took it in pieces and put it together again, and, when he came home, first made himself tools, and then made a clock, which went as true as any in the town. I suppose such strength of genius as this has scarce been known in Europe before.

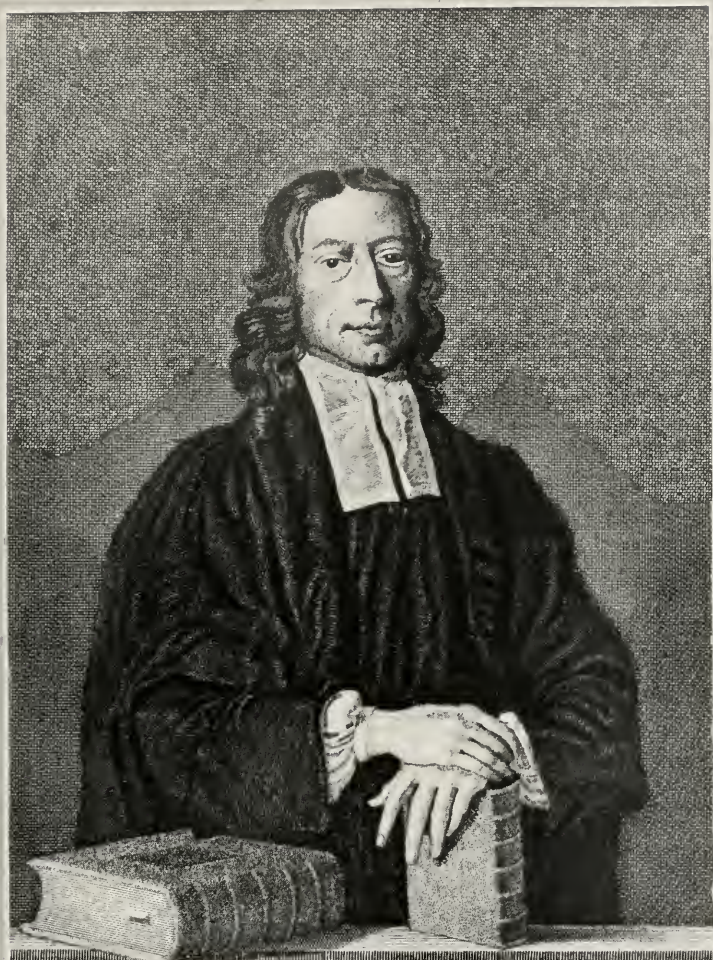
Another proof of it was this: Thirty years ago, while I was shaving, he was whittling the top of a stick. I asked, 'What are you doing?' He answered, 'I am taking your face, which I intend to engrave on a copper-plate.' Accordingly, without any instruction, he first made himself tools and then engraved the plate. The second picture² which he engraved was that which was prefixed to the *Notes upon the New Testament*. Such another instance, I suppose, not all England, or perhaps Europe, can produce.

For several months past he had far deeper communion with God than ever he had had in his life, and for some days he had

¹ See above, vol. iii. pp. 81, 135, 236. Charles Wesley wrote an account of the death of Downes, which is inserted in Atmore's *Methodist Memorial*, p. 109. His widow (formerly Miss Furlly), who had but one sixpence in the world at the moment of his death, was afterwards

befriended by the Countess of Huntingdon.

² Engraved from Williams's portrait (1742), and shows remarkable fidelity to the original (Green's *Bibliography*, No. 172, note). This appeared in the first quarto edition, 1755.



John Wesley, A. M.

PORTRAIT OF WESLEY BY JOHN DOWNES

been frequently saying, 'I am so happy that I scarce know how to live. I enjoy such fellowship with God as I thought could not be had on this side heaven.' And, having now finished his course of fifty-two years, after a long conflict with pain, sickness, and poverty, he gloriously rested from his labours and entered into the joy of his Lord.

Tues. 8.—I baptized two young women, one of whom found a deep sense of the presence of God in His ordinance; the other received a full assurance of His pardoning love and was filled with joy unspeakable.

Sun. 13.—After a day of much labour, at my usual time (half-hour past nine) I lay down to rest. I told my servants, 'I must rise at three, the Norwich coach setting out at four.' Hearing one of them knock, though sooner than I expected, I rose and dressed myself; but afterwards, looking at my watch, I found it was but half-hour past ten. While I was considering what to do I heard a confused sound of many voices below, and, looking out at the window towards the yard, I saw it was as light as day. Meantime, many large flakes of fire were continually flying about the house, all the upper part of which was built of wood, which was near as dry as tinder. A large deal-yard,¹ at a very small distance from us, was all in a light fire, from which the north-west wind drove the flames directly upon the Foundry; and there was no probability of help, for no water could be found. Perceiving I could be of no use, I took my diary² and my papers and retired to a friend's house. I had no fear, committing the matter into God's hands and knowing He would do whatever was best. Immediately the wind turned about from north-west to south-east, and our pump supplied the engines with abundance of water, so that in a little more than two hours all the danger was over.

Mon. 14.—In the evening I preached at Bury [St. Edmunds]; *Tuesday* the 15th, about one, at Loddon, to a people the most athirst for God of any I found in the county. In the afternoon I went on to Yarmouth. When was 'confusion worse confounded'? Division after division has torn the once flourishing

¹ It has been surmised that this was Mr. Tooth's yard in Worship Street; but apparently the direction of the

wind, N.W., does not favour this theory.

² This diary has not yet been discovered.

society all in pieces.¹ In order to heal the breach in some measure, I enforced those deep words, 'Though I have all knowledge and all faith, so as to remove mountains, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing.' One of our former leaders, being asked what he thought of this, frankly answered, 'It is damnable doctrine.'

Thur. 17.—About noon I preached at Lowestoft, where the little flock are remarkably lively. The evening congregation at Yarmouth was all attention; and truly the power of God was present to heal them.

In the evening I returned to Norwich. Never was a poor society so neglected as this has been for the year past. The morning preaching was at an end; the bands suffered all to fall in pieces; and no care at all taken of the classes, so that whether they met or not, it was all one; going to church and sacrament were forgotten, and the people rambled hither and thither as they listed.

On *Friday* evening I met the society, and told them plain I was resolved to have a regular society or none. I then read the rules, and desired every one to consider whether he was willing to walk by these rules or no. Those in particular, of meeting their class every week, unless hindered by distance or sickness (the only reasons for not meeting which I could allow), and being constant at church and sacrament. I desired those who were so minded to meet me the next night, and the rest to stay away. The next night we had far the greater part, on whom I strongly enforced the same thing.

Sun. 20.—I spoke to every leader concerning every one under his care, and put out every person whom they could not recommend to me. After this was done, out of two hundred and four members, one hundred and seventy-four remained. And these points shall be carried, if only fifty remain in the society.

Mon. 21.—I examined the society at Loddon. There are near fifty of them, simple and teachable, all of one mind, and many of them able to rejoice in God their Saviour.

¹ John Simpson had recently embraced Antinomian principles and divided the society, only eight persons being left

(*Methodism in Yarmouth*, by A. Watmough, 1825, p. 61). For Loddon see *Meth. Rec.* Aug. 29, 1907.

Tues. 22.—I took a solemn and affectionate leave of the society at Norwich. About twelve we took coach. About eight, *Wednesday* the 23rd, Mr. Dancer met me with a chaise, and carried me to Ely. Oh what want of common sense! Water covered the high-road for a mile and a half. I asked, ‘How must foot-people come to the town?’ ‘Why, they must wade through.’¹

About two I preached in a house well filled with plain, loving people. I then took a walk to the cathedral, one of the most beautiful I have seen. The western tower² is exceeding grand, and the nave of an amazing height. Hence we went through a fruitful and pleasant country, though surrounded with fens, to Sutton. Here many people had lately been stirred up: they had prepared a large barn. At six o’clock it was well filled, and it seemed as if God sent a message to every soul. The next morning and evening, though the weather was uncommonly severe, the congregation increased rather than diminished.

Fri. 25.—I left them in much hope that they will continue in this earnest, simple love.

I set out between eight and nine in a one-horse chaise, the wind being high and cold enough. Much snow lay on the ground, and much fell as we crept along over the fen-banks.

Honest Mr. Tubbs would needs walk and lead the horse through water and mud up to his mid-leg, smiling and saying, ‘We fen-men do not mind a little dirt.’ When we had gone about four miles, the road would not admit of a chaise. So I borrowed a horse and rode forward; but not far, for all the grounds were under water. Here, therefore, I procured a boat full twice as large as a kneading-trough. I was at one end, and a boy at the other, who paddled me safe to Earith. There Miss L—— waited for me with another chaise, which brought me to St. Ives.³

¹ For this country see Macaulay’s passage on the ‘wading’ of the mutineers in the time of William III (1689). *History of England*, chap. xi. p. 675, ed. 1877.

² This tower, 270 feet high, was built by Bishop Rydel between 1174 and

1189. The nave is 104 feet in height

³ Elizabeth Asplin, who died April 20, 1826, aged seventy-three, was the first to open her door to Methodist preaching in St. Ives. William Jenkins was the preacher. (*Meth. Mag.* 1826, p. 140.)

No Methodist, I was told, had preached in this town : so I thought it high time to begin ; and about one I preached to a very well-dressed and yet well-behaved congregation. Thence my new friend¹ (how long will she be such ?) carried me to Godmanchester, near Huntingdon. A large barn was ready, in which Mr. Berridge and Mr. Venn used to preach. And, though the weather was still severe, it was well filled with deeply attentive people.

Sat. 26.—I set out early, and in the evening reached London.

Mon. 28.—I paid a visit to the amiable family at Shoreham, and found the work of God there still increasing.² *Wednesday* the 30th I crossed over to Reigate, and had a larger congregation than ever before.

DEC. 1, Thur.—I preached at Dorking, and was much pleased with the congregation, who seemed to 'taste the good word.' *Friday* the 2nd I returned to London.

Mon. 5.—I preached at Canterbury, and *Tuesday* the 6th at Dover. As I was setting out thence on *Wednesday* morning, a wagon, jostling us, disabled our chaise. Our coachman went back to procure another, saying he would soon overtake us. He did so after we had walked nine or ten miles, and brought us safe to Canterbury, where I spent a day or two with much satisfaction, and on *Saturday* returned home.

¹ Mrs. Webster (formerly Sarah Reeve) was converted under Mr. Berridge. For many years she enjoyed his ministry and that of Venn, and Hicks of Wrestlingworth. She fitted up a barn near her house at Godmanchester in which the services were held. The barn was pulled down about the time when the present chapel was erected. When these evangelical ministers embraced the doctrines of unconditional election and reprobation, their preaching no longer pleased her. Hearing that Wesley was preaching in Bedford, she walked over, heard him, and invited him to Godmanchester. The introduction of Methodism to Huntingdonshire arose out of this visit. Pious people from St. Neots heard Wesley in

the barn. They went home and began a preaching-service, also in a barn. In 1794 a chapel was built at St. Neots, the Huntingdon chapel in 1779, and St. Ives in 1792. Wesley again visited Godmanchester on Jan. 12, 1775. For forty years Sarah Webster, Wesley's 'new friend,' claved to Methodism, and at her burying there was a great mourning. See *Meth. Mag.* 1818, p. 446; *W.M. Mag.* 1881, pp. 585-92; *Meth. Rec.* Jan. 25, 1912.

² On Nov. 29 he wrote to Miss Sally James, in St. James Barton, Bristol (see *Church Record*, 1896, p. 43); on the same day to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 54); and the next day to 'A Member of Society' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 297).

Mon. 12.—I opened the new house at Sevenoaks.¹

Tues. 13.—About noon I preached at Newbounds,² and in the evening at Sevenoaks again, where our labour has not been in vain.

Wed. 14.—I rode to Chatham, and found that James Wood, one of our local preachers, who, being in a deep consumption, had been advised to spend some time in France, had come back thither two or three days before me. The day after he came he slept in peace; and, two days after, his body was interred, all our brethren singing him to the grave and praising God on his behalf.³ I preached his funeral sermon to a crowded audience, on the text which he had chosen: 'Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!'

Monday the 19th, and the following days, I read with the preachers what I judged most useful; and we endeavoured to 'provoke one another to love and to good works.'

Thur. 22.—I walked, with one that belongs to the family, through the Queen's House.⁴ The apartments are nothing so rich as those in Blenheim House, but full as elegant. Nor is anything in Blenheim itself more grand than the staircase and the saloon. But I was quite disappointed in the Cartoons. They are but the shadow of what they were; the colours are so entirely faded that you can hardly distinguish what they were once.

Sun. 25.—I buried the body of Esther Grimaldi,⁵ who died in

¹ See above, vol. iii. p. 265.

² See above, vol. iv. p. 486.

³ It was customary in early Methodist times to sing members of society to the grave. Charles Wesley's 'Funeral Hymns' were many of them processional, especially when sung to the old tunes provided for the purpose. Words and music were triumphant. See above, vol. iv. p. 532, for an earlier instance of this custom.

⁴ Purchased in 1761 from the Duke of Buckingham, and bestowed on her Majesty. Pope greatly admired the house, which was built in 1703; and Johnson was proud to talk of his interview with royalty in the Queen's House; see *Old and New London*, vol. iv. p. 64. The building was pulled down in 1825, and

the present Buckingham Palace erected on its site. It was the Duke of Buckingham who gave the nomination to John Wesley, 'the son of Dr. Wesley, my chaplain,' to be a poor scholar of Sutton's Hospital.

⁵ Two brothers, Alexander and Charles Grimaldi, of London, aged respectively twenty-one and nineteen, sailed with Oglethorpe and the Wesleys to Georgia in 1735. Both were in the service of Oglethorpe, Charles probably acting as interpreter. According to Wesley's diary it was Al[exander] Grim[aldi] who displeased the General, and was saved from punishment on Wesley's intercession. See above, vol. i. p. 137; Coke and Moore's *Life of Wesley*, p. 91. Charles settled in Savannah. Alexander

the full triumph of faith. 'A mother in Israel' hast thou been, and thy 'works shall praise thee in the gates'! During the twelve festival days we had the Lord's Supper daily; a little emblem of the Primitive Church. May we be followers of them in all things, as they were of Christ!¹

1775. JAN. 1, *Sun.*—We had a larger congregation at the renewal of the Covenant than we have had for many years; and I do not know that ever we had a greater blessing. Afterwards many desired to return thanks, either for a sense of pardon, for full salvation, or for a fresh manifestation of His grace, healing all their backslidings.

Tues. 10.—I set out for Bedfordshire, and in the evening preached at Luton.

Wed. 11.²—I crept on through a miserable road to Bedford, but was well rewarded by the behaviour of the congregation.

returned to London in 1736. In 1746 he married Esther Barton of Gloucester, who was greatly esteemed by Wesley. She died in London, December 18, 1774, and was buried in Bunhill Fields. In 1827 her son, William Grimaldi, A.R., painted an enamel miniature of Wesley, which he presented to the Wesleyan Missionary Society two years later (see *W.M. Mag.* 1830, p. 207). William Grimaldi grew up under his mother's influence with a deep reverence for the memory of John Wesley. He was an active member of the society to the end of his life, living at 26 Clifton Street, near Finsbury Square, City Road. The following note in his handwriting is of interest: 'Concerning the picture of Mr. John Wesley. The original was painted by Mr. Romney for a Mrs. T[fighe] of C., 1789, as mentioned by Wesley in the sixth volume of his Journals, p. 181.' It was badly engraved by Mr. Spilsbury. On the back of the miniature is an inscription: 'Rev. John Wesley, M.A., in enamel by William Grimaldi, Esq., enamel painter to His Majesty George IV. After a miniature painted by the same artist in the life-time of

Mr. Wesley, 1788. He being a member of the society at twelve years has painted this in his seventy-eighth year, and most humbly presents it to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1829.

Here the corroding hand of time is stayed,
It has no power for to destroy.'

See Bryan's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*; also an article by Dr. Hoole, *W.M. Mag.* 1866, p. 46, in which, incidentally, Dr. Hoole, on the authority of many who knew Wesley, describes his personal appearance in old age, and vouches for the fact that 'his general appearance answered to the enamelled miniature by Grimaldi copied for the Mission House from one taken by the artist himself.' See also below, June 25, 1789.

¹ On Dec. 27 he wrote to 'A Member of Society,' on the next day to Charles Perronet and Miss Briggs, on the 29th to Miss Pywell, and on the 30th to Mrs. Barton (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 298, 460, 462, 365, 379).

² He wrote from Luton to Miss Chapman (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 89); and the same day to Mr. Woolf (*Meth. Rec.* Jan. 20, 1898).

Thur. 12.—We crossed over the country to Godmanchester. The whole town seemed to be moved. The people flocked together from all parts, so that the barn would in nowise contain them. I found great liberty of speech among them, and could not doubt but God would confirm the word of His messenger.

Fri. 13.—Even at poor, dead Hertford was such a concourse of people that the room would not near contain them. And most of them were deeply attentive while I explained these awful words, ‘I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God.’¹

Sun. 29.—Finding many were much dejected by the threatening posture of public affairs,² I strongly enforced our Lord’s words, ‘Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?’ And of a truth God spoke in His word. Many were ashamed of their unbelieving fears, and many enabled to ‘be careful for nothing,’ but simply to ‘make’ all their ‘requests known unto God with thanksgiving.’³

FEB. 5, *Sun.*—I saw a glorious instance of the power of faith. Thomas Vokins, a man of a sorrowful spirit, used always to hang down his head like a bulrush; but a few days since, as he was dying without hope, God broke in upon his soul; and from that time he has been triumphing over pain and death, and rejoicing with joy full of glory.⁴

Wed. 8.—I had a particular conversation with Mr. Ferguson⁵ on some difficulties in philosophy. He seemed thoroughly satisfied himself; but he did not satisfy me. I still think both

¹ On Jan. 17 he wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 55).

² The ‘Declaration of Rights’ had been drawn up at Philadelphia. The war with America began two months later. See below, Nov. 11.

³ On Feb. 1 he wrote to Christopher Hopper (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 314).

⁴ On Feb. 5 Wesley wrote to Peter Böhler. On Feb. 13 Böhler replied in affectionate terms. Wesley again wrote to his old friend on the 18th (*W.M. Mag.* 1854, p. 691). On the 27th of the following April, Böhler peacefully died in London (Tyerman’s *Wesley*, vol. iii.

p. 201; and *W.M. Mag.* 1912, p. 701).

⁵ James Ferguson, F.R.S., the astronomer (1710–76). See Ferguson’s *Life*, written by himself as a Preface to his *Select Medical Exercises*. John Kennedy, his friend (1698–1782), published in 1775 *Explanation and Proof of the complete system of Astronomical Chronology, unfolding the Scriptures*; in which the Truth and Reality of the Original Luni-Solar Radix is clearly and fully ascertained; In a series of letters addressed to James Ferguson.’ To these Ferguson replied in two letters. For William Jones of Nayland and his *Essay* see above, vol. v. p. 149.

Mr. Kennedy¹ and Mr. Jones have fully proved their several points.²

Wed. 22.—I had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Gordon's curious garden at Mile End,³ the like of which I suppose is hardly to be found in England, if in Europe. One thing in particular I learned here, the real nature of the tea-tree. I was informed (1) that the Green and the Bohea are of quite different species; (2) that the Bohea is much tenderer than the Green; (3) that the Green is an evergreen; and bears, not only in the open air, but in the frost, perfectly well; (4) that the herb of Paraguay likewise bears the frost, and is a species of tea; (5) and I observed that they are all species of bay or laurel. The leaf of Green tea is both of the colour, shape, and size of a bay leaf; that of Bohea is smaller, softer, and of a darker colour. So is the herb of Paraguay,⁴ which is of a dirty green, and no larger than our common red sage.

MARCH 1⁵ (being *Ash Wednesday*).—I took a solemn leave of our friends at London; and on *Thursday* the 2nd met our brethren at Reading. A few were awakened, and perhaps converted here, by the ministry of Mr. Talbot⁶; but as he did not take any account of them, or join them together, we found no trace of them remaining. A large room was presently filled, and all the spaces adjoining. And I have hardly ever seen a people who seemed more eager to hear.

Fri. 3.—The mild weather changed into cold and blustering,

¹ See a letter from Rev. John Kennedy to Wesley dated Everton-Biggleswade, Feb. 20, 1779, published in *Arm. Mag.* 1789, p. 274. He speaks of his 'present circuit,' and says, 'I have as much Calvinism as I had a year ago, and that is not one-millionth part of a scruple. I hope to live and die in connexion with the Methodists.'

² On Feb. 11 he wrote to 'A Member of Society' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 299).

³ See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 60.

⁴ The *mate*, or *yerba de mate*, or dried leaves of the *Ilex Paraguayensis*, of the same natural order as the holly, was long used as tea by the Indians. It was first cultivated by Jesuit missionaries.

⁵ He wrote to T. Rankin and to the preachers (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 324).

⁶ The Rev. William Talbot, LL.D., was a member of an aristocratic family, son of Major-General Talbot, grandson of the Bishop of Durham, and nephew of Lord Chancellor Talbot. In 1767 he succeeded the vicar of St. Giles, Reading. He was an able preacher, and remarkable for the gift of prayer. He died on March 2, 1774. In the *Life of Sir Richard Hill*, p. 528, is a most favourable notice of this saintly man; see also *Life of C. of Huntingdon* (vol. ii. p. 396). Mr. Talbot was one of the evangelical clergymen to whom Wesley wrote in April 1764.

with heavy showers of rain ; notwithstanding which we had a very large congregation at Ramsbury Park.¹

Sat. 4.—At noon I preached to a still larger congregation in the new house at Seend. In the afternoon I went on to Bristol ; whence, on *Monday* the 13th, I set out for Ireland.

Tues. 14.—At noon I preached in Tewkesbury, now the liveliest place in the circuit. Many here have been lately convinced of sin, and many converted to God. Some have been made partakers of the great salvation, and their love and zeal have stirred up others. So that the flame now spreads wider and wider. Oh let none be able to quench it !

In the evening I preached at Worcester. Here also the flame is gradually increasing. While I was here, there was a very extraordinary trial at the assizes. A boy, being beaten by his master, ran away ; and, wandering about till he was half-starved, was then allowed to lie in the hay-loft of an inn. In the night he stole into the room where two gentlemen lay (probably not very sober) ; and, without waking them, picked the money out of both their pockets ; though their breeches lay under their head. In the morning, having confessed the fact, he was committed to jail. He made no defence : so one of the counsellors rose up, and said, ‘ My lord, as there is none to plead for this poor boy, I will do it myself.’ He did so, and then added, ‘ My Lord, it may be this bad boy may make a good man. And I humbly conceive it might be best to send him back to his master. I will give him a guinea towards his expenses.’ ‘ And I will give him another,’ said the Judge. Which he did, with a mild and serious reproof. So he was sent back full of good resolutions.²

*Fri. 17.*³—In the evening, though it was cold, I was obliged to preach abroad at Newcastle [under-Lyme]. One buffoon laboured much to interrupt ; but, as he was bawling, with his mouth wide open, some arch boys gave him such a mouthful of dirt as quite satisfied him.

On *Saturday* and *Sunday* I preached at Congleton and Macclesfield ; *Monday* the 20th at Stockport and Manchester.

¹ ‘ A sweet place and agreeable family.’
See *Arm. Mag.* 1784, p. 304.

² On March 15 he wrote to Miss

Patty Chapman (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 89).

³ He wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Memoirs of Mrs. Mortimer*, p. 64).

Tues. 21.—I preached at Knutsford; but the house would by no means contain the congregation. The street, too, was filled; and even those which could not hear were silent. This is uncommon, especially in a town little accustomed to this strange way of preaching, those who cannot hear themselves usually taking care to hinder others from hearing.

In the evening I opened the new house at Northwich,¹ which was sufficiently crowded both this night and the next. After preaching at many places in the way, on *Saturday* the 25th I came to Liverpool. The congregations here, both morning and evening, were so large, and so deeply attentive, that I could not be sorry for the contrary winds, which detained us till *Thursday* the 30th, when we went on board the *Hawk*. We were scarce out of the river when the wind turned against us, and blew harder and harder. A rolling sea made my companions sick enough. But so fine a ship I never sailed in before. She never shipped one sea, and went more steady than I thought was possible. On *Friday* morning it blew hard; but the next day we had a fair, small wind. So about six, on *Sunday*, APRIL 2, we landed at Dunleary²; and between nine and ten reached Whitefriar Street.³

On *Monday* and *Tuesday* I examined the society, in which, two years ago, there were three hundred and seventy-six persons. And I found three hundred and seventy-six still, not one more or less. But I found more peace and love among them than I had done for many years.⁴

Thur. 6.—I visited that venerable man, Dr. Rutty,⁵ just

¹ One of the earliest members at Northwich was George Kinsey. He heard the first Methodist sermon preached at Gadsbrook, whence the society was removed to Northwich, where it passed through fierce persecutions. See *W.M. Mag.* 1830, p. 857. Bradburn, it is said, begged money for the building of the new house. In an article on Northwich Methodism (*Meth. Rec.* Oct. 22, 1908) it is stated that Daniel Barker, of Little Leigh, gave £300 towards its erection. For Barker see below, pp. 143, 227.

² The name was changed to Kings-

town in the reign of George IV to commemorate his Majesty's landing there on his visit to Ireland.

³ Here he was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. William Smyth. See *Memorable Women*, pp. 104–115.

⁴ On April 5 he wrote from Dublin to Miss Chapman (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 90).

⁵ The famous physician, who died three weeks after Wesley's visit. He was held in high repute not only for his professional skill, but as a writer, a naturalist, a highly spiritual member of the Society of Friends. When Christopher Hopper was ill in Ireland 'that venerable

tottering over the grave ; but still clear in his understanding, full of faith and love, and patiently waiting till his change should come.¹ Afterwards I waited on Lady Moira,² and was surprised to observe, though not a more grand, yet a far more elegant room, than any I ever saw in England. It was an octagon, about twenty feet square and fifteen or sixteen high ; having one window (the sides of it inlaid throughout with mother-of-pearl), reaching from the top of the room to the bottom. The ceiling, sides, and furniture of the room were equally elegant. And must this too pass away like a dream !³

Sun. 9.—The good old Dean of St. Patrick's⁴ desired me to come within the rails and assist him at the Lord's Supper. This also was a means of removing much prejudice from those who were zealous for the Church.

Mon. 10.—Leaving just four hundred members in the society, I began my tour through the kingdom. I preached at Edenderry in the evening ; on *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* at Tyrrell's Pass.

Thur. 13.—Sending my chaise straight to Athlone, I rode to Mullingar, and thence, through miserable roads, to Longford. A large number of people attended the preaching, both in the evening and at eight in the morning, being *Good Friday*. But I found very little of the spirit which was here two years ago. About eleven I preached at Loughan, and in the evening at Athlone. On *Easter Day* I would willingly have preached abroad, but the weather would not permit.

Mon. 17.—I preached at Aughrim, and *Tuesday* noon at Eyre Court.⁵ Afterwards I was desired to walk down to Lord Eyre's. I was a little surprised at the inscription over the door, 'Welcome to the house of liberty.' Does it mean liberty from

and wise physician attended him faithfully without fee or reward.' When Wesley visited him he was living on the drawing-room floor of the house still standing at the eastern corner of East Arran Street and Mary's Lane (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 72 ; vol. vii. p. 53 ; and above, vol. iii. pp. 348, 396).

¹ He died April 27, 1775.

² The daughter of the Countess of Huntingdon.

³ Moira House now houses the Institution for the Suppression of Mendicancy in Dublin. The handsome gardens are covered with offices, and the building itself is adapted for the reception of paupers. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 72.

⁴ Dean Francis Corbett, one of 'Stella's' executors, died Aug. 25, 1775 (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 72).

⁵ See above, vol. iv. p. 396.

sin? It is a noble old house. The staircase is grand, and so are two or three of the rooms. In the rest of the house, as well as in the ruinous outhouses, gardens, and fish-ponds, the owner seemed to say to every beholder, 'All this profiteth me nothing!'

I preached in the evening at Birr, with a good hope that God would at length revive His work.

Wed. 19.—About noon I preached in the market-place at Clare.¹ It was the market-day; but that did not lessen the congregation. The poor people eagerly flocked from the market, and there was no buying or selling till I concluded.

After preaching at Coolalough, Tullamore, and Portarlinton² (still 'unstable as water'), on *Saturday* the 22nd I found at Mountmellick a little company who appeared to be better established. I spent *Saturday* and *Sunday* comfortably among them, building them up in our most holy faith.

Mon. 24.—The minister of Maryborough³ inviting me to preach in his church, I began reading prayers about nine, and afterwards preached to a numerous congregation. For the present, every one seemed affected. Will not some bring forth fruit with patience?

In the evening I was scandalized both at the smallness and deadness of the congregation at Kilkenny. The next evening it was a little mended, but not much. Of all the dull congregations I have seen, this was the dullest.

Wed. 26.—I went on to Waterford, where the rain drove us into the preaching-house—the most foul, horrid, miserable hole which I have seen since I left England. The next day I got into the open air, and a large congregation attended. I had designed to set out early in the morning; but, doubting if I

¹ He was the guest of Mr. Andrew Armstrong, J.P., son-in-law of Samuel Simpson of Oatfield. See above, vol. iii. p. 469. A terrible story of persecution told in the *Journal* of Mr. Hall (*Arm. Mag.* 1793, p. 400) is said to refer to Mr. Andrew Armstrong, who was mortified that he could not prevail on his wife and daughter to desist from hearing the Methodists, and hired twenty-four Papists to waylay the preacher, strip,

beat, and half drown him. The heroic and entirely satisfactory sequel, so far as Mrs. Armstrong and her daughter were concerned, is told in the same volume, p. 455. See also above, vol. v. p. 416.

² On April 21 he wrote from Portarlinton to T. Rankin, advising that Asbury should return home without delay—advice which, happily, was not followed (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 325).

³ Mr. Jenkins. See below, p. 185.

should ever have such another opportunity (the major of the Highland Regiment standing behind me, with several of his officers, many of the soldiers before me, and the sentinel at the entrance of the court), I gave notice of preaching at ten the next morning and at four in the afternoon. I did so to a well-behaved congregation, and in the evening went on to Carrick[-on-Suir].

Sat. 29.—Early in the evening we reached Rathcormack,¹ but found the inn filled with officers. It is true they were but five, and there were seven beds; but they had bespoke all, and would not spare us one! So we were obliged to go some miles farther. We drove this day just three score (English) miles.

Sun. 30.—I came to Cork time enough to preach. The congregation was not small, and it was not large; but it was very large in George Street at four in the afternoon, as well as deeply attentive. At six I preached in the room, and could not but observe such singing as I have seldom heard in England. The women, in particular, sang so exactly that it seemed but one voice.

MAY 1, *Mon.*—I examined the society, and found it in such order, so increased both in grace and number, as I apprehend it had not been before since the time of William Penington.²

Wed. 3.—I rode to Bandon and preached in the main street to a very numerous congregation. All behaved well, except three or four pretty gentlemen, who seemed to know just nothing of the matter.

I found this society likewise much established in grace, and greatly increased in number. So has God blessed the labours of two plain men,³ who put forth all their strength in His work.

Sat. 6.—I returned to Cork, and in the evening preached at Blackpool. It rained a little all the time I was preaching, but the people regarded it not.

Sun. 7.—I was desired to preach on 1 John v. 7⁴: 'There

¹ Eleven days after the death of his old but faithless friend, the Rev. R. Lloyd. See above, vol. iii. p. 476; and, for the sequel, Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 79.

² See above, vol. v. p. 107, also Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 314.

³ John Bristol and George Snowden.

⁴ The sermon was published in Dublin, and afterwards in London, 1776, 1782 and 1784. It is inserted in *Sermons on Several Occasions*, vol. v. (published in 1788); *Works*, vol. vi. p. 199. In an advertisement (dated May 8), Wesley says that he

are three that bear record in heaven.' The congregation was exceeding large, but abundantly larger in the evening. I never saw the house so crowded before. It was much the same the next evening.

Tues. 9.—I preached my farewell sermon in the afternoon; and, going to Mallow in the evening, went on the next day to Limerick.

Sat. 13.—I preached to a large congregation of Papists and Protestants in the yard of the Custom House, where many could hear within as well as without.

Mon. 15.—Having waited for a chaise to go to Ballingarrane as long as I could, I at length set out on horseback; but, T. Wride loitering behind, I might as well have spared my pains, for, though I came to the town at the time appointed, I could find neither man, woman, nor child to direct me to the preaching-house. After gaping and staring some time, I judged it best to go to Newmarket, where I was to preach in the evening. I began about six. The congregation was deeply serious, great part of whom came again at five in the morning. And, were it only for this opportunity, I did not regret my labour.

Wed. 17.—I examined the society at Limerick, containing now a hundred and one persons, seven less than they were two years ago. I a little wonder at this, considering the scandal of the cross is wellnigh ceased here, through the wise and steady behaviour of our brethren. But they want zeal; they are not fervent in spirit; therefore, they cannot increase.

Thur. 18.—In the evening I preached at Galway, in the county court-house, to a more civil and attentive congregation than I ever saw there before.

*Fri. 19.*¹—About one I preached at Ballinrobe, in the assembly-room, and was agreeably surprised, both at the unusual number and seriousness of the hearers. I had purposed to go on to Castlebar, but now thought it might be worth while to stay a little longer. In the afternoon I took a view of the

had been desired to preach on the text, that on the previous day he had done so, and was pressed to write down and print the sermon if possible before leaving Cork.

He adds, 'I have wrote it this morning.'

¹ He wrote to T. Rankin, and the same day to James Dempster (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 326, 330).

castle. Colonel Cuffe's father took great delight in this place, laid out beautiful gardens, and procured trees of all sorts, from all parts of the kingdom. Part of these, placed on the slope of the hill (at the side of which runs the river), form a lovely wilderness, at the end whereof are regular rows of elms. But the colonel has no pleasure therein. So all is now swiftly running to ruin.

I preached again at six to a large congregation, and the next evening at Castlebar.

Mon. 22.—I spent two or three hours in one of the loveliest places, and with one of the loveliest families,¹ in the kingdom. Almost all I heard put me in mind of those beautiful lines of Prior :

The nymph did like the scene appear,
Serenely pleasant, calmly fair ;
Soft fell her words, as flew the air.²

How willingly could I have accepted the invitation to spend a few days here ! Nay, at present I must be about my Father's business ; but I trust to meet them in a still lovelier place.

Between Limerick and Castlebar I read over the famous controversy³ between Drs. Clarke⁴ and Leibnitz. And is this he⁵ whom the King of Prussia extols, as something more than human ? So poor a writer have I seldom read, either as to sentiments or temper. In sentiment he is a thorough fatalist, maintaining roundly, and without reserve, that God has absolutely decreed from all eternity whatever is done in time ; and that no creature can do more good, or less evil, than God has peremptorily decreed. And his temper is just suitable to his sentiments. He is haughty, self-conceited, sour, impatient of contradiction, and holds his opponent in utter contempt ; though, in truth, he is but a child in his hands.

Wed. 24.—I reached Sligo.* My old friend, Andrew Maiben, did not own me.⁶ However, a few did ; to whom, with a toler-

¹ The Browns, at Rahans, or Raheens. See above, vol. v. p. 414.

² *The Lady's Looking-Glass* (Prior), altered. Cf. vol. v. p. 414, where the lines appear to be quoted with a reference to the same persons and the same place. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 120.

³ See Stephen's *English Thought in*

the Eighteenth Century, chap. ii., and Hunt's *Religious Thought in England*, vol. iii. pp. 114, 174, 320.

⁴ Voltaire called Dr. Samuel Clarke 'a reasoning machine.'

⁵ Leibnitz.

⁶ He had entertained Wesley in 1767, but had become a Calvinist.

able congregation, I preached at six in the barracks. The next evening I preached in the market-house to a far larger congregation. We seem, by all the late bustle and confusion, to have lost nothing. Here is a little company as much alive to God, and more united together than ever.¹

Fri. 26.—I preached at Manorhamilton, and the next evening near the bridge at Swanlinbar. Knowing a large part of the congregation to have ‘tasted of the powers of the world to come,’ I spoke on the glory that shall be revealed; and all seemed deeply affected, except a few gentry, so called, who seemed to understand nothing of the matter.

Sun. 28.—I preached at ten to a far larger congregation, on ‘God now commandeth all men everywhere to repent’; and, after church, to a still greater multitude, on ‘It is appointed unto men once to die.’

*Mon. 29.*²—Being desired to give them a sermon at Belturbet, about eight I preached in the town hall. It was not in vain. God opened, as it were, the windows of heaven, and showered His blessing down.

I called afterwards at Ballyhaise, and spent an hour with that venerable old man, Colonel Newburgh. It does me good to converse with those who have just finished their course, and are quivering over the great gulf. Thence I went on to Clones³—that is its proper name; not Clownish, as it is vulgarly called. It is a pleasant town, finely situated on a rising ground, in the midst of fruitful hills, and has a larger market-place than any I have seen in England, not excepting Norwich or Yarmouth. At six I preached in the old Danish fort,⁴ to the largest congregation I have had in the kingdom. The next

¹ Wesley's visit was followed shortly by the erection of a small thatched chapel in Bridge Street; see Crookshank's *Meth. in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 296.

² He wrote from Clones to Miss Bosanquet (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 405).

³ See *W.M. Mag.* 1914, p. 228. The ancient name is Cluan-eos, still pronounced in old Irish Clown-eesh. He was entertained here by Richard Kelso.

⁴ It may be seen from the railway. It is not Danish in origin, but much older,

dating back into the dim past when the Firbolgs, who were the great mound-builders of antiquity, took possession of the island. The ‘Raths’ of Ireland, of which this is one, are huge circular mounds, fortified at the top with an earthen bank, and with several fosses running around their sloping sides, the whole completed with a moat around their base (*W.M. Mag.* 1914, p. 228). Wesley preached again on four occasions with this ‘Rath’ as a pulpit.

morning I preached to a great part of them again ; and again the word sank 'as the rain into the tender herb.' I preached at Roosky at noon, and Sidaire in the evening.

Wed. 31.—I hobbled on, through a miserable road, as far as wheels could pass, and then rode on to Lisleen. After dinner, we hastened to Dergbridge,¹ and found a large congregation waiting. They appeared, one and all, to be deeply serious. Indeed there is a wonderful reformation spreading throughout this whole country, for several miles around. Outward wickedness is gone ; and many, young and old, witness that the kingdom of God is within them.

JUNE 1, Thur.—I reached Londonderry ; but I had so deep a hoarseness that my voice was almost gone. However, pounded garlick, applied to the soles of my feet, took it away before the morning.²

Sun. 4 (being Whit Sunday).—The Bishop³ preached a judicious, useful sermon on the blasphemy of the Holy Ghost. He is both a good writer and a good speaker ; and he celebrated the Lord's Supper with admirable solemnity.

Hence I hastened to the New Buildings. The sun was intensely hot, as it was on Monday and Tuesday. Six such days together, I was informed, have not been in Ireland for several years.

Mon. 5.—I examined the society, growing in grace, and increased in number from fifty-two to near seventy.

Tues. 6.—The Bishop invited me to dinner ; and told me, 'I know you do not love our hours, and will therefore order dinner to be on the table between two and three o'clock.' We had a piece of boiled beef and an English pudding. This is true good-breeding. The Bishop is entirely easy and unaffected

¹ Now Castlederg.

² On June 2 he wrote from Londonderry to his brother Charles. He was not always well served by book stewards and accountants : 'I thought it strange that poor Samuel Franks should leave me £900 in debt. But it is stranger still that John Atlay should have paid sixteen hundred out of nine, and that I am £160 in debt notwithstanding.' He (Wesley) is depressed by public affairs : 'Just what I

thought at first, I think still of American affairs. If a blow is struck I give America for lost ; and perhaps England too. Our part is to continue instant in prayer.' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 142 ; Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 207 ; and above, p. 4.)

³ Dr. Hervey, brother of Lady Mary Fitzgerald. He succeeded to the Earldom of Bristol in 1779. See above, vol. v. p. 510.

in his whole behaviour, exemplary in all parts of public worship, and plenteous in good works.

Wed. 7.—About noon I preached a few miles from Strabane; in the evening at Lisleen; and the next at Castlecaulfield.¹ In the night the rain came plentifully through the thatch into my lodging-room; but I found no present inconvenience, and was not careful for the morrow.

*Fri. 9.*²—I preached at eight to a numerous congregation in the market-place at Dungannon; at eleven, and at five in the afternoon, in the main street at Charlemont. I lodged at a gentleman's, who showed me a flower which he called a Gummy Cystus. It blooms in the morning, with a large, beautiful, snow-white flower; but every flower dies in the evening. New flowers blow and fall every day. Does not this short-lived flower answer to that short-lived animal, the Ephemeron fly?

Sat. 10.—I preached at nine to a large congregation at Killyman. The rain began as soon as I concluded; but it ceased time enough for me to preach in Mr. M'Geough's avenue at Armagh.

Sun. 11 (being *Trinity Sunday*).—I preached at nine on 'So God created man in His own image,' and in the evening to a huge congregation; but I could not find the way to their hearts.

Mon. 12.—Having taken a solemn leave of Armagh, about eleven I preached at Blackwater[town]; and in the evening at Clonmain, where many seemed cut to the heart. Oh, why should they heal the wound slightly!

*Tues. 13.*³—I was not very well in the morning, but sup-

¹ Mary Rice, formerly a member here, had this year invited preachers to Dungannon. See Crookshank's *Meth. in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 297.

² He wrote to 'A Member of Society' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 300).

³ He wrote to T. Rankin (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 327). The interval between the 13th and 16th was largely occupied with the affairs of America. Both there and in England there was, among the Methodists as among other classes, intense excitement, to allay or direct which Wesley wrote letters and tracts. The documents at present known are:

1. A letter to the preachers in America enjoining the duties of peacemakers; many letters to Rankin and other preachers in America which will be found in the new edition of the *Wesley Letters*. 2. The important letter to Lord North and Lord Dartmouth referred to below; and many letters to persons of high distinction. There is some reason to believe that Wesley had at least one interview with Lord North and Lord Dartmouth. 3. *A Calm Address to the American Colonies*, in which, changing to some extent his former opinions, he adopted the argument of his friend

posed it would soon go off. In the afternoon, the weather being extremely hot, I lay down on the grass in Mr. Locke's¹ orchard at Cockhill. This I had been accustomed to do for forty years, and never remember to have been hurt by it; only I never before lay on my face, in which posture I fell asleep. I waked a little, and but a little, out of order, and preached with ease to a multitude of people. Afterwards I was a good deal worse.

Dr. Johnson, in the pamphlet *Taxation no Tyranny*, which had just been published. The extreme probability is that the publication of the *Calm Address* was with Johnson's consent and not without the cognizance and tacit approval of the Government. It is significant that Johnson not only refrained from taxing Wesley with plagiarism but wrote on Feb. 6, 1776 :

I have thanks to return for the addition of your important suffrage to my argument on the American question. To have gained such a mind as yours may justly confirm me in my own opinions. What effect my paper has had on the public I know not; but I have no reason to be discouraged. The lecturer was surely in the right who, though he saw his audience slinking away, refused to quit the chair while Plato stayed. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1797, p. 455; quoted by Tyerman, vol. iii. p. 186.)

The *Calm Address* produced an unparalleled sensation. In three weeks forty thousand copies were sold. A hurricane of abuse broke upon Wesley's head, through which he quietly pursued his way. Sufficient importance has not been given to the fact that, apparently, the letter to Lord North and Lord Dartmouth was written almost if not coincidentally with the *Calm Address*. Jackson, in his *Recollections of My Own Life and Times*, p. 246, tells how Dr. Clarke came to his pew in the Leeds Conference of 1830, and told him some things which many years before he had received from Wesley, among them the following : That when he published his *Calm Address to the American Colonies*, exhorting them to submission, he sent a private letter to Lord North, then at the head of the Government in England, pressing upon him the necessity of

moderate counsels, assuring his lordship, from what he knew of the Americans, that if matters were driven to an extremity, and war actually began, the Americans would assuredly gain their independence, and that Great Britain would in that case lose some of her most valued colonies. The Doctor said that he possessed a copy of this letter. It is given in the Appendix to the first volume of Dr. George Smith's *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, vol. i. p. 700 (ed. 1859), and will be found to anticipate, to a great extent, the events of the war. The original document, there is reason to believe, is among the Dartmouth Papers. The advice which Wesley voluntarily tendered was not taken, and the results of which he gave warning all ensued. It may be convenient to insert here Dr. Smith's note prefixed to the letter to Lord North :

It appears that Wesley, being greatly impressed with the impropriety and impolicy of the course pursued by the Government, wrote the following letter, a copy of which he sent to Lord North, as Premier, and another to the Earl of Dartmouth as Secretary for the Colonies. The latter still exists in Wesley's handwriting; and the author was offered a sight of this document on his engaging not to publish it. This he respectfully declined; and afterwards fortunately obtained a transcript of the one sent to Lord North, with full liberty to print it.

The letter is printed in full below. App. No. XXVIII. vol. viii.

¹ The great-grandson of Mr. Locke was a circuit steward at Moira in the early part of the twentieth century. Wesley constantly slept out of doors in Georgia. See, for instance, above, vol. i. p. 258.

However, the next day I went on a few miles to The Grange. The table was placed here in such a manner that, all the time I was preaching, a strong and sharp wind blew full on the left side of my head; and it was not without a good deal of difficulty that I made an end of my sermon. I now found a deep obstruction in my breast; my pulse was exceeding weak and low; I shivered with cold, though the air was sultry hot, only now and then burning for a few minutes. I went early to bed, drank a draught of treacle-and-water, and applied treacle to the soles of my feet. I lay till seven on *Thursday* the 15th, and then felt considerably better. But I found near the same obstruction in my breast; I had a low, weak pulse; I burned and shivered by turns; and, if I ventured to cough, it jarred my head exceedingly. In going on to Derryanvil, I wondered what was the matter, that I could not attend to what I was reading—no, not for three minutes together; but my thoughts were perpetually shifting. Yet, all the time I was preaching in the evening (although I stood in the open air, with the wind whistling round my head), my mind was as composed as ever.

Fri. 16.—In going to Lurgan, I was again surprised that I could not fix my attention on what I read; yet, while I was preaching in the evening, on the Parade, I found my mind perfectly composed; although it rained a great part of the time, which did not well agree with my head.

Sat. 17.—I was persuaded to send for Dr. Laws, a sensible and skilful physician. He told me I was in a high fever, and advised me to lay by; but I told him that could not be done, as I had appointed to preach at several places, and must preach as long as I could speak. He then prescribed a cooling draught, with a grain or two of camphor, as my nerves were universally agitated. This I took with me to Tanderagee¹; but when I came there I was not able to preach, my understanding being quite confused and my strength entirely gone. Yet I breathed freely, and had not the least thirst, nor any pain, from head to foot.

I was now at a full stand, whether to aim at Lisburn, or to push forward for Dublin; but, my friends doubting whether I

¹ He was received kindly by the rector, p. 201; and Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 297.

could bear so long a journey, I went straight to Derryaghy, a gentleman's seat¹ on the side of a hill, three miles beyond Lisburn. Here nature sunk, and I took my bed. But I could no more turn myself therein than a new-born child. My memory failed, as well as my strength, and wellnigh my understanding. Only those words ran in my mind, when I saw Miss Gayer on one side of the bed, looking at her mother on the other :

She sat like Patience on a monument
Smiling at grief.²

But still I had no thirst, no difficulty of breathing, no pain, from head to foot.

I can give no account of what followed for two or three days, being more dead than alive. Only I remember it was difficult for me to speak, my throat being exceeding dry. But Joseph Bradford tells me I said on *Wednesday*, 'It will be determined before this time to-morrow'; that my tongue was much swollen, and as black as a coal; that I was convulsed all over, and that for some time my heart did not beat perceptibly, neither was any pulse discernible.³

¹ Derryaghy was the seat of Edward Gayer, clerk to the Irish House of Lords. Mrs. Gayer was led to Christ through the conversation of a Methodist army surgeon named Crommelin. Not long after, at Lisburn, her native town, she took her daughter to a Methodist meeting. They both became members of society at Lisburn, and were such when they nursed Wesley.

One day, during his illness, Thomas Payne, one of the preachers, with a few friends, prayed earnestly that God would prolong the life of His servant, and, as in the case of Hezekiah, add to his days fifteen years. Mrs. Gayer suddenly arose from her knees and exclaimed, 'The prayer is granted.' Wesley survived from June 1775 till March 1791—a period of fifteen years and eight months. See also Tyerman's story (for which he quotes the York Society Book) of Alexander Mather, who, refusing to believe a newspaper report of Wesley's death, opened his Bible at the words,

'Behold, I will add unto thy days fifteen years,' and went to Sheerness chapel praying that the promise might be fulfilled (*Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 204).

² From Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, Act II. sc. iv. 116.

³ The Rev. Dr. Jones wrote from Harwich on July 29, 'entreating,' 'beseeching' him to preach less frequently. 'You yourself do not know of how great importance your life is.' He also had a most affectionate letter from the Rev. Dr. Ford of Melton Mowbray. Everywhere, among his own people and in other circles, the news of his serious illness created the utmost concern, in some quarters amounting almost to consternation; for his life at this juncture was indeed a matter of national importance. No one else had the same ready access to the public ear as John Wesley. See *Arm. Mag.* 1787, p. 444. For Dr. John Jones see above, vol. iii. p. 273, and Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 224.

In the night of *Thursday* the 22nd Joseph Bradford¹ came to me with a cup, and said, 'Sir, you must take this.' I thought, 'I will, if I can swallow, to please him, for it will do me neither harm nor good.' Immediately it set me a-vomiting; my heart began to beat and my pulse to play again, and from that hour the extremity of the symptoms abated. The next day I sat up several hours, and walked four or five times across the room. On *Saturday* I sat up all day, and walked across the room many times without any weariness; on *Sunday* I came downstairs, and sat several hours in the parlour; on *Monday* I walked out before the house; on *Tuesday* I took an airing in the chaise; and on *Wednesday*, trusting in God, to the astonishment of my friends, I set out for Dublin.

I did not determine how far to go that day, not knowing how my strength would hold; but, finding myself no worse at Banbridge, I ventured to Newry, and, after travelling thirty (English) miles, I was stronger than in the morning.

Thur. 29.—I went on to the Man-of-War,² forty (Irish) miles from the Globe at Newry.

Fri. 30.—We met Mr. Simpson³ (with several other friends) coming to meet us at Drogheda, who took us to his country seat at Jamestown, about two miles from Dublin.

JULY 4, *Tues.*—Finding myself a little stronger, I preached for the first time: and I believe most could hear. I preached on *Thursday* again, and my voice was clear, though weak. So on *Sunday* I ventured to preach twice, and found no weariness at all.

Mon. 10.—I began my regular course of preaching, morning and evening.

While I was in Dublin I read two extraordinary books, but

¹ He began his itinerant ministry in 1773, and died in 1808. For several years his name appears on the *Minutes of Conference* thus: 'Joseph Bradford travels with Mr. Wesley.' He wrote from Lisburn to Charles Wesley reporting John's dangerous illness. Charles, writing from Bristol, June 29, replied:

Your last is just arrived, and has cut off all hopes of my brother's recovery. If he could hold out until now, that is ten days

longer, he might recover; but I dare not allow myself to hope till I hear from you again. The people here and in London, and in every place, are swallowed up in sorrow.

In the evening, receiving another letter, he 'feared the worst.' (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 204.)

² A small decayed hamlet in the parish of Balrothery, co. Dublin.

³ Formerly of Oatfield. See above, vol. iii. p. 351.

of very different kinds—Mr. Sheridan's *Lectures on Elocution* and *The Life of Count Marsay*,¹ and was disappointed in both. There is more matter in the penny tract *On Action and Utterance*, abundantly more, than in all Mr. S.'s book, though he seems to think himself a mere Phoenix.² Count Marsay was doubtless a pious man, but a thorough enthusiast³; guided, in all his steps, not by the written word, but by his own imagination, which he calls the Spirit.⁴

Sun. 23.—I again assisted at St. Patrick's in delivering the elements of the Lord's Supper.⁵ In the evening I embarked in the *Nonpareil*, and, about ten on *Tuesday* morning, landed at Parkgate.

Wed. 26.—I found one relic of my illness—my hand shook so that I could hardly write my name. But after I had been well electrified by driving four or five hours over very rugged, broken pavement, my complaint was removed, and my hand was as steady as when I was ten years old.⁶ About noon I preached in the shell of the house at Wigan.⁷ In the middle of the sermon came an impetuous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, which added much to the solemnity of the occasion.

Thur. 27.—I went on to Miss Bosanquet's,⁸ and prepared

¹ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 207. Thomas Sheridan was the son of an Irish clergyman. He wrote a *Life of Swift*. His third son, Richard B. Sheridan, was the most renowned of three generations both for his dramatic writings and his parliamentary orations.

² Absolutely alone, like the bird of ancient oriental mythology, who lived five or six hundred years in the wilderness, the only one of its kind, and became the emblem of the absolute. Often so used in Shakespeare.

³ See Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, vol. ii. p. 391; Overton's *Life of Law*, p. 93; and below, p. 202.

⁴ He makes no reference to it in the *Journal*; but, according to the unpublished diary of Mr. Hern, between Friday, July 14, when he rode to Dublin with Mr. Clendinnen, and Friday, July 21, when he left the metropolis, a 'very smart Conference was held,

which concluded in peace and love.' On the 21st he went to Mountmellick with Messrs. Slocomb, Snowden, and Halliday, returning to Dublin for Sunday, July 23.

⁵ See above, p. 59.

⁶ Another result he casually names in a letter to Samuel Bardsley: 'At present I am better than I was before my fever; only it has stripped me of my hair' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 502). His hair, however, grew again. The temporary loss of his hair accounts for the wig he wore for some years.

⁷ This also, like the house at Northwich (March 21, 1775), was the fruit of Bradburn's activity.

⁸ Samuel Bardsley, probably Thomas Olivers also, took tea with him at Cross Hall. They had been awaiting his arrival from Ireland. 'He appeared with his usual cheerfulness, and as well as we had seen him for some years.'

for the Conference.¹ How willingly could I spend the residue of a busy life in this delightful retirement!² But—

Man was not born in shades to lie!

Up and be doing! Labour on, till—

Death sings a requiem to the parting soul!³

Sun. 30.—I preached under Birstall Hill, and the greater part of the huge audience could hear while I enforced ‘When the breath of man goeth forth, he turneth again to his dust, and then all his thoughts perish.’ I preached at Leeds in the evening, and found strength in proportion to my work.

AUG. 1, Tues.—Our Conference⁴ began. Having received

¹ On July 28, from near Leeds, he wrote to ‘Miss Lewis, at Mr. Flowers’s, on the Key, Bristol: By the blessing of God, I am at least as well as I was before my late illness, and I have now recovered my strength by slow degrees from the time I got into the open air.’ He refers to Bristol affairs: ‘Mr. Saunderson cannot be there next year. . . . Two preachers never stay two years together in one place, unless one of them be a supernumerary. But I doubt his late behaviour is another objection’ (*W.H.S.* vol. viii. p. 99). On this day he also wrote to T. Rankin and J. King (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 328, 331).

² On July 31 he wrote from Leeds to his brother Charles respecting William Pine, who printed the Bristol *Felix Farley’s Journal*. William Pine for many years was Wesley’s chief printer and publisher, and had recently brought out a revised edition of Wesley’s Collected Works, in thirty-two 12mo volumes. Henceforth the connexion ceased. Pine became a red-hot partisan of the rebellious colonists. See Wesley’s letter to his brother noted below. Charles had written for direction: ‘What can be done with William Pine?’ John’s answer illustrates his resolute attitude, which, in that time of national peril, because of his unique public in-

fluence, was of such value to the nation :

If he still, after my earnest warning, every week publishes barefaced treason, I beg you would once more warn him in my name and in your own; and, if he slights or forgets this warning, then give him his choice, either to leave us quietly or to be publicly disowned. At such a time as this, when our foreign enemies are hovering over us, and our own nation is all in a ferment, it is particularly improper to say one word which tends to inflame the minds of the people. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 143, and Tyerman’s *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 211.)

On the same day he wrote to John King, one of his preachers in America, advising him to ‘scream no more at the peril of your soul. Speak as earnestly as you can, but with a moderate voice. It was said of our Lord, “He shall not cry”: the word properly means he shall not scream. Herein be a follower of me, as I am of Christ.’

³ The sources of this and the previous quotation are not yet discovered. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 153.

⁴ It was the thirty-second Conference. Thomas Hanby, in a MS. letter, quoted by Tyerman (vol. iii. p. 209), says that it was the largest Conference for many years, and was ‘unexampled for its free discussion.’ We might add, also for Wesley’s effectual treatment of letters against the preachers.

several letters, intimating that many of the preachers were utterly unqualified for the work, having neither grace nor gifts sufficient for it, I determined to examine this weighty charge with all possible exactness. In order to this, I read those letters to all the Conference, and begged that every one would freely propose and enforce whatever objection he had to any one. The objections proposed were considered at large: in two or three difficult cases, committees were appointed for that purpose. In consequence of this, we were all fully convinced that the charge advanced was without foundation; that God has really sent those labourers into His vineyard, and has qualified them for the work. And we were all more closely united together than we have been for many years.¹

Fri. 4.²—I preached at Bradford, where the people are all alive. Many here have lately experienced the great salvation, and their zeal has been a general blessing. Indeed, this I always observe—wherever a work of sanctification breaks out the whole work of God prospers. Some are convinced of sin, others justified, and all stirred up to greater earnestness for salvation.

I breakfasted at Great Horton.³ Two or three of the neighbours then came in to prayer. Quickly the house was filled, and, a few minutes after, all the space before the door. I saw the opportunity, and without delay got upon the horse-block in the yard. Abundance of children crowded round me, and round them a numerous congregation. So I gave them an earnest exhortation, and then commended them to the grace of God.

¹ See a remarkable letter from Fletcher to Wesley on Aug. 1, 1775 (Telford's *John Wesley*, pp. 388–94), and articles by Dr. Rigg concerning it in *Meth. Rec.* Jan. 6 and 13, 1898. Correspondence respecting matters of the greatest importance, either actually discussed during this Conference or submitted to Wesley, is still in existence. It has never been fully published. The substance of this correspondence, if not the letters *in extenso*, will be printed in an Appendix to this Standard Edition. In brief, it relates to the ordination and training of ministers, to the organization

of 'the growing body of the Methodists in Great Britain, Ireland, and America into a general society—a daughter Church of our holy mother . . . the Methodist Church of England' and to a rectification of the Thirty-Nine Articles. See the correspondence of Joseph Benson and John Fletcher, &c., Appendix No. XXIX. vol. viii.

² He wrote to his brother Charles (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 143).

³ At the house of John Hodgson, one of the trustees of the Octagon. See details and illustration, *Meth. Re.* Sept. 24, 1908.

Sun. 6.¹—At one I proclaimed the glorious gospel to the usual congregation at Birstall, and in the evening at Leeds. Then, judging it needful to pay a short visit to our brethren at London, I took the stage-coach, with five of my friends, about eight o'clock. Before nine, a gentleman in a single-horse chaise struck his wheel against one of ours. Instantly the weight of the men at top overset the coach; otherwise, ten times the shock would not have moved it; but neither the coachman, nor the men at top, nor any within, were hurt at all. On *Tuesday*, in the afternoon, we were met at Hatfield by many of our friends, who conducted us safe to London.²

Having spent a few days in town, on *Monday* the 14th I set out for Wales, and *Wednesday* the 16th reached the Hay. Being desired to give them one sermon at Trevecca, I turned aside thither, and on *Thursday* the 17th preached at eleven to a numerous congregation. What a lovely place! And what a lovely family! still consisting of about sixscore persons. So the good 'man is turned again to his dust!' ³ But his thoughts do not perish.

I preached at Brecon ⁴ the next day, and on *Saturday* the 19th went on to Carmarthen. How is this wilderness become a fruitful field! A year ago I knew no one in this town who had any desire of fleeing from the wrath to come, and now we have eighty persons in society. It is true not many of them are awakened, but they have broke off their outward sins. Now let us try whether it be not possible to prevent the greater part of these from drawing back.

¹ He wrote to Miss Perronet: 'I dreamed last night that the Spaniards had come, and were searching all houses, and were putting men to torture. But on a sudden they were vanished out of the land, I could not tell how' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 460).

² On Aug. 13 he wrote from London to T. Rankin, through whom and 'Brother Asbury' he kept his hand firmly on American affairs. He trusted them to judge, a year hence, when God's will concerning North America was made plain, 'whether our preachers are called to remain any longer therein. If

they are, God will make their way plain, and give them favour even with the men that delight in war. In the civil wars of Rome, Atticus stood fair in the esteem of both contending parties.' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 328.)

³ He is thinking of Howell Harris, the founder of Trevecca, who had died since his last visit (July 21, 1773).

⁴ Samuel Bradburn came over from Pembroke to meet Wesley at Brecon. He was reduced to his last shilling; but in writing afterwards he says: 'Glory to Thee, O my God, Thou didst send me timely aid. I am now in want of nothing!'

About this time I received a remarkable letter from one of our preachers¹ at West Bromwich, near Wednesbury. The substance of it is as follows :

August 15, 1775.

About three weeks since a person came and told me Martha Wood, of Darlaston, was dying and had a great desire to see me. When I came into the house, which, with all that was in it, was scarce worth five pounds, I found, in that mean cottage, such a jewel as my eyes never beheld before. Her eyes even sparkled with joy, and her heart danced like David before the ark ; in truth, she seemed to be in the suburbs of heaven, upon the confines of glory.

She took hold of my hand and said, 'I am glad to see you ; you are my father in Christ. It is twenty years since I heard you first. It was on that text, "Now ye have sorrow : but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you." In that hour God broke into my soul, delivered me from all sorrow, and filled my heart with joy ; and, blessed be His name, I never have lost it from that hour to this.'

For the first ten years she was sometimes in transports of joy, carried almost beyond herself, but for these last ten years she has had the constant witness that God has taken up all her heart. 'He has filled me,' said she, 'with perfect love, and perfect love casts out fear. Jesus is mine ; God, and heaven, and eternal glory, are mine. My heart, my very soul, is lost, yea, swallowed up in God.'

There were many of our friends standing by her bedside. She exhorted them all, as one in perfect health, to keep close to God. 'You can never,' said she, 'do too much for God ; when you have done all you can, you have done too little. Oh, who that knows Him can love, or do, or suffer too much for Him ?'

Some worldly people came in. She called them by name, and exhorted them to repent and turn to Jesus. She looked at me, and desired I would preach her funeral sermon on those words, 'I have fought the good fight ; I have finished my course ; I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give me at that day.'

She talked to all round about her in as scriptural and rational a manner as if she had been in her full strength (only now and then catching a little for breath), with all the smiles of heaven in her countenance. Indeed several times she seemed to be quite gone ; but

¹ The preachers appointed to the Staffordshire circuit in 1774 were John Shaw and Edward Slater. They were succeeded in 1775 by Alexander Mather

and William Dufton. But the latter would scarcely have been on the round at the date of this letter, which was probably written by Alexander Mather.

in a little while the taper lit up again, and she began to preach, with divine power, to all that stood near her. She knew every person, and if any came into the room whom she knew to be careless about religion, she directly called them by name, and charged them to seek the Lord while He might be found. At last she cried out, 'I see the heavens opened; I see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with numbers of the glorified throng, coming nearer and nearer. They are just come!' At that word, her soul took its flight, to mingle with the heavenly host. We looked after her, as Elisha after Elijah; and I trust some of us have caught her mantle.¹

After making a little tour through Carmarthenshire, Pembroke-shire, and Glamorganshire, on *Monday* the 28th, setting out early from Cardiff, I reached Newport about eight, and soon after preached to a large and serious congregation. I believe it is five-and-thirty years since I preached here before, to a people who were then wild as bears.² How amazingly is the scene changed! Oh, what is too hard for God!

We came to the New Passage just as the boat was putting off; so I went in immediately. Some friends were waiting for me on the other side, who received me as one risen from the dead. The room at Bristol was thoroughly filled in the evening; and we rejoiced in Him that heareth the prayer. Having finished my present business here, on *Wednesday* the 30th I set out at three, and at twelve preached in the great Presbyterian meeting-house in Taunton³; and indeed with such freedom and openness of spirit as I did not expect in so brilliant a congregation. In the evening I preached in the dreary preaching-house at Tiverton. The people appeared as dull as the place. Yet who knows but that many of them may again hear the voice that raiseth the dead?

On *Thursday* and *Friday* I preached at Launceston, Bodmin, and Truro; on *Saturday* in the main street at Redruth, to the

¹ On August 23 he wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth a letter of the gravest importance. See App. No. XXX. vol. viii.

² See above, vol. ii. p. 295. He had visited or passed through Newport frequently since then, but without preaching. John Thomas, of Newport, from about 1765 or 1766, with his wife (formerly Susannah Barber), became the

host of Wesley, and of the preachers, until his death, Sept. 21, 1811. He thrice held the mayoralty of Newport. See *Meth. Mag.* 1813, p. 843.

³ Probably Paul's meeting-house, the chapel of the Rev. Mr. Pearsall, of whom Whitefield wrote so highly (*Tyerman's Life of Whitefield*, vol. ii. p. 250). The house is still in use.

usual congregation, on 'Happy are the people that have the Lord for their God.'

SEPT. 3, *Sun.*—I preached at eight in St. Agnes church-town, on 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' A young woman followed me into the house, weeping bitterly, and crying out, 'I must have Christ; I will have Christ. Give me Christ, or else I die!' Two or three of us claimed the promise in her behalf. She was soon filled with joy unspeakable, and burst out, 'Oh let me die! Let me go to Him now! How can I bear to stop here any longer?' We left her full of that peace which passeth all understanding. About eleven I preached at Redruth; at five in the evening in the amphitheatre at Gwennap.¹ I think this is the most magnificent spectacle which is to be seen on this side heaven. And no music is to be heard upon earth comparable to the sound of many thousand voices, when they are all harmoniously joined together, singing praises to God and the Lamb.

Mon. 4.—I went on to our friends at St. Ives, many of whom are now grey-headed, as well as me. In the evening I preached in the little meadow above the town, where I was some years ago. The people in general here (excepting the rich) seem almost persuaded to be Christians. Perhaps the prayer of their old pastor, Mr. Tregosse,² is answered even to the fourth generation.

Wed. 6.—About nine I preached at Carharrack,³ and crossed over to Cubert, where I found my good old friend Mr. Hosken quivering over the grave.⁴ He ventured, however, to the church-town, and I believe found a blessing under the preaching.

Thur. 7.—About eleven I preached in the town-hall at Liskeard to a large and serious congregation. At Saltash some

¹ See above, vol. iv. p. 528; v. pp. 187, 387; and below, 209.

² For an interesting account of Mr. Thomas Tregosse, who in the vicarage of Mylor and Mabe was (1662) silenced for nonconformity, see *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 193. Wesley printed a *Life of Thomas Tregosse* in the *Christian Library*, vol. xlix. In the *Christian Miscellany* for 1877 is an account of James Tregosse, the son of Thomas Tregosse.

³ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 194.

⁴ See above, vol. v. p. 142. Hosken had invited John Haime to become his domestic chaplain. See letter of Wesley, *E.M.P.* vol. i. p. 306, or *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. i. p. 54; also below, pp. 123 and 208. He died March 6, 1780, at the age of eighty-two. For Cuberts see *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 191, and *Meth. Rec.* Aug. 29, 1907.

of our brethren met me with a boat,¹ which brought me safe to Plymouth Dock.

Understanding some of our friends here were deeply prejudiced against the King and all his Ministers, I spoke freely and largely on the subject at the meeting of the society.² God applied it to their hearts; and I think there is not one of them now who does not see things in another light.

Fri. 8.—I preached at noon on the quay in Plymouth; in the evening in the new square at the Dock. Many here seemed to feel the application of those words, 'O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?'

Sat. 9.—I preached in Exeter at four in the afternoon, and about seven at Cullompton.

Sun. 10.—I came to Wellington in an acceptable time, for Mr. Jesse³ was ill in bed; so that if I had not come there could have been no service, either morning or evening. The church was moderately filled in the morning; in the afternoon it was crowded in every corner, and a solemn awe fell on the whole congregation while I pressed that important question, 'What is a man profited, if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?'

Mon. 11.—I preached again in the new meeting at Taunton,⁴ to such a congregation as, I suppose, was never there before. I was desired to preach on the same text as at Wellington, and it was attended with the same blessing. On *Tuesday* I went on to Bristol. On *Thursday* and *Friday* I preached at Keynsham, Bradford, and Bath; on *Tuesday* the 19th at Frome, and on *Wednesday* at Pensford. Thence I went on to the lovely family at Publow,⁵ a pattern for all the boarding-schools in England.

¹ For the difficulties of crossing at this point see vol. iv. p. 414.

² George III and Lord North, the Prime Minister, were at this time severely censured for the rebellion that was raging in the English Colonies. The King was accused of ruling unconstitutionally. See below, p. 82, and Wesley's letter to Lord Dartmouth, Aug. 23. (App. No. XXX.)

³ Rev. William Jesse. He is mentioned in the *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*. See above, vol. v. p. 63.

⁴ The Presbyterian meeting-house. Wesley preached on 'The Important Question.' The sermon was printed for the benefit of a local charity. Mrs. Stone read it, and was converted. At her house, soon after, Dr. Coke met Wesley's preachers. In the same house he broke through and preached in a non-ecclesiastical building for the first time.

⁵ Miss Owen's. See above, p. 4, and vol. v. p. 484. On the house and school of Mrs. Owen and her daughters the Rev. William Wakinshaw furnishes

Everything fit for a Christian to learn is taught here; but nothing unworthy the dignity of the Christian character. I gave a short exhortation to the children, which they received with eagerness. Many of them have the fear of God; some of them enjoy His love.

Thur. 21.—At the earnest request of the prisoner,¹ who was to die next day (and was very willing so to do, for, after deep agony of soul, he had found peace with God), I preached at Newgate to him and a crowded audience, many of whom felt that God was there.² *Sunday* the 24th I preached abroad in the afternoon to a lovely congregation. *Friday* the 29th we observed as a fast-day, meeting at five, nine, one, and in the evening. And many found a strong hope that God will yet be entreated for a guilty land.

OCT. 1, Sun.—The weather favoured us again. I preached once more abroad, and concluded at the point where I begun, in opening and strongly applying those words, ‘Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.’

Mon. 2.—I set out early, and, preaching at the Devizes, Sarum [Salisbury], Winchester, and Portsmouth in my way, on *Friday* the 6th, in the afternoon, I returned to London.

Sun. 8.—I preached in Moorfields to a larger congregation than usual. Strange that their curiosity should not be satisfied yet, after hearing the same thing near forty years!

Mon. 9.—I preached at Chesham on the strait gate, and all that heard seemed affected for the present.

Tues. 10.—I went on to Wycombe, and was much refreshed by the earnest attention of the whole congregation.

Wed. 11.—I took a walk to Lord Shelburne’s house.³ What

the following information. Pensford and Publow form practically one village, six miles from Bristol, on the main road to Wells. Ecclesiastically they are divided into two parishes by the river Chew. The house was in Publow, opposite the Vicarage. Years ago it was pulled down and rebuilt. The school has been slightly enlarged. At present (1914) it is externally almost intact. One part of the building is used as the Parish School of Publow and the other part is occupied by the master as his residence.

¹ Daniel Haynes. See Latimer’s *History of Bristol*, p. 295.

² On Sept. 22 he wrote to Alexander Hume (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 458).

³ William, second Earl, created Marquis of Lansdowne 1784. His first wife was the daughter of Earl Granville; she died a few years after marriage, in 1771. The widower married again in 1779. He was Prime Minister, and sold the estate to Baron Carrington, who rebuilt the house and named it Wycombe Abbey. It is now a ladies’ school.

variety in so small a compass! A beautiful grove, divided by a serpentine walk, conceals the house from the town. At the side of this runs a transparent river, with a smooth walk on each bank. Beyond this is a level lawn, then the house with sloping gardens behind it. Above these is a lofty hill, near the top of which is a lovely wood, having a grassy walk running along, just within the skirts of it. But can the owner rejoice in this paradise? No, for his wife is snatched away in the bloom of youth!

Thur. 12.—About noon I preached at Watlington; and in the evening at Oxford, in a large house formerly belonging to the Presbyterians. But it was not large enough; many could not get in. Such a congregation I have not seen at Oxford, either for seriousness or number, for more than twenty years.

I borrowed here a volume of Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*,¹ which I had heard very strongly commended. And what did I learn? That he was a man of much wit, middling sense, and some learning, but as absolutely void of virtue as any Jew, Turk, or heathen that ever lived. I say, not only void of all religion (for I doubt whether he believed there is a God, though he tags most of his letters with the name, for better sound sake), but even of virtue, of justice, and mercy, which he never once recommended to his son. And truth he sets at open defiance; he continually guards him against it. Half his letters inculcate deep dissimulation as the most necessary of all accomplishments. Add to this his studiously instilling into the young man all the principles of debauchery, when himself was between seventy and eighty years old. Add his cruel censure of that amiable man the Archbishop of Cambray (*quantum dispar illi*)² as a mere time-serving hypocrite! And this is the favourite of the age! Whereas, if justice and truth take place, if he is rewarded according to his desert, his name will stink to all generations.

Sat. 14.—I preached at Finstock. How many days should I spend here if I was to do my own will! Not so: I am 'to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish His work.'

¹ See Wesley's Sermons for other references to the *Letters*; also Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

² 'What a vast disparity between the two!'

Therefore this is the first day I ever spent here,¹ and perhaps it may be the last.

Sun. 15.—About eight I preached at Witney. I admired the seriousness and decency of the congregation at church. I preached at five, on ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself’; a word that is sufficient to convince all mankind of sin. In meeting the select society, I was much comforted to find so few of them losing ground, and the far greater part still witnessing that ‘the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin.’

Mon. 16.—We had a lovely congregation at five. About nine I preached at Oxford, in Nuneham at one, and in the evening at Wallingford.²

Tues. 17.—I went over the Downs to Kingston Lodge; a lone house, yet we had a numerous as well as serious congregation. In the evening I preached in the large room at the poor-house in Ramsbury. The people flocked together from every side, and God gave us His blessing.

Wed. 18.—I returned to Newbury. Some of our friends informed me there were many red-hot patriots here; so I took occasion to give a strong exhortation to ‘fear God, and honour the King.’

Thur. 19.³—I preached at Reading, and on *Friday* returned to London.

Mon. 23.—I set out for Northamptonshire, and in the evening preached at Towcester.

Tues. 24.—About noon we took horse for Whittlebury⁴ in a fine day; but, before we had rode half an hour, a violent storm came, which soon drenched us from head to foot. But we dried ourselves in the afternoon, and were no worse.

Wed. 25.—I preached at Northampton, and on *Thursday*

¹ But see above, p. 42, where he reports himself as preaching at Finstock. Also below, p. 213.

² See *W.H.S.* vol. vi. p. 35.

³ He wrote two letters to his brother Charles, one from Newbury and the other from Ramsbury Park. He is full of questions respecting America, is angry with ‘their miserable leaders,’ nor does he think more highly of the English leaders. He has received ‘amazing in-

formations’ (*sic*) from James Ireland. On Friday he hopes to be in London and talk with the committee about building a new Foundry. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 144.) The next day he wrote to Thomas Rankin and Jasper Winscom (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 329, 524).

⁴ In Feb. 1774 there had been a work of God amongst the children here. See *Arm. Mag.* 1788, p. 491.

noon at Brixworth, a little town about six miles north of Northampton. I believe very few of the townsmen were absent, and all of them seemed to be much affected. So did many at Northampton in the evening, while I described him 'that builds his house upon a rock.'

Fri. 27.—I preached about noon at Hanslope. In my way I looked over a volume of Dr. Swift's *Letters*.¹ I was amazed! Was ever such trash palmed upon the world under the name of a great man? More than half of what is contained in those sixteen volumes would be dear at twopence a volume; being all, and more than all, the dull things which that witty man ever said. In the evening I preached at Bedford, and the next evening came to London.²

Sun. 29.—I visited one who was full of good resolutions—if he should recover. They might be sincere, or they might not: but how far will these avail before God? He was not put to the trial how long they would last; quickly after, God required his soul of him.

Monday, and the following days, I visited the little societies in the neighbourhood of London.

*Nov. 11, Sat.*³—I made some additions to the *Calm Address to our American Colonies*.⁴ Need any one ask from what motive this was wrote? Let him look round: England is in a flame!—a flame of malice and rage against the King, and almost all that are in authority under him. I labour to put out this flame. Ought not every true patriot to do the same? If

¹ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 207. The *Works*, not the *Letters*, were published in 16 vols.

² On Oct. 28 he wrote from London to his brother Charles, and again on Nov. 3 (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 145, 146). On Nov. 1 he wrote a letter to 'A Preacher' (Dunn's *Meth. in Nottingham*, p. 23).

³ He wrote to Christopher Hopper (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 315).

⁴ See *Works*, vol. xi. pp. 80-90; vol. xii. pp. 145-6. For his writing on the great question of the day, and the controversy to which it gave rise, see Green's *Bibliography*, No. 305; *Gentle-*

man's Mag. 1775, p. 561; and Green's *Anti-Meth. Publications*, No. 475. It may suffice to say that the writer who signed himself 'Americus' in the *Gentleman's Mag.* accused Wesley of having 'one eye upon a pension and another upon heaven; one hand stretched out to the K. . . g, the other raised up to God.' Stevens, in his *Hist. of American Meth.*, Dr. George Smith, *Hist. of Meth.* vol. i. bk. ii. ch. iii., and Tyerman, *Wesley*, vol. iii. pp. 185-201, have dealt fully with Wesley's relation to the Anglo-American question, and modern historians have adequately treated the general subject. See above, p. 66.

hireling writers on either side judge of me by themselves, that I cannot help.

*Sun. 12.*¹—I was desired to preach, in Bethnal Green church, a charity sermon for the widows and orphans of the soldiers that were killed in America. Knowing how many would seek occasion of offence, I wrote down my sermon.² I dined with Sir John Hawkins³ and three other gentlemen that are in commission for the peace; and was agreeably surprised at a very serious conversation, kept up during the whole time I stayed.

Wed. 15.—I preached at Dorking; the next evening at Reigate Place, I think to the largest congregation that I have seen there. But still I fear we are ploughing upon the sand; we see no fruit of our labours.

Fri. 17.—I crossed over to Shoreham, the most fruitful place in all the circuit, and preached in the evening to a people just ripe for all the gospel promises, on 'Now, why tarriest thou? Arise, and wash away thy sins.' The next morning I returned to London.

*Mon. 20.*⁴—I went to Robertsbridge and preached to a deeply attentive congregation.

Tues. 21.—Several were with us in the evening at Rye who had never heard a Methodist sermon before. However, considering the bulk of the congregation, more than a handful of gentry, I earnestly besought them not to 'receive the grace of God in vain.' The next evening I applied part of the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Many were

¹ He wrote to Mr. Rouquet. Wesley's forgetfulness, referred to in the following letter, became the occasion of a storm of scurrilous abuse: 'DEAR JAMES,—I will now simply tell you the thing as it is. As I was returning from the Leeds Conference, one gave me the tract which you refer to [*An Argument for the Exclusive Right of the Colonies to Tax Themselves* (see below, p. 83)], part of which I read on my journey. The spirit of it I observed to be admirably good; and I then thought the arguments conclusive. In consequence of which, I suppose (though I do not remember it), I re-

commended it both to you and others; but I had so entirely forgotten it, that even when it was brought to me the other day, I could not recollect that I had seen it.' (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 189.)

² See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 309.

³ Author of *The History of the Science and Practice of Music*. For Boswell's opinion of Sir John Hawkins and of the *Life of Johnson* he published, see Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Fitzgerald ed.), p. 1.

⁴ On this day he wrote from Deptford to J. Valton (*W.H.S.* vol. viii. p. 160).

shaken when they weighed themselves in that balance. May we not be found wanting in that day!

Thur. 23.—About noon I preached at Cranbrook, and in the evening at Staplehurst. *Friday* the 24th I preached at Seven-oaks, and on *Saturday* returned to London.

In some of my late little journeys I read Mr. Wraxall's *Travels*,¹ in which are several ingenious remarks; but the account he gives of Count Struenzee is a mistake from beginning to end. Struenzee was as bad a man as most that ever lived. He caused many horrid abuses; but never reformed, or desired to reform, one. And there was abundant proof of the crime for which he suffered; therefore, the behaviour of King George was exactly right.

Mon. 27.²—I set out for Norwich. That evening I preached at Colchester; *Tuesday* at Norwich; *Wednesday* at Yarmouth.

About this time I published the following letter in *Lloyd's Evening Post*:

SIR,

I have been seriously asked, 'From what motive did you publish your *Calm Address to the American Colonies*?'

I seriously answer, Not to get money. Had that been my motive I should have swelled it into a shilling pamphlet, and have entered it at Stationers' Hall.

Not to get preferment for myself, or my brother's children. I am a little too old to gape after it for myself; and if my brother or I sought it for them, we have only to show them to the world.

Not to please any man living, high or low. I know mankind too well. I know they that love you for political service, love you less than their dinner; and they that hate you, hate you worse than the devil.

Least of all did I write with a view to inflame any; just the contrary. I contributed my mite toward putting out the flame which rages all over the land. This I have more opportunity of observing than any other man in England. I see with pain to what a height this already rises in every part of the nation. And I see many pouring oil into the flame, by crying out, 'How unjustly, how cruelly, the King is using the poor Americans, who are only contending for their liberty and for their legal privileges!'

Now there is no possible way to put out this flame, or hinder its

¹ Afterwards Sir Nathaniel Wraxall (1751-1831). See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 208.

² He wrote from Norwich to Samuel Bardsley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 502).

rising higher and higher, but to show that the Americans are not used either cruelly or unjustly; that they are not injured at all, seeing they are not contending for liberty (this they had, even in its full extent both civil and religious); neither for any legal privileges, for they enjoy all that their charters grant. But what they contend for is the illegal privilege of being exempt from parliamentary taxation—a privilege this, which no charter ever gave to any American colony yet; which no charter can give, unless it be confirmed both by King, Lords, and Commons; which, in fact, our colonies never had, which they never claimed till the present reign; and probably they would not have claimed it now, had they not been incited thereto by letters from England. One of these was read, according to the desire of the writer, not only at the Continental Congress, but likewise in many congregations throughout the Combined Provinces. It advised them to seize upon all the King's officers; and exhorted them, 'Stand valiantly, only for six months, and in that time there will be such commotions in England that you may have your own terms.'

This being the real state of the question, without any colouring or aggravation, what impartial man can either blame the King or commend the Americans?

With this view, to quench the fire, by laying the blame where it was due, the *Calm Address* was written. I am sir,

Your humble servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

As to reviewers, newswriters, *London Magazines*, and all that kind of gentlemen, they behave just as I expected they would. And let them lick up Mr. Toplady's¹ spittle still: a champion worthy of their cause.

Thur. 30.²—I preached at Lowestoft at noon, and Yarmouth in the evening. Here a gentleman,³ who came with me from

¹ Toplady had published *An Old Fox Tarred and Feathered*; upon which Green simply remarks (No. 479), 'A really disgraceful performance.' For the attacks upon Wesley occasioned by his *Calm Address*, see Green's *Anti-Meth. Publications*, Nos. 480 to 486.

² On Nov. 29 he wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 56).

³ Definitely stated, in *Meth. Mag.* 1815, p. 802, to be 'Mr. Thomas Marriott, for several years a useful steward and leader in the Spitalfields Society. His

wife (Webster Marriott), was one of the first twelve whom Wesley joined in the London Society. Thomas was a baker in Norton Folgate. The story of his discovery of a 'journeyman' baker—Alexander Mather—is told in the above Magazine Memoir. His second son was William, who figured honourably as a successful man of business in the City, as a generous philanthropist, and as a prominent Methodist. Thomas Marriott's grandson Thomas was the famous historian and collector of Wesley letters, &c.

London, was taken ill (he informed me) of the bloody flux. This being stopped, I thought his head was disordered; and would fain have sent him back without delay, offering him my chaise and my servant to attend him, though I could ill spare either one or the other. But he could not in any wise be prevailed on to accept of the proposal. I afterwards heard he had been insane before he left London. However, I could now only make the best of it.

DEC. 1, *Fri.*—After preaching at Loddon I returned to Norwich and procured Mr. [Marriott] a lodging in a friend's house, where I knew he would want nothing. I now again advised him to go straight to London in my chaise; but it was lost labour.¹

Sat. 2.—I procured *The History of Norwich*,² published but a few years since. The author shows that it was built about the year 418. But it increased in succeeding ages till it was more than double to what it is now, having no less than sixty churches. Its populousness may be indisputably proved by one single circumstance: the first time it was visited with the sweating-sickness (which usually killed in ten hours) there died, in about six months, upwards of fifty-seven thousand persons, which is a considerably greater number than were in the whole city a few years ago. He remarks concerning this unaccountable kind of plague (1) that it seized none but Englishmen, none of the French, Flemings, or other foreigners then in the kingdom being at all affected; (2) that it seized upon Englishmen in other kingdoms, and upon none else; and (3) that the method at last taken was this: the patient, if seized in the day-time, was immediately to lie down in his clothes and to be covered up; if in the night-time, he was to keep in bed; and if they remained four-and-twenty hours without eating or drinking anything, then they generally recovered.

In the evening a large mob gathered at the door of the preaching-house, the captain of which struck many (chiefly

¹ By a memorandum in his son's (William Marriott's) pocket-book of that year (1775) it appears 'he died in peace six days afterwards,' but whether in Norwich or in London does not appear.

² See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 208. See Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i. (ed. 1877) ch. iii. p. 165, for an account of the importance of Norwich.

women) with a large stick. Mr. Randall, going out to see what was the matter, he struck him with it in the face. But he was soon secured and carried before the mayor, who, knowing him to be a notorious offender, against whom one or two warrants were then lying, sent him to jail without delay.

Tues. 5.—We set out a little before day, and reached Lynn¹ in the afternoon. In the evening the new house would hardly contain one half of the congregation; and those who could not get in were tolerably patient, considering they could hear but a few words.

Wed. 6.—About one, I heard a shrill voice in the street calling and desiring me to come to Mr. ——. Going directly, I found him ill in body and in a violent agony of mind. He fully believed he was at the point of death, nor could any arguments convince him of the contrary. We cried to Him who has all power in heaven and earth and who keeps the keys of life and death. He soon started up in bed, and said with a loud voice, ‘I shall not die, but live.’

In the day I visited many of those that remained with us and those that had left us since they had learned a new doctrine. I did not dispute, but endeavoured to soften their spirits, which had been sharpened to a high degree. In the evening the chapel was quite too small; and yet even those who could not get in were silent—a circumstance which I have seldom observed in any other part of England.

Thur. 7.—Mr. —— was so thoroughly disordered that it was heavy work to get him forward. At every stage ‘he could not possibly go any farther; he must die there.’ Nevertheless, we reached Bury [St. Edmunds] in the afternoon. I preached at seven to the largest congregation I ever saw there. We used to have about a dozen at five in the morning. But on *Friday* the 8th I suppose we had between forty and fifty. We set out between six and seven, hoping to reach Brentwood in the evening; but as we came thither some hours sooner than we expected, I judged it most advisable to push on, and, the moon shining bright, we easily reached London soon after six o’clock.

¹ See above, vol. v. p. 435.

Sat. 9.—In answer to a very angry letter, lately published in *The Gazetteer*, I published the following :

TO THE REV. MR. CALEB EVANS¹

REV. SIR,

You affirm (1) that I once ‘doubted whether the measures taken with respect to America could be defended either on the foot of law, equity, or prudence.’ I did doubt of these five years, nay indeed, five months ago.

You affirm (2) that I ‘declared’ (last year) ‘the Americans were an oppressed, injured people.’ I do not remember that I did, but very possibly I might.

You affirm (3) that I then ‘strongly recommended *An Argument for the Exclusive Right of the Colonies to Tax Themselves*.’ I believe I did ; but I am now of another mind.

You affirm (4) ‘You say in the Preface, *I never saw that book*.’ I did say so. The plain case was, I had so entirely forgotten it² that even when I saw it again I recollected nothing of it till I had read several pages. If I had, I might have observed that you borrowed more from Mr. P. than I did from Dr. Johnson. Though I know not whether I should have observed it, as it does not affect the merits of the cause.

You affirm (5) ‘You say, *But I really believe he was told so*’ ; and add, ‘Supposing what I asserted was false, it is not easy to conceive what reason you could have for believing I was told so.’ My reason was, I believed you feared God, and therefore would not tell a wilful untruth ; so I made the best excuse for you which I thought the nature of the thing would admit of. Had you not some reasons to believe this of me ; and therefore to say (at least), ‘I hope he forgot it’ ?

‘But at this time I was perfectly unknown to you.’ No, at this

¹ An able Baptist minister in Bristol. He was the *Americanus* who wrote against the *Calm Address*. From Wesley’s reply to Evans, it is plain that he was in favour of the claims of the colonies five months before he wrote his *Calm Address*, and consequently when he wrote his letter to Lord North on their behalf. In the Preface to the second edition he tells how he was led to alter his opinion : ‘I was of a different judgement till I read *Taxation no Tyranny* ; but as soon as I received more light myself I judged it my duty to impart it to others. . . . I was

well aware of the treatment this would bring upon myself. But let it be, so I may in any degree serve my King and country.’ Of Evans Wesley says : ‘He asserts twenty times, he that is taxed without his own consent—that is, without being represented—is a slave. I answer, No. I have no representative in Parliament, but I am taxed, yet I am no slave.’ See above, vol. v. p. 477.

² His memory was failing. See above p. 83 (his letter to James Rouquet). Tyerman’s *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 189.

time I knew you wrote that tract ; but, had I not, charity would have induced me to hope this, even of an entire stranger.

You now have my ' feeble reply ' ; and if you please to advance any new argument (personal reflections I let go), you may perhaps receive a farther reply from

Your humble servant,

JOHN WESLEY.¹

LONDON, *Dec.* 9.

I did not see your letter till this morning.

Mon. 11.—I began a little journey into Kent.² In the evening I preached at Chatham, the next evening at Canterbury. I know not that ever I saw such a congregation there before.

Tues. 12.—I preached at Dover. As many as could squeezed into the house, and the rest went quietly away.

Thur. 14.—I returned to Canterbury, and had a long conversation with that extraordinary man, Charles Perronet.³ What a mystery of Providence ! Why is such a saint as this buried alive by continual sickness ? In the evening we had a larger congregation than before. I never saw the house thoroughly filled till now ; and I am sure the people had now a call from God, whether they will hear or whether they will forbear.

Fri. 15.—In the evening I preached at Chatham, and on *Saturday* returned to London. In the evening I preached a kind of funeral sermon at Snowsfields for that upright woman,

¹ Evans replied to this by a letter dated Dec. 18, which also appeared in the *Gazetteer*.

² On the eve of this journey into Kent, an incident occurred which not improbably has been exaggerated. At all events, in the form it assumes in Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 233, it seems almost incredible. Briefly, it is alleged that Mrs. John Wesley stole some of her husband's letters, interpolated them, and handed them over to be published in the *Morning Post*. The persons directly responsible for the publication wore a mask named 'Scorpion' and 'Snap-dragon.' Needless to say, the use made of this discreditable proceeding was

connected with the bitter theological controversy then raging between the Calvinists and Arminians. The only fact in the whole episode worth remembering is John Wesley's reply to his brother Charles when he urged him to stop the publication : . . . ' Brother, when I devoted to God my ease, my time, my life, did I except my reputation ? No. Tell Sally I will take her to Canterbury to-morrow.' (Jackson's *Life of C. Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 283.)

³ A letter from this saint to Wesley, dated Shoreham, Jan. 26, 1746-7, is given in the *Arm. Mag.* 1778, p. 468. Wesley describes it as 'the breathing of a soul strong in faith.'

Jane Binknell. For many years she was a pattern of all holiness, and, for the latter part of her life, of patience. Yet, as she laboured under an incurable and painful disorder, which allowed her little rest, day or night, the corruptible body pressed down the soul, and frequently occasioned much heaviness. But, before she went, the clouds dispersed, and she died in sweet peace; but not in such triumphant joy as did Ann Davis,¹ two or three weeks before. She died of the same disorder; but had withal, for some years, racking pains in her head day and night, which in a while rendered her stone-blind. Add to this, that she had a *kind* husband, who was continually reproaching her for living so long, and cursing her for not dying out of the way. Yet in all this she did not 'charge God foolishly,' but meekly waited till her change should come.

To-day I read Dr. Beattie's *Poems*²; certainly one of the best poets of the age. He wants only the ease and simplicity of Mr. Pope. I know one, and only one, that has it.

Mon. 18.—I took another little journey, and in the evening preached at Bedford.

Tues. 19.—I dragged on, through miserable roads, to St. Neots, and preached in a large room to a numerous congregation. Understanding that almost all the Methodists, by the advice of Mr. —, had left the Church, I earnestly exhorted them to return to it. In the evening I preached at Godmanchester.

Wed. 20.—I preached at Luton, the next evening at Hertford, and on *Friday* morning returned to London.

This day we observed as a day of fasting and prayer, and were much persuaded God will yet be entreated.

Thur. 21.³—I revised a volume of *Latin Poems*, wrote by a gentleman of Denmark.⁴ I was surprised. Most of the verses

¹ See Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, p. 38, and Charles Wesley's *Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 66, 80, 205 ff. and 376.

² Gosse describes them as 'incoherent fragments of a mock antique minstrel.' See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 208.

³ On the 21st he wrote to Walter Churchey, on the 26th to Christopher Hopper, and on the same day to Francis Wolfe—a consolatory letter (*Works*, vol.

xii. pp. 434, 315, 491). The letter to Hopper shows how far he was prepared to go in the direction of American Independence—in brief, how he would deal with the American problem.

⁴ It has not yet been ascertained certainly whether this author is identical with the Mr. Boëhm who was chaplain to the Prince of Denmark (see below, p. 98).

are not unworthy of the Augustan age. Among the rest, there is a translation of two of Mr. Pope's *Epistles*, line for line; and yet in language not only as pure as Virgil's but as elegant too.

1776. JAN. 2, *Tues.*—Being pressed to pay a visit to our brethren at Bristol, some of whom had been a little unsettled by the patriots, so called, I set out early; but the roads were so heavy that I could not get thither till night. I came just time enough, not to see, but to bury, poor Mr. Hall,¹ my brother-in-law, who died on Wednesday morning; I trust, in peace, for God had given him deep repentance. Such another monument of divine mercy, considering how low he had fallen, and from what height of holiness, I have not seen, no, not in seventy years! I had designed to visit him in the morning; but he did not stay for my coming. It is enough, if, after all his wanderings, we meet again in Abraham's bosom.

¹ Westley Hall. See Moore's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 84.

PART THE EIGHTEENTH
THE JOURNAL
FROM JANUARY 1, 1776, TO AUGUST 8, 1779

Few men travelled more than Wesley. He knew the highways and byways, the great houses and gardens, the churches and schools, and, we may add, the new industries which were marking the advent of a new age. A man of affairs, the care of all the societies fell upon him, often involving laborious correspondence. His innumerable tours hummed with business. His chaise was a study, an office, a book-shop, a library, also a private chapel in which at stated hours he fulfilled the devotional duties of the Holy Club. Yet, notwithstanding these distractions, he read ancient and modern literature as he might have done in the seclusion of a college or country parsonage. The notices of books scattered throughout his Journal show how thoroughly he digested the books he read. Their character and variety may be judged from the Catalogue compiled by Mr. F. M. Jackson and published in vol. iv. of the 'W.H.S. Proceedings.'

More remarkable than his reading was his writing. He cultivated a style plain and calm. The number of editions issued during his life-time is some indication of the popularity of his writings. The Rev. Richard Green, whose library of Wesley publications was almost if not quite complete, examined the whole with critical care, and, utilizing the earlier work of Joseph Benson, Thomas Jackson, and George Osborn, fully described them in his 'Wesley Bibliography.' Allowing for Charles Wesley's publications and John's 'Extracts,' there are 233 original works written and published by John Wesley.

If we except the Hymns, in the authorship of which the two brothers shared—and shared, it is now believed, more equally than many have supposed—John Wesley, almost exclusively, was responsible for the press work of early Methodism. At a later period John Fletcher, Joseph Benson, and, still later, Adam Clarke, trained in the Wesley school, led the way for able writers who, inheriting the spirit of their master, taught and fought in the press. But to this day John Wesley's Journal, his Standard Sermons, his Accounts, and the Hymns, are supreme among the literary productions of Methodism.

THE JOURNAL

From January 1, 1776, to August 8, 1779

1776. JAN. 1, *Mon.*—About eighteen hundred of us met together in London, in order to renew our covenant with God ; and it was, as usual, a very solemn opportunity.

Tues. 2.—I set out for Bristol. Between London and Bristol I read over that elegant trifle, *The Correspondence between Theodosius and Constantia*.¹ I observed only one sentiment which I could not receive, that ‘youth is the only possible time for friendship, because every one has at first a natural store of sincerity and benevolence ; but as, in process of time, men find every one to be false and self-interested, they conform to them more and more, till, in riper years, they have neither truth nor benevolence left.’ Perhaps it may be so with all that know not God ; but they that do, escape ‘the corruption that is in the world,’ and increase both in sincerity and in benevolence as they grow in the knowledge of Christ.

Sat. 6.—I returned to London, and I returned just in time, for on *Sunday* the 7th the severe frost set in,² accompanied with so deep a snow as made even the high-road impassable. For some days before the frost broke up it was observed, by means of the thermometer, that the cold was several degrees more

¹ The title is, ‘*Letters that passed between Theodosius and Constantia after she had taken the Veil.*’ Now first published from the original manuscript. London, 1763’ (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 208).

² It continued into February. An observer at Waltham Abbey reports the min. readings of 4, 6, 4, and $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Fahr. on Jan. 29—Feb. 1, and none higher than 33° (on Feb. 1) from Jan. 20 to Feb. 1. At Chatham the thermometer registered $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below zero on

the 31st. On the 28th the Medway was frozen from Rochester to Gillingham, and butts of water (a butt filled with water would weigh from 11 to 12 cwt.) were rolled across the ice from the Dock-yard to the men-of-war in the harbour. Breath of persons in bed was frozen to the sheets. The snowstorm of January 13, 14, and 15 rendered the Dover road impassable. The 29th, 30th and 31st were days of cloudless sunshine. See *Gentleman’s Mag.*, 1776, p. 117.

intense than that in the year 1741. But God then removed the cup from us by a gentle, gradual thaw.

Sun. 14.—As I was going to West Street Chapel, one of the chaise-springs suddenly snapped asunder; but, the horses instantly stopping, I stepped out without the least inconvenience.

At all my vacant hours in this and the following week I endeavoured to finish the *Concise History of England*.¹ I am sensible it must give offence, as in many parts I am quite singular, particularly with regard to those greatly injured characters, Richard III and Mary Queen of Scots.² But I must speak as I think, although still waiting for, and willing to receive, better information.³

Sun. 28.—I was desired to preach a charity sermon in Allhallows Church, Lombard Street. In the year 1735, above forty years ago, I preached in this church, at the earnest request of the churchwardens, to a numerous congregation, who came, like me, with an intent to hear Dr. Heylyn. This was the first time that, having no notes about me, I preached extempore.⁴

¹ For an interesting account of this work, the full title of which is '*A Concise History of England from the Earliest Times to the Death of George II.*' By John Wesley, A.M. In four volumes,' see Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 313. The publication of the *History* seems at first to have created interest, bringing Wesley a profit of two hundred pounds, which Thomas Olivers, who was in a position to know the facts, says, 'he gave away in about a week.' See Olivers' *Rod for a Reviler*, p. 20. But Wesley was not an historian, and the *Concise History* was soon forgotten.

² See above, vol. v. pp. 257, 322.

³ On the 18th he wrote from London to Mr. Gidley, Officer of Excise, who was ordered to Exeter, where, as Wesley told him, there was a small society, lately formed, and in need of every help. 'See that you be not ashamed of a good Master, nor of the least of His servants.' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 512.) On the 27th

he wrote the first of a series of letters to Alexander Knox (*Remains of A. Knox*, vol. iv. p. 1).

⁴ Wesley's published Journal begins with Oct. 1735. His private diary for a few months before this date has not yet been discovered. We cannot, therefore, from his note-books, give the precise date in 1735 when he preached extempore in Allhallows Church. There is, however, among the MSS. recently discovered at City Road a section of Journal containing a detailed account of the marriage of Westley Hall and Patty Wesley, with all the circumstances attending their failure to accompany Wesley to Georgia. From this document we find that Wesley was in London for three or four weeks in the month of August 1735; also that he spent some days in London, including a Sunday, from Monday, Sept. 22 (Appendix XXVII.). Myles, in his *Chronological History*, p. 7, says that in 'the beginning

FEB. 14, *Wed.*—I preached at Shoreham. How is the last become first! No society in the county grows so fast as this, either in grace or number. The chief instrument of this glorious work is Miss Perronet, a burning and a shining light.¹

Fri. 23.—I looked over Mr. Bolt's *Considerations on the Affairs of India*.² Was there ever so melancholy a picture? How are the mighty fallen! The Great Mogul, Emperor of Hindostan, one of the mightiest potentates on earth, is become a poor, little, impotent slave to a company of merchants! His large, flourishing empire is broken in pieces and covered with fraud, oppression, and misery! And we may call the myriads that have been murdered happy, in comparison of those that still groan under the iron yoke. Wilt not Thou visit for these things, O Lord? Shall the fool still say in his heart, 'There is no God'?

Sun. 25.—I buried the remains of William Evans,³ one of the first members of our Society. He was an Israelite indeed, open (if it could be) to a fault; always speaking the truth from his heart.⁴

Wed. 28.—I looked over a volume of Lord Lyttelton's Works.⁵ He is really a fine writer, both in verse and prose, though he believed the Bible; yea, and feared God! In my scraps of time I likewise read over Miss Talbot's *Essays*,⁶ equal to anything of the kind I ever saw. She was a woman of

of the year 1735 Wesley, for the first time, preached extempore in Allhallows Church.' See *W.M. Mag.* 1825, p. 105, and below, Dec. 28, 1788. The churchwardens have affixed a commemorative tablet to the wall of the church.

On Feb. 6 Wesley received the letter from Dr. Johnson complimenting him on the publication of his *Calm Address*. See above, p. 67.

¹ On Feb. 22 he wrote from near London to Joseph Benson (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 423).

² See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 208. Published 1772-5. This Dutch adventurer was not worthy of Wesley's confidence; but the influence of his books may be seen also in Wesley's sermon, 'The

Imperfection of Human Knowledge,' in which he quotes him (*Works*, vol. vi. p. 344).

³ The name appears in Stevenson's list of members (*City Road Chapel*, p. 34).

⁴ On Feb. 26 he wrote to 'A Member of Society' on pastoral visitation and reading (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 302).

⁵ See above, vol. v. p. 382.

⁶ Published in 1772, after her death. She also wrote *Reflections on the Seven Days of the Week* (1770), and a volume of *Letters* (1809). She was the niece of Lord Chancellor Talbot. Wesley advised Miss Bolton to read the *Essays*, and published his friend's remarks on them in the *Arm. Mag.* 1791, p. 590. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 208.

admirable sense and piety, and a far better poet than the celebrated Mrs. Rowe.¹ But here too—

Heaven its choicest gold by torture tried!²

After suffering much, she died of a cancer in her breast.

MARCH 1, *Fri.*—As we cannot depend on having the Foundery long, we met to consult about building a new chapel. Our petition to the City for a piece of ground lies before their committee; but when we shall get any farther I know not, so I determined to begin my circuit as usual; but promised to return whenever I should receive notice that our petition was granted.

On *Sunday* evening I set out, and on *Tuesday* reached Bristol. In the way I read over Mr. Boëhm's *Sermons*,³ Chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, husband to Queen Anne. He was a person of very strong sense, and, in general, sound in his judgement. I remember hearing a very remarkable circumstance concerning him from Mr. Fraser, then chaplain to St. George's Hospital. 'One day,' said he, 'I asked Mr. Boëhm, with whom I was intimately acquainted, "Sir, when you are surrounded by various persons, listening to one and dictating to another, does not that vast hurry of business hinder your communion with God?" He replied, "I bless God, I have just then as full communion with Him as if I was kneeling alone at the altar."'

Wed. 6.—I went down to Taunton, and at three in the afternoon opened the new preaching-house. The people showed great eagerness to hear. Will they at length know the day of their visitation?

Thur. 7.—I returned to Bristol, which I left on *Monday* the 11th; and, having visited Stroud, Painswick, and Tewkesbury, on *Wednesday* the 20th came to Worcester.

Thur. 21.—I was much refreshed among this loving people, especially by the select society, the far greater part of whom could still witness that God had saved them from inward as well as outward sin.

¹ See *Gentleman's Mag.* 1739, p. 261; and above, vol. v. p. 326.

² Altered from Pope's epitaph on Mrs. Corbet (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 153;

and see, for the whole epitaph, p. 115).

³ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 208. In Georgia he had read Boëhm's *Life* (see above, vol. i. p. 175).

Sat. 23.—About noon I preached in the town-hall at Evesham to a congregation of a very different kind. Few of them, I doubt, came from any other motive than to gratify their curiosity. However, they were deeply attentive, so that some of them, I trust, went away a little wiser than they came.

I had been informed that Mr. Weston, the minister of [Chipping] Campden, was willing I should preach in his church; but, before I came, he had changed his mind. However, the vicar of Pebworth was no weathercock, so I preached in his church, *Sunday* the 24th, morning and evening, and, I believe, not in vain.

Mon. 25.—I went on to Birmingham. I was surprised to hear that a good deal of platina was used there; but, upon inquiry, I found it was not the true platina,¹ an original metal between gold and silver (being in weight nearest to gold, even as eighteen to nineteen), but a mere compound of brass and spelter.

Wed. 27.—I preached at Dudley, in the midst of Antinomians and backsliders, on 'We beseech you not to receive the grace of God in vain.' In the evening I preached to our old flock at Wednesbury, and the old spirit was among them.

Fri. 29.—About eight I preached to a very large congregation even at Wolverhampton, and at six in the evening to a mixed multitude in the market-place at Newcastle-under-Lyme. All were quiet now, the gentleman who made a disturbance when I was here last² having been soon after called to his account.

Sun. 31.—I preached at Congleton. The minister here having much disobliged his parishioners, most of the gentry in the town came to the preaching, both at two in the afternoon and in the evening, and it was an acceptable time; I believe very few, rich or poor, came in vain.

¹ The older name for platinum. It had then but recently been discovered, and was only known in a comparatively impure state. Hence the low 'weight' (i.e. specific gravity) mentioned by Wesley as 'between gold and silver.'

Pure platinum	=	21.5
„ gold	=	19.3
Wesley's 'true platina'	=	about 18.0
Pure silver	=	10.5

The alloy referred to in the text was probably a local trade name for a so-called white brass containing a large percentage of zinc (spelter). In appearance and bad working qualities it would resemble the platinum of those days. Its sp. gr. would be about 8.

² See above, March 29, 1774; or possibly March 17, 1775.

APRIL 1,¹ *Mon.*—I went on to Macclesfield. That evening I preached in the house, but it being far too small, on *Tuesday* the 2nd I preached on the Green, near Mr. Ryle's² door. There are no mockers here, and scarce an inattentive hearer. So mightily has the word of God prevailed!

Wed. 3.—Having climbed over the mountains, I preached at the New Mills³ in Derbyshire. The people here are quite earnest and artless, there being no public worship in the town but at our chapel, so that they go straight forward, knowing nothing of various opinions, and minding nothing but to be Bible Christians.

Thur. 4.—I began an answer to that dangerous tract, Dr. Price's⁴ *Observations upon Liberty*, which, if practised, would overturn all government and bring in universal anarchy.

On *Easter Day* the preaching-house at Manchester contained the congregation pretty well at seven in the morning, but in the afternoon I was obliged to be abroad, thousands upon thousands flocking together. I stood in a convenient place, almost over

¹ He wrote to Alexander Knox (*Re-mains*, vol. iv. p. 2).

² His friend and host, an alderman and magistrate of the town, the grandfather of the first Bishop of Liverpool. See above, p. 14, and vol. iv. p. 310.

³ Wesley's host was Mr. Beard, whose daughter he once defended against the charge of finery in dress. 'For my part, I do not wish to see young people dress like their grandmothers.'

⁴ Richard Price, D.D., F.R.S. (1723-91), was one of the Nonconformist ministers who passed out of Calvinism through Arianism into Unitarianism. He published *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America*. Wesley's reply was entitled: *Some Observations on Liberty, occasioned by a Late Tract* (see Green's *Wesley Biog.*, No. 310). Burke also attacked Price. Lecky, on English opinion of the American War in 1775-6, writes:

The opinion of the most powerful and the most intelligent classes in the community

was, on the American question, with the King and with his ministers. . . . The great strength of the Opposition lay with the Non-conformist bodies. The *Essay on Liberty* by Dr. Price, published in 1775, identified itself very skilfully with the cause of constitutional liberty and of parliamentary reform at home. In two years it passed through eight editions. . . . The tract of Wesley against the American pretensions [his *Calm Address*] had an enormous circulation. Lord Dartmouth, one of the most conspicuous laymen in the evangelical religious world, and Cowper, the poet of the movement, believed that the King would be committing a sin if he acknowledged the independence of America (*History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii. pp. 528-30, 4th ed.).

For his *Observations upon Liberty* and the pamphlet on *Civil Government* Dr. Price received thanks and a gold snuff-box from the London Corporation, and the University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of D.D. Pitt consulted him on the national debt at the close of the American War. Wesley quotes him below, p. 123. See also *Arm. Mag.* 1789, pp. 31 and 614.

against the infirmary, and exhorted a listening multitude¹ to 'live unto Him who died for them and rose again.'

Tues. 9.—I came to Chester, and had the satisfaction to find an earnest, loving, well-established people.

Wed. 10.—In the evening the house at Liverpool was well filled with people of all ranks.

Fri. 12.—I visited one formerly a captain, now a dying sinner. His eyes spoke the agony of his soul, his tongue having wellnigh forgot its office. With great efforts he could but just say, 'I want—Jesus Christ!' The next day he could not utter a word; but, if he could not speak, God could hear.

Mon. 15.—About noon I preached in the new house at Wigan² to a very quiet and very dull congregation. But considering what the town was some years ago, wicked even to a proverb, we may well say, God hath done great things already. And we hope to see greater things than these. In the evening I was obliged to preach abroad at Bolton, though the air was cold and the ground wet.

Tues. 16.—I preached about noon at Chowbent, once the roughest place in all the neighbourhood. But there is not the least trace of it remaining; such is the fruit of the genuine gospel.

As we were considering in the afternoon what we should do, the rain not suffering us to be abroad, one asked the vicar for the use of the church, to which he readily consented. I began reading prayers at half-hour past five. The church was so crowded, pews, alleys, and galleries, as I believe it had not been these hundred years; and God bore witness to His word.

Wed. 17.³—After preaching at Bury about noon I went on to Rochdale, and preached in the evening to a numerous and deeply serious congregation.

Thur. 18.—I clambered over the horrid mountains to Todmorden, and thence to Heptonstall, on the brow of another

¹ Thomas Marsland of Stockport, one of the early leaders in Lancashire Sunday-school work, heard Wesley on this occasion in the preaching-house and also opposite the infirmary. The word came to him in great power, and he had a personal interview with Wesley. He was

a Sunday-school teacher for fifty-four years (*W.M. Mag.* 1843, p. 793).

² This chapel was now in the hands of Samuel Bradburn. See Gregory's *Life of Bradburn*, p. 34.

³ He wrote to Miss Bishop (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 30).

mountain. Such a congregation scarce ever met in the church before. In the evening I preached in the Croft, adjoining to the new house at Halifax.

Fri. 19.—I preached at Smith House, for the sake of that lovely woman, Mrs. Holmes.¹ It does me good to see her, such is her patience, or rather thankfulness, under almost continual pain.

Sun. 21.—After strongly insisting at Dawgreen on family religion, which is still much wanting among us, I hastened to Birstall church, where we had a sound, practical sermon. At one I preached to many thousands at the foot of the hill, and to almost as many at Leeds in the evening.

Mon. 22.—I had an agreeable conversation with that good man, Mr. O——.² Oh that he may be an instrument of removing the prejudices which have so long separated chief friends!

Tues. 23.—I preached in the press-yard at Rothwell,³ and have seldom seen a congregation so moved. I then spoke severally to the class of children, and found every one of them rejoicing in the love of God. It is particularly remarkable that this work of God among them is broke out all at once; they have all been justified, and one clearly sanctified, within these last six weeks.

Wed. 24.—I went on to Otley,⁴ where the word of God has free course and brings forth much fruit. This is chiefly owing to the spirit and behaviour of those whom God has perfected in love. Their zeal stirs up many, and their steady and uniform conversation has a language almost irresistible.

¹ For an account of Smith House and Mrs. Holmes see *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1899, p. 65. Wesley's last visit was on April 19, 1774. John Bennet once wrote of her to Wesley:

I was with Mrs. Holmes; she seems open-hearted towards us, and yet I really think she has drunk deep into the German [*i.e.* Moravian] spirit. She intends to invite Mr. Whitefield to call and preach at her house, though she supposes it will not please the brethren at all.

See *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1902, p. 29; *Memoirs of James Hutton*, pp. 100–11; and above, vol. iii. p. 16.

² Not improbably Mr. Okeley, the Moravian minister of Bedford.

³ It is understood that Wesley preached in the jail-fold (which is still in Rothwell). This may have been used for the pressing of men for the American War (see J. Batty's *History of Rothwell*). It is said that Wesley preached several times at the old cross, still standing, and in Commercial Street.

⁴ Miss Ritchie, writing about this time, says:

I have been with Mr. Wesley to the various places he has visited in this country, and have had, while travelling, many valuable opportunities for conversation. . . . I have enjoyed uninterrupted sunshine (*Life of Mrs. Mortimer*, p. 64).

*Fri. 26.*¹—I preached in the new chapel at Ecclesall to a people just sprung out of the dust, exceeding artless and exceeding earnest, many of whom seemed to be already saved from sin. Oh why do we not encourage all to expect this blessing every hour from the moment they are justified! In the evening I preached at Bradford on the wise man that builds his house upon a rock—that is, who builds his hope of heaven on no other foundation than doing these sayings contained in the Sermon on the Mount; although, in another sense, we build, not upon His sayings, but His sufferings.

Sat. 27.—I preached in the church at Bingley,² perhaps not so filled before for these hundred years.

Sun. 28.—The congregation at Haworth was far greater than the church could contain. For the sake of the poor parishioners, few of whom are even awakened to this day, I spoke as strongly as I possibly could upon these words: ‘The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.’ The church at Colne is,³ I think, at least twice as large as that at Haworth; but it would not in any wise contain the congregation. I preached on ‘I saw a great white throne coming down from heaven.’ Deep attention sat on every face, and, I trust, God gave us His blessing.

Mon. 29.—About two I preached at Padiham, in a broad street, to a huge congregation. I think the only inattentive persons were the minister and a kind of gentleman. I saw none inattentive at Clough in the evening. What has God wrought

¹ He wrote to ‘A Member of Society’ (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 303).

² This was the first time he had preached in the church at Bingley. The Rev. Richard Hartley, who was vicar at the time of this visit, was one of Wesley’s friends (*Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1893, p. 64). His text was Acts xxiv. 25. Thomas Taylor wrote in his diary:

I never saw him weep while preaching before now. He spoke awfully, and the congregation heard him attentively. The next day (Sunday) I heard him at Keighley in the morning and then at Haworth church. Afterwards the sacrament was administered, but in too great a hurry. Several hundreds communicated in less than an hour. At

Colne the street was filled with people waiting to welcome him; but, when about two miles from Colne, his chaise broke down, which somewhat delayed his coming. He mounted a horse, however, and so arrived in safety [he was seventy-three years of age]. The crowd was so great it was with difficulty we got into the church. The sexton led us to the reading-desk, thereby I got a seat. Mr. Wesley’s text was Rev. xx. 12. At the beginning he was rather flat; but at the end he spake many awful things.

Quoted from a manuscript: Tyerman’s *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 226.

³ White, the persecutor, died in 1751, after holding the living of Colne ten years. See above, vol. iii. p. 370.

since Mr. Grimshaw and I were seized near this place by a furious mob and kept prisoners for some hours! ¹ The sons of him who headed that mob now gladly receive our saying.

Tues. 30.—In the evening I preached in a kind of square at Colne to a multitude of people, all drinking in the word. I scarce ever saw a congregation wherein men, women, and children stood in such a posture; and this in the town wherein, thirty years ago, no Methodist could show his head! The first that preached here was John Jane,² who was innocently riding through the town when the zealous mob pulled him off his horse and put him in the stocks. He seized the opportunity, and vehemently exhorted them 'to flee from the wrath to come.'

MAY 1, *Wed.*—I set out early, and the next afternoon reached Whitehaven; and my chaise-horses were no worse for travelling near a hundred and ten miles in two days.³

In travelling through Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Bristol, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland I diligently made two inquiries. The first was concerning the increase or decrease of the people; the second concerning the increase or decrease of trade. As to the latter, it is, within these two last years, amazingly increased; in several branches in such a manner as has not been known in the memory of man. Such is the fruit of the entire civil and religious liberty which all England now enjoys! And as to the former, not only in every city and large town, but in every village and hamlet, there is no decrease, but a very large and swift increase. One sign of this is the swarms of little children which we see in every place. Which, then, shall we most admire, the ignorance or confidence of those that affirm population decreases in England? ⁴ I doubt not but it increases full as fast here as in any province of North America.

Mon. 6.—After preaching at Cockermouth and Wigton, I went on to Carlisle, and preached to a very serious congregation. Here I saw a very extraordinary genius: a man blind from four

¹ See above, vol. iii. pp. 369-372.

² He died Aug. 25, 1750; see above, vol. iii. p. 494, where Wesley inserts an account of this brave man.

³ On May 3 he wrote to Miss Roe (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 75).

⁴ It was now about nine millions.

years of age, who could wind worsted, weave flowered plush on an engine and loom of his own making; who wove his own name in plush, and made his own clothes, and his own tools of every sort. Some years ago, being shut up in the organ-loft at church, he felt every part of it, and afterwards made an organ for himself, which, judges say, is an exceeding good one. He then taught himself to play upon it psalm-tunes, anthems, voluntaries, or anything which he heard. I heard him play several tunes with great accuracy, and a complex voluntary. I suppose all Europe can hardly produce such another instance. His name is Joseph Strong.¹ But what is he the better for all this, if he is still 'without God in the world'?

Tues. 7.—I went on to Selkirk. The family came to prayer in the evening, after which the mistress of it said, 'Sir, my daughter Jenny would be very fond of having a little talk with you. She is a strange lass; she will not come down on the Lord's day but to public worship, and spends all the rest of the day in her own chamber.' I desired she would come up; and found one that earnestly longed to be altogether a Christian. I satisfied her mother that she was not mad; and spent a little time in advice, exhortation, and prayer.

Wed. 8.—We set out early, but found the air so keen that before noon our hands bled as if cut with a knife. In the evening I preached at Edinburgh; and the next evening near the river-side in Glasgow.

Fri. 10.—I went to Greenock.² It being their fast-day before the sacrament (ridiculously so called, for they do not fast at all, but take their three meals, just as on other days), the congregation was larger than when I was here before, and remarkably attentive. The next day I returned to Glasgow, and on *Sunday* the 12th went in the morning to the High Kirk (to show I was no bigot), and in the afternoon to the Church of England chapel. The decency of behaviour here surprises me more and more. I know nothing like it in these kingdoms,

¹ For an interesting account of Strong see *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 179. He was only fifteen years old when he secreted himself in the cathedral.

² For this journey see Thomas Rutherford, who gives many interesting details

in the *Meth. Mag.* for 1808, pp. 489-90. He tells the story of Dr. Beattie of Aberdeen and his judgement on Wesley's sermon—'not a masterly discourse, and yet only a master could have delivered it.'

except among the Methodists. In the evening the congregation by the river-side was exceeding numerous ; to whom I declared ' the whole counsel of God.'

Mon. 13.—I returned to Edinburgh, and the next day went to Perth, where (it being supposed no house would contain the congregation) I preached at six on the South Inch, though the wind was cold and boisterous. Many are the stumbling-blocks which have been laid in the way of this poor people. They are removed, but the effects of them still continue.

Wed. 15.—I preached at Dundee to nearly as large a congregation as that at Port Glasgow.

Thur. 16.—I attended an ordination at Arbroath. The service lasted about four hours ; but it did not strike me. It was doubtless very grave ; but I thought it was very dull.

Fri. 17.—I reached Aberdeen in good time.

Sat. 18.—I read over Dr. Johnson's *Tour to the Western Isles*.¹ It is a very curious book, wrote with admirable sense, and, I think, great fidelity ; although, in some respects, he is thought to bear hard on the nation, which I am satisfied he never intended.

Sun. 19.—I attended the morning service at the kirk, full as formal as any in England ; and no way calculated either to awaken sinners or to stir up the gift of God in believers. In the afternoon I heard a useful sermon in the English chapel ; and was again delighted with the exquisite decency both of the minister and the whole congregation. The Methodist congregations come the nearest to this ; but even these do not come up to it. Our house was sufficiently crowded in the evening ; but some of the hearers did not behave like those at the chapel.

Mon. 20.—I preached about eleven at Old Meldrum, but

¹ Dr. Johnson made this celebrated tour with Boswell in 1773. He arrived in Edinburgh Aug. 18, and left Scotland on his homeward journey on Nov. 22. In that interval he visited not only the Hebrides, but the three principal cities of Scotland, the four Universities, much of the Highlands, and was entertained by the great and the learned, and in some

instances by persons in humble life, with marked respect. In 1775 he published his *Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides*. After Johnson's death there appeared, in 1785, the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, by James Boswell. In 1791 was published the most successful of biographies, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

could not reach Banff¹ till near seven in the evening. I went directly to the Parade, and proclaimed to a listening multitude 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.' All behaved well but a few gentry, whom I rebuked openly; and they stood corrected.

After preaching, Mrs. Gordon, the Admiral's widow, invited me to supper. There I found five or six as agreeable women as I have seen in the kingdom; and I know not when I have spent two or three hours with greater satisfaction. In the morning I was going to preach in the assembly-room, when the Episcopal minister sent and offered me the use of his chapel. It was quickly filled. After reading prayers, I preached on those words in the Second Lesson, 'What lack I yet?' and strongly applied them to those in particular who supposed themselves to be 'rich and increased in goods, and lacked nothing.' I then set out for Keith.

Banff is one of the neatest and most elegant towns that I have seen in Scotland. It is pleasantly situated on the side of a hill, sloping from the sea, though close to it; so that it is sufficiently sheltered from the sharpest winds. The streets are straight and broad. I believe it may be esteemed the fifth, if not the fourth, town in the kingdom. The county quite from Banff to Keith is the best peopled of any I have seen in Scotland. This is chiefly, if not entirely, owing to the late Earl of Findlater. He was indefatigable in doing good, took pains to procure industrious men from all parts, and to provide such little settlements for them as enabled them to live with comfort.

¹ Tyerman (*Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 225) inserts the following manuscript letter to Robert Dall, one of Wesley's itinerants:

BANFF, Jan. 1, 1777.

DEAR FATHER IN THE LORD,—

The society has been stationary ever since you left us. We are often neglected. Lately we had only one visit in eight weeks. Mr. Wesley was here on the 20th May last, and preached on the Parade from 2 Cor. viii. 9. He supped at Lord Banff's and next night at Admiral Gordon's lady's house, with a great number of great ones; and, at their request, he preached in the English chapel to an elegant and crowded congregation. We are, &c., WILLIAM and ISABEL MCPHERSON.

Thomas Rutherford had visited Banff from Keith in the beginning of 1775, and Wesley himself had been there on June 8, 1764, but without preaching, because of the weather. The Rev. T. Ryley, writing in the *Meth. Rec.* (Aug. 25, 1904), calls the outdoor preaching-place 'Battery Green.' He adds that a house at the foot of Strait Park, with a quaint inscribed stone on its front, is pointed out as that where Wesley lodged, possibly on this, or perhaps only on subsequent visits. At the top of Strait Park the Banff Methodists long held their services in a hall which now forms the upper story of a business house.

About noon I preached at the Newmill, nine miles from Banff, to a large congregation of plain, simple people. As we rode in the afternoon the heat overcame me, so that I was weary and faint before we came to Keith; but I no sooner stood up in the market-place than I forgot my weariness; such were the seriousness and attention of the whole congregation, though as numerous as that at Banff. Mr. Gordon, the minister of the parish, invited me to supper, and told me his kirk was at my service. A little society is formed here already; and is in a fair way of increasing. But they were just now in danger of losing their preaching-house, the owner being determined to sell it. I saw but one way to secure it for them, which was to buy it myself. So (who would have thought it?) I bought an estate, consisting of two houses, a yard, a garden, with three acres of good land. But he told me flat, 'Sir, I will take no less for it than sixteen pounds ten shillings, to be paid, part now, part at Michaelmas, and the residue next May.'

Here Mr. Gordon showed me a great curiosity. Near the top of the opposite hill a new town is built, containing, I suppose, a hundred houses, which is *a town of beggars*.¹ This, he informed me, was the professed, regular occupation of *all* the inhabitants. Early in spring they all go out, and spread themselves over the kingdom, and in autumn they return and do what is requisite for their wives and children.

Wed. 22.—The wind turning north, we stepped at once from June to January. About one I preached at Inverurie to a plain, earnest, loving people, and before five came to Aberdeen.

¹ A correspondence in the *Scotsman* (May 17, 1904) elicited much interesting information on this subject. New Keith was laid out on a barren moor by the Earl of Findlater about the year 1750. About the same time Newmill was founded by Lord Fife, who also founded Fife-Keith, one on one side of the river Isla, and the other on the other. The inhabitants of Newmill (according to Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of the Parish of Keith*) consisted mainly of very poor people, who fixed their abode there for the convenience of the land and moss. 'In a detached corner

of the parish is a colony from various districts of the Highlands, who, being indigent and supported by begging, or their own alertness, are allured there by the abundance of moss. During the summer months the poor, who are extremely numerous, range this and neighbouring parishes, and are a great encroachment upon what is truly the property of the native poor.' The town of Newmill does not seem to have long maintained its unenviable notoriety. It soon became a township of industrious and respectable people. (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 214; and vol. ix. p. 155.)

Thur. 23.—I read over Mr. Pennant's *Journey through Scotland*¹; a lively as well as judicious writer. Judicious, I mean, in most respects; but I cannot give up to all the Deists in Great Britain the existence of witchcraft till I give up the credit of all history, sacred and profane. And at the present time I have not only as strong, but stronger proofs of this, from eye and ear witnesses, than I have of murder; so that I cannot rationally doubt of one any more than the other.

Fri. 24.—I returned to Arbroath, and lodged at Provost Grey's. So, for a time, we are in honour! I have hardly seen such another place in the three kingdoms as this is at present. Hitherto there is no opposer at all, but every one seems to bid us God-speed!

Sat. 25.—I preached at West Haven (a town of fishermen) about noon, and at Dundee in the evening.

Sun. 26.—I went to the new church, cheerful, lightsome, and admirably well finished. A young gentleman preached such a sermon, both for sense and language, as I never heard in North Britain before, and I was informed his life is as his preaching. At five we had an exceeding large congregation; and the people of Dundee, in general, behave better at public worship than any in the kingdom, except the Methodists and those at the Episcopal chapels. In all other kirks the bulk of the people are bustling to and fro before the minister has ended his prayer. In Dundee all are quiet, and none stir at all till he has pronounced the blessing.

Mon. 27.—I paid a visit to St. Andrews, once the largest city in the kingdom.² It was eight times as large as it is

¹ Thomas Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* (1769) was published in Chester in 1771. His *Collected Works*, which include a second and a third tour, were published in 1782-1801, in twenty-three volumes. In vol. xii. p. 169 he speaks of 'the imaginary crime of witchcraft' (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 209). Also, on witchcraft, see Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, pp. 545 and 578, Fitzgerald's ed.

² The diminished size and importance of the city impressed Dr. Johnson; see

his *Tour*. The loss of its ecclesiastical pre-eminence, as well as the storms to which Wesley refers, contributed to the decay of the place. Defoe describes the cathedral as 'a most august monument of the splendour of the Scots' episcopal church in former times, and a most awful heap of ruins.' Its measurement was 375 ft. in length. The steeple to which he refers is part of the chapel of St. Rule. The word 'kingdom' here refers to Scotland.

now, and a place of very great trade ; but the sea, rushing from the north-east, gradually destroyed the harbour and trade together, in consequence of which whole streets (that were) are now meadows and gardens. Three broad, straight, handsome streets remain, all pointing at the old cathedral, which, by the ruins, appears to have been above three hundred feet long, and proportionably broad and high ; so that it seems to have exceeded York Minster, and to have at least equalled any cathedral in England. Another church, afterwards used in its stead, bears date 1124. A steeple standing near the cathedral is thought to have stood thirteen hundred years.¹

What is left of St. Leonard's College² is only a heap of ruins. Two colleges remain. One of them has a tolerable square, but all the windows are broke, like those of a brothel. We were informed the students do this before they leave the college. Where are their blessed Governors in the meantime? Are they all fast asleep? The other college³ is a mean building, but has a handsome library newly erected. In the two colleges, we learned, were about seventy students ; near the same number as at Old Aberdeen. Those at New Aberdeen are not more numerous ; neither those at Glasgow. In Edinburgh I suppose there are a hundred. So four universities contain three hundred and ten students ! These all come to their several colleges in November, and return home in May ! So they *may* study five months in the year, and lounge all the rest ! Oh where was the common sense of those who instituted such colleges ? In the English colleges every one *may* reside all the year, as all my pupils did ; and I should have thought myself little better than a highwayman if I had not lectured them every day in the year but Sundays.

We were so long detained at the Passage that I only reached Edinburgh time enough to give notice of my preaching the

¹ On May 28 he wrote from Edinburgh to Mrs. Freeman (see new ed. of *Wesley Letters*), also to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 3), and to Miss Bolton (*W.H.S.* vol. viii. p. 161).

² It had been dissolved some time before, and the site and building sold. This college was founded in 1512. The

'Square' is that of St. Salvadore's College, founded in 1458 ; its chapel is its chief feature.

³ St. Mary's, founded 1552. Its library was once the boast of Scotland. 'You have not such a one in England,' said the Principal to Dr. Johnson.

next day. After preaching at Dunbar, Alnwick, and Morpeth, on *Saturday*, JUNE 1, I reached Newcastle.¹

Mon. 3.—I visited Sunderland, where the society then contained three hundred and seventy-two members. *Thursday* the 6th I preached at Darlington and Barnard Castle; on *Friday* in Teesdale and Weardale. Here many rejoiced with joy unspeakable, and seemed determined never to rest till they had recovered that great salvation which they enjoyed some years ago.

Sat. 8.—As we rode to Sheephill we saw and heard at a distance much thunder and rain and lightning. The rain was before and behind, and on each side; but none fell upon us. About six I preached at Sheephill. It rained hard very near us; but not a drop came upon us. After eight I reached Newcastle, thoroughly tired; but a night's rest set me up again. On *Monday* and *Tuesday* I met the classes. I left three hundred and seventy-four in the society, and I found about four hundred; and I trust they are more established in the 'faith that worketh by love.'

While I was here I talked largely with a pious woman, whom I could not well understand. I could not doubt of her being quite sincere, nay, and much devoted to God; but she had fallen among some well-meaning enthusiasts, who taught her so to attend to the inward voice as to quit the society, the preaching, the Lord's Supper, and almost all outward means. I find no persons harder to deal with than these. One knows not how to advise them. They must not act contrary to their conscience, though it be an erroneous one. And who can convince them that it is erroneous? None but the Almighty.

Mon. 17.—After preaching at Durham I went on to Darlington. The society here, lately consisting of nine members, is now increased to above seventy, many of whom are warm in their first love. At the lovefeast many of these spoke their experience with all simplicity. Here will surely be a plentiful harvest, if tares do not grow up with the wheat.

Wed. 19.—I preached to my old, loving congregation at

¹ On June 2 he wrote from Newcastle-upon-Tyne to Miss Hester Ann Roe

'Does He "make your very dreams devout?"' (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 76).

Osmotherley, and visited once more poor Mr. Watson,¹ just quivering over the grave.

Part of this week I read, as I travelled, a famous book, which I had not looked into for these fifty years. It was Lucian's *Dialogues*.² He has a good deal of humour, but wonderful little judgement. His great hero is Diogenes the Cynic; just such another brute as himself. Socrates (as one might expect) he reviles and ridicules with all his might. I think there is more sense in his *Timon* than in all his other Dialogues put together; and yet even that ends poorly, in the dull jest of his breaking the heads of all that came near him. How amazing is it that such a book as this should be put into the hands of schoolboys!³

✓ *Mon. 24.*—I went on to Scarborough. I think the preaching-house⁴ here is the most elegant of any square room which we have in England; and we had as elegant a congregation. But they were as attentive as if they had been Kingswood colliers.

Tues. 25.—I visited a poor backslider, who has given great occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. Some time since he felt a pain in the soles of his feet, then in his legs, his knees, his thighs. Now it has reached his stomach, and begins to affect his head. No medicines have availed at all. I fear he has sinned a sin unto death; a sin which God has determined to punish by death.

Fri. 28.—I am seventy-three years old, and far abler to preach than I was at three-and-twenty. What natural means has God used to produce so wonderful an effect? (1) Continual exercise and change of air, by travelling above four thousand

¹ For the facts and surmises respecting the identification of Watson (or Adams) see below, p. 147, and above, vol. iii. pp. 169, 209.

² The most popular are three in which he ridicules the pagan mythology and philosophical sects; 'many of them, however, though written in an elegant style, and abounding in witticisms, are tainted with profanity and indecency.'

³ On the 23rd he wrote from Whitby to

William Severn (new ed. *Wesley Letters*). On the 24th he wrote from Whitby to Mr. James Barry respecting local preachers who talk nonsense and speak against perfection. He urges a 'regular plan, and see that they keep it' (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ This chapel in Church Stairs Street was the third Methodist preaching-house in Scarborough. See *Meth. Rec.* Feb. 16, 1905; and above, vol. v. p. 473.

miles in a year ; (2) constant rising at four ; (3) the ability, if ever I want, to sleep immediately ; (4) the never losing a night's sleep in my life ; (5) two violent fevers, and two deep consumptions. These, it is true, were rough medicines ; but they were of admirable service ; causing my flesh to come again, as the flesh of a little child. May I add, lastly, evenness of temper ? I *feel* and *grieve* ; but, by the grace of God, I *fret* at nothing. But still 'the help that is done upon earth, He doeth it Himself.' And this He doeth in answer to many prayers.¹

JULY 1, *Mon.*—I preached, about eleven, to a numerous and serious congregation at Pocklington. In my way from hence to Malton, Mr. C—— (a man of sense and veracity) gave me the following account : His grandfather, Mr. H——, he said, about twenty years ago, ploughing up a field, two or three miles from Pocklington, turned up a large stone, under which he perceived there was a hollow. Digging on, he found, at a small distance, a large, magnificent house.² He cleared away the earth, and, going into it, found many spacious rooms. The floors of the lower story were of mosaic work, exquisitely wrought. Mr. C—— himself counted sixteen stones within an inch square. Many flocked to see it from various parts as long as it stood open ; but, after some days, Mr. P—— (he knew not why) ordered it to be covered again ; and he would never after suffer any to open it, but ploughed the field all over. This is far more difficult to account for than the subterraneous buildings at Herculaneum. History gives us an account of the time when, and the manner how, these were swallowed up. The burning mountain is still assured, and the successive lavas that flowed from it still distinguishable. But history gives no account of this, nor of any burning mountains in our island. Neither do we read of any such earthquake in England as was capable of working that effect.

Tues. 2.—I went to York.³ The house was full enough in

¹ Cf. above, p. 29.

² Inquiry was made about this by 'Cantab,' in *Notes and Queries*, 1883, Part II., pp. 386, 477, but elicited nothing definite by way of reply. At p. 477, Lysart and J. P. E. both suggest a Roman villa.

³ Dr. Lyth, in his *Glimpses of Early Meth. in York*, describes some of the worshippers in Peaseholme Green chapel who heard Wesley on this occasion. Robert Spence, who had lost his situation as coachman because of his Methodism, and was everywhere rejected for the same

the evening, while I pointed the true and the false way of expounding those important words, 'Ye are saved through faith.'

Wed. 3.—I preached about noon at Tadcaster, with an uncommon degree of freedom, which was attended with a remarkable blessing. A glorious work is dawning here, against which nothing can prevail; unless the ball of contention be thrown in among the plain people by one or two that have lately embraced new opinions. In the evening I preached at York on the fashionable religion, vulgarly called morality; and showed at large, from the accounts given of it by its ablest patrons, that it is neither better nor worse than Atheism.

Thur. 4.—I met the select society, and was a little surprised to find that, instead of growing in grace, scarce two of them retained the grace they had two years ago. All of them seemed to be sincere; and yet a faintness of spirit ran through them all.

In the evening I showed, to a still more crowded audience, the nature and necessity of Christian love: *'Αγάπη*, vilely rendered *charity*, to confound poor English readers. The word was sharper than a two-edged sword, as many of the hearers felt. God grant the wound may not be healed till He Himself binds it up!

Fri. 5.—About eleven I preached at Foggathorpe, a lone house, a few miles from Howden. Abundance of people were gathered together, notwithstanding heavy rain; and they received the truth in the love thereof. I came to Howden a little before three, when a large congregation was soon gathered. All were serious; the more so because of a few claps of thunder that rolled over our heads.

reason, had settled in York a year before. By the help of his brother John, and John Hall, he commenced business as a bookseller, became partner in the leading publishing house of the city, and as leader and local preacher contributed much to the upbuilding of Methodism in York. Thomas Chapel, in humbler circumstances, was a useful leader and local preacher. 'I never leave his house,' says Miss Mortimer, 'without a savour of good things.' Jenny Wilson, formerly a member of the Society of Friends, was an ornament of Peaseholme Green and a leader. In Miss Mortimer's Diary are the names

of other worshippers—Mr. Hilton, Mr. and Mrs. Buckle, Miss Horrell, Dr. Hosmer, Mrs. Bathsheba Hall, and Miss Mortimer herself, who afterwards became Mrs. Pawson. Wesley, when visiting York, was invariably entertained either by Mr. George Fettes, in Lady Peckitt's Yard, on the edge of the Pavement (a Common Councilman for Walmgate Ward); or by Mr. Roger Preston of Petergate. To this rule there was one exception. At his last visit Mr. Joseph Agar was his host (*W.M. Mag.* 1850, p. 1130).

I preached at Swinefleet in the evening. These are the most sensible and gentlemanlike farmers that I have seen anywhere ; and many of them are 'rooted and grounded in love,' and have adorned the gospel many years.¹

Sat. 6.—I went on to Epworth, and found my old friend, Mr. Hutton,² in the deepest melancholy. I judged it to be partly natural, partly diabolical ; but I doubt not he will be saved, though as by fire.

Tues. 9.—I preached at Brigg in the morning. All behaved well but a few gentlemen (so called), who seemed to understand no more of the matter than if I had been talking Greek.

I went thence to Horncastle and to Spilsby, with Mr. Br[ackenbury].³ While he was at Cambridge he was convinced of sin, though not by any outward means, and soon after justified. Coming to Hull, he met with one of our preachers. By long and close conversation with him, he was clearly convinced it was his duty to join with the people called Methodists. At first, indeed, he staggered at lay preachers ; but, after weighing the matter more deeply, he began preaching himself ; and found a very remarkable blessing, both on his own soul and on his labours.

¹ After quoting this characterization of the Swinefleet farmers, Mary (Barritt) Taft (*Life*, 1827, p. 99) says :

This is not all that might be said. Our good friend Mr. Laverick built a chapel at his own expense, and laboured in it occasionally as a local preacher ; but in a few years afterwards, this place being too small, they . . . built a new one, two or three times larger.

² A letter, 'J. W. to Miss Woodhouse,' 'at Mr. Hutton's in Epworth, near Thorne, July 30, 1773,' settles the question of the identity of this Mr. Hutton (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 23). This was not James Hutton, but a 'Mr. Hutton' of Epworth.

³ Robert Carr, eldest son of Carr Brackenbury, Panton House, Lincolnshire, born in 1752. His place in early Methodism was unique. As one of Wesley's Assistants he was enrolled on the Minutes of Conference, and served as a circuit itinerant preacher, and occasion-

ally as one of Wesley's travelling companions. He accompanied him, for instance, to Scotland and Holland, ministering to the friend whom he so greatly revered. He was also a county magistrate, the owner of several mansions, and the landlord of thousands of broad acres. This appears to have been Wesley's first interview with him. The Rev. E. J. Brailsford, whose sketch in the *W.M. Mag.* 1905, p. 560, is most instructive, traces Brackenbury's spiritual life to an 'introspective tendency' strengthened by the impulse of platonic thought prevalent in Cambridge since the days when Henry More, another Lincolnshire man, had taught there. See *Raithby Hall, or Memorial Sketches of Robert Carr Brackenbury, Esq., and of Sarah his Wife*, by Mrs. Richard Smith. For a view of Raithby Hall, Brackenbury's residence, see below, p. 297.

After visiting a few more places in these parts, on *Saturday* the 13th I returned to Epworth.

Sun. 14.—I preached in the morning at Gringley; about one, at Owston; and at four, in Epworth market-place, where God 'struck with the hammer of His word, and broke the hearts of stone.' We had afterwards a lovefeast, at which a flame was soon kindled; which was greatly increased while Mr. Cundy related the manner how God perfected him in love—a testimony which is always attended with a peculiar blessing.

Mon. 15.¹—I preached at Doncaster, in one of the most elegant houses in England,² and to one of the most elegant congregations. They seemed greatly astonished; and well they might; for I scarce ever spoke so strongly on 'Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life.'

Tues. 16.—At Sheffield I talked at large with one whose case is very peculiar. She never loses a sense of the love of God, and yet is continually harassed by the devil, and constrained to utter words which her soul abhors; while her body feels as if it was in a burning flame. For this her father turned her out of doors; and she had no money, nor any friend to take her in. To cut her off from every human comfort, our wise assistant turned her out of society. Yet in all this she murmured not, neither 'charged God foolishly.'

Wed. 17.—Having been desired by one of Chesterfield to give them a sermon in the way, I called there; but he did not come to own me. So, after resting awhile at another house, I stood at a small distance from the main street and proclaimed salvation by faith to a serious congregation. After preaching at a few other places, on *Thursday* the 18th I preached at Nottingham,³ and, having no time to lose, took chaise at noon,

¹ He wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 56).

² See above, vol. v. p. 376. Wesley's use of the word 'elegant' is quite in harmony with eighteenth-century literary use. The building is described by W. W. Stamp (*Meth. Mag.* 1828, p. 741) as small and neat, built in a low part of the town. It met with Wesley's unqualified approbation. People of note, with Madame Eyre, a widow lady of fortune, at their

head, attended the chapel. Doncaster, hitherto connected with Sheffield, was this year transferred to the Epworth circuit.

³ Thomas Taylor, on his way to the Conference, preached here in July 1776. He writes of 'a loving, sensible, judicious people.' He preached in the market-place—'all as peaceable as if they had been in the most solemn temple. Surely God has something to do in this town' (Harwood's *Meth. in Nottingham*, p. 43).

and the next evening, *Friday* the 19th, met the committee at the Foundery.¹

Wed. 24.—I read Mr. Jenyns's² admired tract on the *Internal Evidence of the Christian Religion*. He is undoubtedly a fine writer, but whether he is a Christian, Deist, or Atheist I cannot tell. If he is a Christian, he betrays his own cause by averring that 'all Scripture is not given by inspiration of God, but the writers of it were sometimes left to themselves, and consequently made some mistakes.' Nay, if there be any mistakes in the Bible, there may as well be a thousand. If there be one falsehood in that book, it did not come from the God of truth.

Sun. 28.—Perceiving the immense hurt which it had done, I spoke more strongly than ever I had done before on the sin and danger of indulging 'itching ears.' I trust, here at least, that plague will be stayed.³

*AUG. 2, Fri.*⁴—We made our first subscription toward build-

¹ Very little is said in the Journal or in correspondence respecting the arrangements made for building 'a new Foundery.' On Oct. 19, 1775, Wesley, writing to his brother, says, 'On Friday I hope to be in London, and to talk with the committee about building a new Foundery.' On Friday, March 1, the committee met again. We are not told what they did, but, either the negotiations with the City for a site were completed, or were so far advanced as to warrant the opening of a subscription list. The old Foundery was held on a lease which did not actually expire until after the erection of the new chapel; but for some time past the whole district of Finsbury and Moorfields had been in course of transformation, and it was believed that at any moment the City authorities might require the site of the Foundery for the carrying out of the building schemes then in operation. Wesley and the principal men in the London Society believed that the erection of a new chapel was an urgent necessity.

² Soame Jenyns, who, after having imbibed infidel notions, had returned to

the Christian faith. Johnson said, 'I think it a pretty book; not very theological indeed.' Mrs. Elizabeth Carter writes: 'I hear that at the fashionable clubs it is gold to silver, since the appearance of Mr. Jenyns's book, that the Christian religion is true.' Jenyns sometimes attended Whitefield's ministry. The book occasioned much controversy.

³ On July 31 he wrote from Shoreham to Joseph Benson, and on Aug. 2 from London to Mrs. Downes (*née Furly*) (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 424, 209).

⁴ A letter written by Hannah Ball to Miss Patty Chapman throws light on Wesley's movements during this week:

The first night I was in London [Aug. 3] I went to a prayer-meeting at West Street Chapel. . . . The next morning at 6 met Molly Rockull's band, where I found one precious soul entirely given up to God. . . . I had a coach and went to the Foundery. Mr. Wesley preached from these words: 'Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.' The discourse was very excellent and very encouraging to me. . . . After the sermon the Sacrament was given to a great number of communicants. Then I went to Mr. Parkinson's to dine. After that to the Foundery

ing a new chapel, and at this and the two following meetings above a thousand pounds were cheerfully subscribed.

Sun. 4.—Many of the preachers being come to town, I enforced that solemn caution, in the Epistle for the day, 'Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.' And God applied it to many hearts. In the afternoon I preached in Moorfields to thousands on Acts ii. 32, 'This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses.'

Tues. 6.—Our Conference began,¹ and ended on *Friday* the 9th,² which we observed with fasting and prayer, as well for our own nation as for our brethren in America.³ In several Con-

again, and had an opportunity of being present when Mr. Wesley met the leaders of the bands and classes. He also baptized a woman. I was glad to be present. . . . I heard him preach in Moorfields to a very great multitude. The sun was very hot, and I was much fatigued. After that we returned to the Foundery, where was a general love-feast. It was very full and hot, but a refreshing season. . . . [Tuesday.] Was not able to rise in the morning without doing myself hurt, so rested till after noon, then went to the Foundery and heard Mr. Wesley preach again, and found it good to be there. . . . On Thursday heard Mr. Wesley again at the Foundery. Afterwards met in the bands and spoke my experience. . . . Sunday morning [11th] at 6 I met Molly Rockull's band again. . . . Spent a little time with Mr. Wells in conversation and prayer. I did not see him any more, but firmly believe I shall meet him at God's right hand. Mr. Wesley read prayers and preached, and gave the Sacrament. After it was over [he] prayed extemporary, and Mr. Charles Wesley after him. He (Mr. Charles) was very excellent in prayer. I was much pleased to see him. He looks a very gracious man. In the afternoon I had the privilege, through a friend, to be a few moments with Mr. John Wesley alone. He asked how you did, but did not say anything about your not writing to him. I had also an opportunity to meet with the leaders of bands and classes. His brother read prayers, and he preached again. . . . He met the Society, and then took his leave, giving the hymn-book to Mr. Mather to sing a few verses for him. Here I could but drop a tear, being much affected. . . .—*Meth. Recorder*, 1897, p. 1026.

of Conference for 1775 and 1776 are suggestive :

1775. Q. What can be done for the preachers' daughters?

A. Send two of them to M. Owen's school.

1776. Q. What girls are admitted into Publow school?

Did Wesley subsidize Publow school? Evidently there was some arrangement.

² On Aug. 9 he wrote from London to Miss Newman (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 506), the next day to John Crook (*Meth. Mag.* 1808, p. 103), and on the 12th to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 57).

³ This, the thirty-third British Conference, was held at the time of national crisis when everything betokened war with the American Colonies. The first preachers sent to America by Wesley (Pilmoor and Boardman) went in 1769. The disputes between the colonies and the mother-country on the question of taxation were then four years old, for the Stamp Act was passed in 1765; but in the record of their labours no mention is made of the subject. The work of God so prospered that the first American Methodist Conference (afterwards so called) was held in Philadelphia in 1773, the year that the imported cargoes of tea were thrown into the sea at Boston. A second similar Conference was held at Philadelphia in 1774, when anti-British feeling was on the increase in the colonies. Again in Philadelphia the third

¹ The following entries in the Minutes

ferences we have had great love and unity ; but in this there was, over and above, such a general seriousness and solemnity of spirit as we scarcely have had before.

Sun. 11.—About half an hour after four I set out, and at half an hour after eleven on *Monday* came to Bristol.

I found Mr. Fletcher a little better, and proposed his taking a journey with me to Cornwall, nothing being so likely to restore his health as a journey of four or five hundred miles ; but his physician would in no wise consent, so I gave up the point.¹

Tues. 13.—I preached at Taunton, and afterwards went with Mr. Brown² to Kingston. The large old parsonage-

Conference was held in May 1775, the year when, later on, hostilities began. A letter from Wesley was received by the Conference, in which he says : ' You were never in your lives in so critical a situation as you are at this time. It is your part to be peacemakers, to be loving and tender to all, but to addict yourselves to no party.' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 324. See also the covering letter to Thomas Rankin, in which he hopes for the re-establishment of peace between England and the colonies ; also Charles Wesley's letter of the same date to Rankin, in which he even more strongly urges the neutrality of the Methodist preachers.) The fourth assembly of Methodist preachers, or Conference, was begun at Baltimore on May 24, 1776, not six weeks before the Declaration of Independence. A large increase of members was reported, due to a revival in Virginia, the province of Washington and Jefferson. After the renunciation of allegiance to George III by the Congress, July 4, 1776, when loyalty to the Crown was made a crime, and praying for the King in the congregation was forbidden under penalty, the position of British-born preachers became one of difficulty and danger. Rankin wished to return to England, but lingered until after the Conference of 1777, which was held at Deer Creek, Maryland, and at which, strange to say, the largest numerical

increase which had taken place in the eight-years-old Methodism of America was reported. Rankin and Martin Rodda escaped to the British Fleet at Philadelphia, and eventually reached England.

¹ But Fletcher accompanied him through Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire to Norfolk in the following November. See below, pp. 131-3 ; also a letter from Fletcher to Benson on Nov. 21, where he says that the tour was taken in the hope that change of air and motion would be a means of restoring him to health.

² The Rev. James Brown (see above, vol. v. p. 61) is frequently named in the records of the times, first as curate of Bradford, afterwards as vicar of Kingston and, apparently, at the same time rector of Portishead. Dr. Coke became his curate. On Nov. 18, 1773, Mr. John Haddon, of Kingston, near Taunton, Somerset, died, and a funeral hymn was written by the 'Rev. Mr. B[rown] of Somersetshire.' It was published in the *Arm. Mag.* 1779, p. 154.

Sir Harry Trelawney, celebrated for his zeal and eccentricities, had been a Calvinist, and, during that period, had been shy of Wesley's acquaintance. When he quitted the Calvinists, Wesley wrote congratulating him on his escape, but warned him against the opposite extreme, quoting 'that great man Dr. Taylor of Norwich, who had run into

house¹ is pleasantly situated close to the churchyard, just fit for a contemplative man. Here I found a clergyman, Dr. Coke,² late Gentleman Commoner of Jesus College in Oxford, who came twenty miles on purpose. I had much conversation with him; and a union then began which I trust shall never end.

Wed. 14.—I preached at Tiverton; and on Thursday went on to Launceston. Here I found the plain reason why the work of God had gained no ground in this circuit all the year. The preachers had given up the Methodist testimony. Either they did not speak of Perfection at all (the peculiar doctrine committed to our trust), or they spoke of it only in general terms, without urging the believers to 'go on unto perfection,' and to expect it every moment. And wherever this is not earnestly done, the work of God does not prosper.³

Arianism and Socinianism.' He urged loyalty to the Church of England, and closed the letter with a greeting to Lady Trelawney. She was the daughter of the Rev. James Brown, Coke's friend. (Moore's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. pp. 281-2; *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 146.)

¹ Still standing, but not now the parsonage.

² Thomas Coke, LL.D., born at Brecon, of which town his father had been mayor; graduated as a Gentleman Commoner at Jesus College, Oxford. 'During his University career he was infected with infidel principles . . . in which he was strengthened by an ungodly tutor.' The works of Bishop Sherlock and other divines cleared his mind of the poison, but when Wesley met him at Kingston he was still only a theoretic believer. At this date he was curate of South Petherton. Mr. Brown (see note above) introduced him to the writings of Wesley and Fletcher. He came to Kingston expressly to meet the Founder of Methodism, whom he now admired above all men. Henry Moore has given a graphic description of the conversation. *v.* Coke found Wesley 'as usual, mild and easy of access, with an appearance of happiness that exceed-

ingly impressed him.' He stayed all night. In the morning, he walked with Wesley in the garden, and made known his enlarged desires. Wesley gave him an account of the way in which he and his brother proceeded at Oxford, and advised the same path, doing all the good he could, visiting from house to house, omitting no part of his clerical duty, counselling him to avoid every reasonable ground of offence. The Doctor was exceedingly surprised, and, indeed, mortified. 'I thought he would have said, Come with me, and I will give you employment according to all that is in your heart.' But Dr. Coke went back to his curacy and turned the parish into a Methodist circuit. He was dismissed from his curacy, the bells were rung and hogsheads of cider were brought into the street that his enemies might make merry. But Wesley had found, in the providence of God, a helper who, in the hour of his deepest need, when John Fletcher seemed to be under sentence of death, was destined to become in God's hands one of the chief instruments in the creation of a wider Methodism. (Moore's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. pp. 308-10.)

³ See his letters to his brother (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 135-6).



1. DR. COKE'S BIRTHPLACE AT BRECON. (THE HOUSE ON THE LEFT IS THE TOWN HOUSE OF WALTER CHURCHEY.)
2. THOMAS COKE, LL.D.
3. NO. 6 DIGHTON STREET, BRISTOL, THE HOUSE IN WHICH DR. COKE WAS SET APART AS GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT FOR AMERICA.

Fri. 16.—I was going to preach in the market-place at Camelford, where a few are still alive to God, when a violent storm drove us into the house; that is, as many as could squeeze in. The fire quickly kindled among them, and seemed to touch every heart. My text was, 'What doest thou here, Elijah?' And God Himself made the application. A flame was once more raised in this town; may it nevermore be put out!

In the evening I preached in Mr. Wood's yard at Port Isaac, to most of the inhabitants of the town. The same spirit was here as at Camelford, and seemed to move upon every heart. And we had all a good hope that the days of faintness and weariness are over, and that the work of God will revive and flourish.

Sat. 17.—We found Mr. Hosken, at Cubert, alive; but just tottering over the grave.¹ I preached in the evening, on 2 Cor. v. 1-4, probably the last sermon he will hear from me. I was afterwards inquiring if that scandal of Cornwall, the plundering of wrecked vessels, still subsisted. He said, 'As much as ever; only the Methodists will have nothing to do with it. But three months since a vessel was wrecked on the south coast, and the tinnerns presently seized on all the goods; and even broke in pieces a new coach which was on board, and carried every scrap of it away.' But is there no way to prevent this shameful breach of all the laws both of religion and humanity? Indeed there is. The gentry of Cornwall may totally prevent it whenever they please. Let them only see that the laws be strictly executed upon the next plunderers; and after an example is made of ten of these, the next wreck will be unmolested. Nay, there is a milder way. Let them only agree together to discharge any tinner or labourer that is concerned in the plundering of a wreck, and advertise his name, that no Cornish gentleman may employ him any more; and neither tinner nor labourer will any more be concerned in that bad work.

Sun. 18.—The passage through the sands being bad for a chaise, I rode on horseback to St. Agnes, where the rain constrained me to preach in the house. As we rode back to Redruth it poured down amain, and found its way through all

¹ See above, p. 77, and vol. v. p. 142.

our clothes. I was tired when I came in ; but after sleeping a quarter of an hour all my weariness was gone.

Mon. 19.—I joined together once more the select society, who are continually flying asunder, though they all acknowledge the loss they have sustained thereby. At eleven I met fifty or sixty children. How much depends upon these ! All the hope of the rising generation.

Tues. 20.—In the evening I preached at Helston, where prejudice is at an end ; and all the town, except a few gentry, willingly hear the word of salvation.

Wed. 21.—I preached at Penzance in a gentleman's balcony which commanded the market-place, to a huge congregation, on 'Without holiness no man shall see the Lord.' The word fell heavy, upon high and low, rich and poor. Such an opportunity I never had at Penzance before.

Thur. 22.—I preached at six in the market-place at St. Just. Two or three well-dressed people walked by, stopped a little, and then went on. So they did two or three times. Had it not been for shame, they might have heard that which is able to save their souls.

Fri. 23.—The congregation, both morning and evening, was large ; and great was our rejoicing in the Lord. *Saturday*, the 24th, in the evening I preached in a meadow at St. Ives, to one of the largest congregations I had seen in the county.

Sun. 25.—I met the children ; the most difficult part of our office. About five in the evening I began preaching at Gwennap, to full twenty thousand persons. And they were so commodiously placed, in the calm, still evening, that every one heard distinctly.

Tues. 27.—About noon I preached in the piazza¹ adjoining to the Coinage Hall in Truro. I was enabled to speak exceeding plain on 'Ye are saved through faith.' I doubt the Antinomians gnashed on me with their teeth ; but I must declare 'the whole counsel of God.' In the evening I preached in an open

¹ The upper story of the front of the Coinage Hall was supported by arches, and between it and the end of the Middle Row, in Powder Street (Boscawen Street),

was a small open space called the Square. Here, probably, the people stood while Wesley addressed them from under one of these arches. (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 194.)

space at Mevagissey to most of the inhabitants of the town ; where I saw a very rare thing—men swiftly increasing in substance, and yet not decreasing in holiness.

Wed. 28.—The rain drove us into the house at St. Austell, where I think some of the stout-hearted trembled. The next evening I preached at Medrose, and was pleased to see an old friend, with his wife, his two sons and two daughters. I believe God sent a message to their hearts, as they could not help showing by their tears.

SEPT. 1, Sun.—I got to Plymouth church a little after the service began. I admired the seriousness and decency of the congregation : none bowed or curtsied, or looked about them. And at the Lord's Supper, although both the ministers spoke so low in delivering the elements that none who were not very near could hear a word they said, yet was the congregation as still as if no one had been in the church. I was likewise agreeably surprised at their number. When I was in the church in Hull, I think we had six communicants, beside those that came with me ; here I suppose were full three hundred.

Immediately after service I went to the quay, and preached on those words in the Epistle for the day, 'The Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.' I wondered at the exquisite stupidity of the hearers, particularly the soldiers, who seemed to understand no more of the matter than so many oxen. So I told them in very plain terms ; and some of them were ashamed.

Mon. 2.—In my way to Exeter, I read over an ingenious tract,¹ containing some observations which I never saw before. In particular, that if corn sells for twice as much now as it did at the time of the Revolution, it is in effect no dearer than it was then, because we have now twice as much money ; that if other things sell now for twice as much as they did then, corn ought to do so too ; that though the price of all things increases as money increases, yet they are really no dearer than they were before ; and, lastly, that to petition Parliament to alter these things, is to put them upon impossibilities, and can

¹ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 209.

answer no end but that of inflaming the people against their Governors.¹

Wed. 4.—I was desired to call at Ottery, a large town, eleven miles from Exeter. I preached in the market-house to abundance of people, who behaved with great decency. At five, I preached in the market-place at Axminster to a still larger congregation. I have seldom heard people speak with more honesty and simplicity than many did at the lovefeast which followed. I have not seen a more unpolished people than these; but love supplies all defects. It supplies all the essentials of good breeding, without the help of a dancing-master.

Thur. 5.—I went on to Corfe Castle, in the Isle of Purbeck. At six I preached in the yard adjoining to the preaching-house. It was a season both of conviction and consolation.

Fri. 6.—I preached at the new house in Melcombe, to as many as it would well contain.

Sat. 7.—About noon I stood upon the Cross at Bruton² and proclaimed 'the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Many seemed to be astonished, all were quiet, and a few deeply affected.

In the evening I preached at Shepton Mallet, where the people in general appeared to be more serious, ever since the late terrible riot, in which two of them were killed. On Saturday [night] I went on to Bristol.

Mon. 9.—I began what I had long intended, visiting the society from house to house, setting apart at least two hours in a day for that purpose. I was surprised to find the simplicity with which one and all spoke, both of their temporal and

¹ In May of this year the House of Lords made an order 'that the Commissioners of His Majesty's Excise do write circular letters to all such persons whom they have reason to suspect have plate, &c.' The Accomptant-General for household plate sent Wesley in September a copy of the order, with a letter :

REVEREND SIR,

As the Commissioners cannot doubt but you have plate, for which you have hitherto neglected to make an entry, they have directed me to send you the above copy of the Lords' order, and to inform

you that you forthwith make due entry of all your plate, &c.

N.B. An immediate answer is desired.

Wesley answered :

SIR,

I have two silver tea-spoons at London, and two at Bristol. This is all the plate which I have at present; and I shall not buy any more, while so many round me want bread.

I am, sir,
Your most humble servant,
JOHN WESLEY.

² For a description of the Cross at Bruton see *W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 135.

spiritual state. Nor could I easily have known, by any other means, how great a work God has wrought among them. I found exceeding little to reprove, but much to praise God for. And I observed one thing which I did not expect: in visiting all the families without Lawford Gate, by far the poorest about the city, I did not find so much as one person who was out of work.

Another circumstance I critically inquired into, What is the real number of the people? Dr. Price says (doubtless to encourage our good friends the French and Spaniards), 'The people of England are between four and five millions; supposing them to be four, or four and a half, on an average, in one house.' I found, in the families which I visited, about six in a house; but one who has lately made a more general inquiry informs me there are without Lawford Gate seven in a house. The same information I received from one who has lately made the inquiry concerning the inhabitants of Redcliff. Now, if at four in a house we are four millions, must we not at seven in a house be seven millions?

But even this is far short of the truth; for a plain reason, the houses are miscomputed. To give one instance: the houses without Lawford Gate are computed to be a thousand. Now, at the sitting of the Justices some years since, there were two hundred public-houses. Was then one house in five a public-house? No, surely; one in ten at the utmost. If so, there were two thousand houses, and, consequently, fourteen thousand persons. I believe there are now full twenty thousand. And these are nothing near a quarter of the present inhabitants of Bristol.¹

Wed. 11.—I preached about one at Bath; and about six, in a meadow near the preaching-house in Frome,² besought a listening multitude 'not to receive the grace of God in vain.'

Thur. 12.—I spent about two hours in Mr. Hoare's gardens

¹ See Sir W. Petty's calculations on the population of London. Pike's *Ancient Meeting-houses of London*, p. 422.

² In the Frome circuit stewards' book

is found the following entry: 'Sept. 1776, Mr. Wesley's turnpikes, 4/-' (Tuck's *Methodism in Frome*, p. 46).

at Stourton.¹ I have seen the most celebrated gardens in England, but these far exceed them all: (1) In the situation, being laid out on the sloping sides of a semicircular mountain; (2) in the vast basin of water enclosed between them, covering, I suppose, sixty acres of ground; (3) in the delightful interchange of shady groves and sunny glades, curiously mixed together. Above all, in the lovely grottoes, two of which excel everything of the kind which I ever saw: the fountain-grotto, made entirely of rock-work, admirably well imitating nature; and the castle-grotto, into which you enter unawares, beneath a heap of ruins. This is within totally built of roots of trees, wonderfully interwoven. On one side of it is a little hermitage, with a lamp, a chair, a table, and bones upon it.

Others were delighted with the temples, but I was not: (1) Because several of the statues about them were mean; (2) because I cannot admire the images of devils, and we know the gods of the heathens are but devils; (3) because I defy all mankind to reconcile statues with nudities, either to common sense or common decency.

Returning from thence through Maiden Bradley² we saw the clumsy house of the Duke of Somerset, and afterwards the grand and elegant one of Lord Weymouth, beautifully situated in a lovely park.³

¹ These were the gardens of Stourhead House. Mr. Henry Hoare, to whom Wesley refers, was the second son of Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Hoare, Knight (*d.* 1754), who had been Lord Mayor of London in the year of the Scottish rebellion, 1745. Stourhead House was famous for its fine collection of pictures. In Cary the grounds are said to be 'very extensive and beautiful.' The lake covers thirty acres, having on its banks the temple of Flora and the temple of the Sun. In the grottoes the water of six wells issues from the urn of a river-god, and in one recess is a fine marble statue of a sleeping nymph, beneath which are lines written by Pope, who, as well as all the literates of the day, enjoyed the hospitality of the owner.

See the *Life and Correspondence of Mrs. Delany*, as quoted in *W.H.S.* vol. iii. pp. 208-10.

² For Maiden Bradley, see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1816, p. 393.

³ When Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was deprived of his bishopric in 1691 and homeless, Lord Weymouth honoured himself and his mansion by making it Ken's home until his death in 1711. These three mansions, Stourhead House at Stourton, Longleat, and Maiden Bradley House, are all within the compass of six miles. Longleat, which Macaulay says was accounted the finest mansion in England, stands on the site of an Augustine priory, and is a magnificent specimen of the Renaissance style. The architect was John of Padua.

Fri. 13.—I went on to Midsomer Norton,¹ where the rector, being applied to, cheerfully granted me the use of his church, and himself made one of the congregation. I preached on those words in the Second Lesson, ‘O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?’ About two I preached in the new house at Paulton, to a plain, simple, loving people; and spent the evening at Kingswood endeavouring to remove some little offences which had arisen in the family.²

Wed. 18.—About one I preached at Bath, as usual, to a crowded audience; in the afternoon at Keynsham, where, at length, we see some fruit of our labours.

Thur. 19.—Finding few would come to the room at Pill, I preached in the market-place. Many attended, and I am persuaded God cut some of them to the heart. About six I preached at Pensford, and spent the evening with the lovely family at Publow.³

Sat. 21.—I preached in the Paddock,⁴ at Bedminster. It is plain (notwithstanding what some affirm) that the time of field-preaching is not past, while the people flock to it from every quarter.

Sun. 22.—After reading prayers, preaching, and administering the sacrament at Bristol, I hastened away to Kingswood, and preached under the trees to such a multitude as had not been lately seen there. I began in King Square a little before five, where the word of God was quick and powerful. And I was no more tired at night than when I rose in the morning. Such is the power of God!⁵

¹ He was entertained at the house of Mr. Bush, a local preacher who kept a large boarding-school. Richard Treffry, in 1841, told a story of a schoolboy fight with which Wesley, then a very old man, had to deal during this visit. He persuaded the boys to eat bread and to drink tea out of the same cup in token of friendship. The anecdote was related to Richard Treffry by a magistrate of Berkshire, who was one of the two boys. See *W.M. Mag.* 1842, p. 136, and Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 231.

² On Sept. 16 he wrote from Bristol to Miss Roe (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 77).

³ On Sept. 20 he wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 58).

⁴ It is now covered by Messrs. Wills's works in East Street.

⁵ The blank between Sept. 22 and Nov. 10 may be partially filled from letters and journals. On Oct. 6 he wrote from Bristol to Miss Hester Ann Roe (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 78). On Oct. 7 he was in the Isle of Wight, for Miss Bushell, writing from thence, says: ‘Mr. Rodda preached this morning . . . and Mr. Wesley in the evening from “Israel doth not know.” On the 8th Mr. Wesley met the classes.’ He had al-

After settling all things at Bristol and Kingswood, and visiting the rest of the societies in Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hants, I returned in October to London, with Mr. Fletcher.

Nov. 10, *Sun.*—I was desired to preach at St. Vedast's church, Foster Lane,¹ which contained the congregation tolerably well. I preached on those words in the Gospel for the day (how little regarded even by men that fear God!), 'Render

ready preached and had read one of the 'letters'—his habit at the early morning service and in meetings of the society. On the 9th he preached again in the morning, clearing up many things which had been great hindrances to Miss Bushell. He then seems to have left the Isle of Wight; for another preacher, Thomas Newall, of whom Miss Bushell does not in the least approve, and who shortly after 'forsook the work,' appears on the scene. We next find Wesley in Reading, on Oct. 14, when John Valton, in his manuscript Journal (now in the possession of Mr. George Stampe, of Grimsby) writes:

This day I joined Mr. Wesley at Reading, to go the circuit with him.

Oct. 19.—This day Mr. Wesley left me. We have had the company of Mr. Fletcher three days. I never saw such a saint.

Remembering Wesley's habits in relation to matters of official importance, such as the proceedings of the Conference, or cases of difficulty in relation to discipline or property, we are not surprised to find a blank in the Journal. If the original draft, from which the printed version is only an 'extract,' could be discovered, we should have a record of correspondence and conversation with men like Rodda, Valton, and Fletcher respecting the great project which must have been absorbing Wesley's thoughts. (See Dyson's *Methodism in the Isle of Wight*, p. 89, and *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 88.) On Oct. 18 he wrote a circular letter to the Members and Friends of the Methodist Societies.

On some unnamed day in this month of October he wrote (where in his

journeyings we do not know) a curious letter to Mrs. Downes. A difficult question had arisen, which he thus answers:

If the leader himself desires it, and the class be not unwilling, in that case there can be no objection to your meeting a class, even of men. This is not properly assuming or exercising any authority over them. You do not act as a superior, but an equal.

On the 22nd he wrote to Joseph Benson a strong disciplinary letter. The occasion may be inferred from the fact that he advises Benson to read in the society the *Word to a Smuggler*, and 'to disperse the tract.' On the 25th he wrote from London to Samuel Bardsley referring incidentally to 'the subscription we must shortly make for the New Foundry'; and on Nov. 7 he wrote again to Joseph Benson, advising with reference to those who have not constantly met their classes, or to any that do not solemnly promise to deal in stolen goods no more. Referring to Robert Wilkinson, who was a married man, and therefore difficult to station, he adds, 'therefore he cannot live (though he may starve) in the Dundee circuit' (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 466, 209, 424, 502). On Nov. 9 he wrote in London a Preface of nine paragraphs for an Extract of the *Life of Madame Guion* (*Works*, vol. xiv. p. 275, and Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 314).

¹ This church, rebuilt by Wren after the Great Fire, is still standing, buried among the many business premises surrounding it on all sides in Foster Lane, a small turning out of Cheapside. Its incumbent at this time was the Rev. T. L. Barbault, M.A.

to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.¹

Wed. 13.—I set out with Mr. Fletcher to Norwich. I took coach at twelve, slept till six, and then spent the time very agreeably, in conversation, singing, and reading. I read Mr. Bolt's² account of the affairs in the East Indies: I suppose much the best that is extant. But what a scene is here opened! What consummate villains, what devils incarnate, were the managers there! What utter strangers to justice, mercy, and truth; to every sentiment of humanity! I believe no heathen history contains a parallel. I remember none in all the annals of antiquity: not even the Divine Cato, or the virtuous Brutus, plundered the provinces committed to their charge with such merciless cruelty as the English have plundered the desolated provinces of Hindostan.

When we came to Norwich, finding many of our friends had been shaken by the assertors of the Horrible Decree,³ I employed the three following mornings in sifting the question to the bottom. Many were confirmed thereby, and, I trust, will not again be removed from the genuine gospel.

Thur. 14.—I showed in the evening what the gospel is, and what it is to preach the gospel. The next evening I explained, at large, the wrong and the right sense of 'Ye are saved by faith.' And many saw how miserably they had been abused by those vulgarly called gospel preachers.⁴

¹ On Nov. 12 John Fletcher wrote a letter to a number of friends in Hull and York who wished him to pay them a visit. He writes:

Should I be spared to visit you, the keep of a horse and the poor rider, will be all the burden that I should lay on you; and that will be more than my heavenly Master indulged Himself in. I am just setting out for Norwich with Mr. Wesley, whose renewed strength and immense labours astonish me. What a pattern for preachers! His redeeming the time, if I mistake not, is matchless (*Meth. Mag.* 1801, p. 43).

Also on Nov. 12 Wesley wrote to 'Betsy.' See letter in *Meth. Rec.* Sept. 28, 1899.

² See above, p. 97.

See *Hymns on God's Everlasting*

Love, to which is added the 'Cry of a Reprobate, and the Horrible Decree,' reprinted in *Poetical Works of J. and C. Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 34 (hymn xvii.); also Green's *Bibliog.* Nos. 31 and 32.

⁴ In 1775 the Norwich Tabernacle, which had been left to the Rev. John Hook, passed into the hands of Lady Huntingdon, who rented it from James Wheatley at forty pounds a year. A few months later Wheatley died, but not before he had sold his interest in the Tabernacle to the Countess for nine hundred pounds. The Rev. Mark Wilks, brother of the more celebrated Matthew Wilks, was appointed minister, and for some time the church prospered. Pro-

Sun. 17.—In the morning we had about a hundred and fifty communicants, and a remarkable blessing. In the afternoon and in the evening we were crowded enough.

Mon. 18.—We set out for Yarmouth. Here I knew not where to preach, the mayor refusing me the use of the town-hall. But the chamberlain gave me the use of a larger building, formerly a church.¹ In this a numerous congregation soon assembled, to whom I described the 'sect which is everywhere spoken against.' I believe all that were attentive will be a little more candid for the time to come.

Tues. 19.—I opened the new preaching-house at Lowestoft—a new and lightsome building.² It was thoroughly filled with deeply attentive hearers. Surely some of them will bear fruit unto perfection.

Wed. 20.—Mr. Fletcher preached in the morning, and I at two in the afternoon. It then blew a thorough storm, so that it was hard to walk or stand, the wind being ready to take us off our feet. It drove one of the boats, which were on the strand, from its moorings out to sea. Three men were in it, who looked for nothing every moment but to be swallowed up. But presently five stout men put off in another open boat, and, rowing for life, overtook them and brought them safe to land.

Thur. 21.³—I preached at Beccles. A duller place I have seldom seen. The people of the town were neither pleased nor vexed, as 'caring for none of these things.' Yet fifty or sixty came into the house, either to hear or see. The people of Loddon seemed in the evening of another spirit, resolved to 'enter in at the strait gate.'

Fri. 22.—We had a solemn parting with our friends at

bably Wesley here refers to the Trevecca students, who from time to time supplied the pulpit. See *Life of Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. ii. pp. 343–6, where a glowing account of these student preachers and of ministers connected with the Tabernacle will be found.

¹ 'The Dutch church, but now [1825] used for the public library' (Watmough's *Yarmouth Methodism*, p. 62).

² A plain building of brick about 36 feet by 24, decently pewed, and having

a small end gallery; it was demolished in 1907 to make room for new schools (*Meth. Rec.* Sept. 5, 1907).

³ He wrote to John Mason, and on the 26th to Joseph Benson, on the disciplinary difficulties of a pastor's life. Smuggling and opium, which he regards as 'full as bad as taking drams,' were some of the difficulties (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 453, 425). For Beccles, see below, Dec. 1, 1786, and for Crabbe, 'the poet of the poor,' see below, Oct. 15, 1790.

Norwich, and on *Saturday* evening I brought Mr. Fletcher back to London, considerably better than when he set out.¹

Fri. 29.—We considered the several plans which were offered for the new chapel.² Having agreed upon one, we desired a surveyor to draw out the particulars, with an estimate of the expense. We then ordered proposals to be drawn up for those who were willing to undertake any part of the building.

Dec. 2, Mon.—I set out for Bedford in the diligence, and came thither at four in the afternoon. I found great freedom of speech in the evening, and perceived God was reviving His work in this people.

Tues. 3.—I crossed over to St. Neots, and had an hour's friendly conversation with Mr. V[enn]. Oh that all men would

¹ He had been advised to travel for his health. In so doing he arrived at St. Neots and visited his friend Mr. Gorham. During his stay there he called on Berridge at Everton, and on Henry Venn, who at that time was rector of Yelling. See, for a description of these visits, *W.M. Mag.* 1825, p. 607.

² In the original lease the trustees were bound to erect a row of houses along the front, leaving an archway through which to approach the chapel. See the Rev. Samuel Romilly Hall's article in the *Christian Miscellany*, 1859, p. 355. The land selected was part of some fields used as 'tenter grounds,' about two hundred yards to the north-west of the Foundery, extending northward to Old Street Road. The portion selected by Wesley was that nearest the Foundery, and was of considerable dimensions. After a delay of nearly five months, the Corporation of the City of London granted a lease of fifty-nine years, which, however, was not actually signed until three years later. It is believed that all the contracts for the building were taken by Mr. Samuel Tooth, who resided in the neighbourhood, and was both a leader and local preacher; for one year he travelled as an itinerant preacher. Detailed information, strange to say, was not available when G. J. Stevenson wrote the

History of City Road Chapel. It is, however, believed that Mr. Tooth was responsible for the erection of the chapel, the Morning Chapel, and the house in which Wesley afterwards resided. A building committee was appointed. For further particulars respecting the property, the construction of the present City Road, and the Tooth family, see Telford's *Wesley's Chapel and House*, pp. 20-27. Before the lease was signed the City of London needed a strip of land for the construction of the new City Road. The trustees granted this, and in return the Corporation removed from the lease the provision for a row of houses along the front. The house on the northern side of the property was not built until the close of the century. At the Centenary restoration of the chapel it was found that the foundations of Wesley's House were insecure owing to the drainage of the site (which originally was moorland). The house was under-pinned, renovated, and made secure. The rooms specially associated with Wesley's life and last days are now used as the 'Wesley Museum.' The house on the north side, of later date, and of no special historical interest, was also insecure and was eventually demolished, giving place to a substantial building in which the superintendent minister now (1915) resides.

sit as loose to opinions as I do; that they would think and let think! I preached in the evening to a numerous congregation with much enlargement of spirit. *Wednesday* the 4th I preached at Godmanchester, and on *Thursday* returned to London.

In the way, I read over Mr. Gray's¹ *Works*, and his *Life* wrote by Mr. Mason. He is an admirable poet, not much inferior to either Prior or Pope; but he does not appear, upon the whole, to have been an amiable man. His picture, I apprehend, expresses his character—sharp, sensible, ingenious, but, at the same time, proud, morose, envious, passionate, and resentful. I was quite shocked at the contempt with which he more than once speaks of Mr. Mason,² one full as ingenious as himself, yea, full as good a poet (as even *Elfrida* shows, as much as Mr. Gray despises, or affects to despise it), and, over and above, possessed of that modesty and humanity wherein Mr. Gray was so greatly deficient.³

Friday the 13th⁴ was the national fast. It was observed

¹ Thomas Gray (1716–71), the son of a money scrivener, Cornhill, London, educated Eton and Peterhouse, Cambridge. At Eton he contracted a friendship with Horace Walpole, which was broken, but renewed after a few years. In 1768 he was appointed Professor of Modern History at Cambridge by the Duke of Grafton, Chancellor of the University. In the same year a collection of his poems was published.

² William Mason (1725–97) was a clergyman, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and Fellow of Pembroke Hall. He was made chaplain to the King. At the commencement of the American war he advocated the cause of the colonists, for which he was deprived of his chaplaincy. To an edition of Gray's *Poems* he prefixed a memoir of the author. Some of his own poetry was dramatic. His *Elfrida* (1752) was well received, but the attempts to introduce it on the stage proved abortive. See *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

³ Wesley's estimate is very severe indeed. It may justly be balanced by Matthew Arnold's (in *The English Poets*).

He extols Gray's lofty attributes of mind and soul. 'Seriousness, character, was the foundation of things with him; this lacking, he was always severe.' Advising a young friend going abroad not to see Voltaire, he said: 'No one knows the mischief that man will do. . . . Every tribute (even the tribute of a visit) to such a man signifies.' The rarity and delicacy of his fibre were often mistaken for fastidiousness. He was pronounced by his friend Temple as 'perhaps the most learned man in Europe.'

On Dec. 6 he wrote to Thomas Rutherford. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

⁴ He wrote from London to Miss Priscilla Newman, encouraging her to believe that 'poor Cheltenham' would not be forgotten. The letter is quoted in an article by Robert Newstead on Methodism in Cheltenham, which among other interesting details, states that the late Mr. Brice, of Bristol, presented the Bethesda Chapel at Cheltenham with a mahogany pulpit, and Mr. John Wesley Hall with all the glass for windows. (*W.M. Mag.* 1834, p. 902.)

not only throughout the city, but (I was afterwards informed) throughout the nation, with the utmost solemnity. I shall not wonder if God should now interpose and send us prosperity, since at length we are not too proud to acknowledge 'there is a God that judgeth the earth.'

Mon. 16.—I preached at Canterbury; on *Tuesday* at Dover; *Wednesday*, about eleven, at poor, dry, dead Sandwich. But I now found more hope for the poor people than I had done for many years. In the evening I preached at Margate to a very genteel and yet very serious congregation; and I believe (although it blew a storm) near a hundred were present in the morning.

Thur. 19.—I had another truly comfortable opportunity at Canterbury. God lifted up the hands that hung down, and gave many a strong hope that they should yet see good days, after all the days of darkness and heaviness.

Fri. 20.—I returned to London¹; and on *Sunday* the 22nd buried the remains of Elizabeth Duchesne,² a person eminently upright of heart, yet for many years a child of labour and sorrow. For near forty years she was zealous of good works, and at length shortened her days by labouring for the poor beyond her strength. But her end was peace. She now rests from her labours, and her works follow her.³

Tues. 31.—We concluded the year with solemn praise to God for continuing His great work in our land. It has never been intermitted one year or one month since the year 1738, in which my brother and I began to preach that strange doctrine of salvation by faith.

1777. JAN. 1,⁴ *Wed.*—We met, as usual, to renew our covenant with God. It was a solemn season, wherein many

¹ On Dec. 21 he wrote to Mrs. Elizabeth Bennis (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 400); on the 24th to Joseph Benson (*ibid.* vol. xii. p. 425; for an account of John Reed, referred to in this letter, see Stamp's *Orphan House*, pp. 133-8); and on the 26th to Miss Bishop, concerning prayer, giving advice with regard to her proposed employment in a school, and a condemnation of 'Our Church Catechism' as 'utterly improper for children

six or seven years old.' He advises the use of the short Catechism as prefixed to the *Instructions for Children*. (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 31.)

² Mentioned in Charles Wesley's Letters, No. lxxx. vol. ii. of his Journal, p. 259.

³ On Dec. 27 he wrote to Robert Costerdine. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

⁴ He wrote to Miss Woodhouse. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

found His power present to heal, and were enabled to urge their way with strength renewed.

Thur. 2.—I began expounding, in order, the book of Ecclesiastes. I never before had so clear a sight either of the meaning or the beauties of it. Neither did I imagine that the several parts of it were in so exquisite a manner connected together; all tending to prove that grand truth—that there is no happiness out of God.

Wed. 8.—I looked over the manuscripts of that great and good man, Charles Perronet.¹ I did not think he had so deep communion with God. I know exceeding few that equal him; and had he had an University education, there would have been few finer writers in England.²

Mon. 13.—I took the opportunity of spending an hour every morning with the preachers, as I did with my pupils at Oxford. And we endeavoured not only to increase each other's knowledge, but 'to provoke one another to love and to good works.'

Wed. 15.—I began visiting those of our society who lived in Bethnal Green hamlet.³ Many of them I found in such poverty as few can conceive without seeing it. Oh why do not all the rich that fear God constantly visit the poor? Can they spend part of their spare time better? Certainly not. So they will find in that day when 'every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour.'

Such another scene I saw the next day, in visiting another part of the society. I have not found any such distress, no, not in the prison of Newgate. One poor man was just creep-

¹ See *Arm. Mag.* 1783, p. 224, 1797, p. 303; see also his letter in *Arm. Mag.* 1779, p. 199. Several of these MSS. appeared in the *Arm. Mag.* 1781. For an account of his death at the age of fifty-three, see *ibid.* p. 528.

² On Jan. 11 he wrote from London to Joseph Benson. He had received two letters from New York informing him that all the Methodists there were firm for the Government, and on that account, persecuted by the rebels, only not to the death; that the preachers were still threatened but not stopped; and

that the work of God was increasing much in Maryland and Virginia. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 426.)

³ The winter of 1776-7 was severe. The Thames was frozen in some places, and it was a bitter January when Wesley witnessed the scenes he describes. See *W.M. Mag.* 1910, p. 371. In this article and its predecessor, p. 136, the Rev. T. E. Brighden has brought together much scattered information respecting Bethnal Green prior to and during Wesley's time.

ing out of his sick-bed to his ragged wife and three little children, who were more than half naked, and the very picture of famine ; when, one bringing in a loaf of bread, they all ran, seized upon it, and tore it in pieces in an instant. Who would not rejoice that there is another world ?

Mon. 20.—Mrs. T—— gave us a remarkable account : On Saturday the 11th instant, her little boy, a child of eminent piety, between five and six years old, gave up his spirit to God. She was saying to one in the house, ‘ My son is gone to glory.’ A youth standing by, cried out, ‘ But I am going to hell.’ He continued praying all Sunday and Monday ; but in utter despair. On Tuesday he found a hope of mercy, which gradually increased. The next morning he rejoiced with joy unspeakable, knowing his sins were blotted out ; and soon after Henry Terry (the son of many tears to his poor mother) slept in peace.

*Tues. 21.*¹—I dined at Mr. A.’s. A month or two ago he had a trial worthy of a Christian. He saw his little son (between four and five years old) crushed to death in a moment. But he did not murmur ; he could say, ‘ The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away.’

Sun. 26.—I preached again at Allhallows church, morning and afternoon. I found great liberty of spirit ; and the congregation seemed to be much affected. How is this ? Do I yet please men ? Is the offence of the Cross ceased ? It seems, after being scandalous near fifty years, I am at length growing into an honourable man !

Thur. 30.—I had a visit from Mr. B——,² grown an old, feeble, decrepit man ; hardly able to face a puff of wind, or to creep up and down stairs ! Such is the fruit of cooping one’s self in a house, of sitting still day after day.³

¹ He wrote from London to Mrs. Woodhouse. See above, p. 115.

² Probably the Rev. Thomas Broughton, Lecturer of Allhallows, Lombard Street, and for thirty-four years Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He spent five hours every day in the week, except Saturday and Sunday, in his office (Bartlett’s Build-

ings, Holborn, afterwards Hatton Garden). He also held the living of Wotton, Surrey. On Sunday morning, Dec. 21, 1777, in his room at Hatton Garden, he was found dead upon his knees, robed for service. (Tyerman’s *Oxford Methodists*, pp. 349 and 359.)

³ On Feb. 1 he wrote to Christopher Hopper (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 315).

FEB. 3, *Mon.*—Hearing there was some disturbance at Bristol,¹ occasioned by men whose tongues were set on fire against the Government, I went down in the diligence, and on *Tuesday* evening strongly enforced those solemn words, 'Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to speak evil of no man.' I believe God applied His word, and convinced many that they had been out of their way.

Finding the repeated attempts to set fire to the city² had occasioned a general consternation, on *Wednesday* the 5th I opened and applied those words to a crowded audience, 'Is there any evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?' On *Thursday* I wrote *A Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England*.³ May God bless this, as He did the former, to the quenching of that evil fire which is still among us! On *Saturday* I returned to London.⁴

Sat. 15.—At the third message, I took up my cross, and went to see Dr. Dodd,⁵ in the Compter. I was greatly surprised. He seemed, though deeply affected, yet thoroughly resigned to the

¹ See Latimer's *Bristol*, p. 428.

² *Ibid.* p. 426-7.

³ See *Works*, vol. xi. pp. 129-40 and Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* Nos. 305 and 316. The former address to which he alludes is the one intended for the American colonists, which however failed to reach them because the ports were closed. 'However,' he writes, 'it was not lost; within a few months, fifty, or perhaps a hundred thousand copies in newspapers and otherwise were dispersed throughout Great Britain and Ireland. The effect exceeded my most sanguine hopes.' The present address is mainly a review and narrative of facts. Wesley argued that the War of Independence was largely due to disloyal men in England. See above, pp. 66-7.

⁴ On Feb. 11 he wrote from London to Miss Hester Ann Roe; and on the 14th to Samuel Bardsley (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 79, xii. p. 502).

⁵ See above, vol. v. p. 196. One of Dr. Dodd's private pupils was heir presumptive to Philip Dormer Stanhope,

Earl of Chesterfield. Through this influence he was appointed King's chaplain and took his LL.D. degree. He published a Commentary on the Bible, and several volumes of sermons and miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse. In 1774 he tried to obtain the rectory of St. George's, Hanover Square, by bribery, and in consequence his name was removed from the list of King's chaplains. To console him his ex-pupil, who had become Earl of Chesterfield, bestowed upon him an additional living in his gift. Notwithstanding this kindness, Dodd forged the young Earl's name to a bond of over four thousand pounds. For this he was tried at the Old Bailey, condemned to die on Feb. 24, and, in spite of memorials to the Government for a mitigation of the sentence, was executed on June 27, 1777. See *Life* by Isaac Reed, also 'Some Account of the late Dr. Dodd' by Wesley, *Arm. Mag.* 1783, p. 358; Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 237; and especially Thomas Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 309.

will of God. Mrs. Dodd likewise behaved with the utmost propriety. I doubt not God will bring good out of this evil. *Tuesday* the 18th¹ I visited him again, and found him still in a desirable state of mind : calmly giving himself up to whatsoever God should determine concerning him.

Wed. 19.²—I was desired to see one that, after she had been filled with peace and joy in believing, was utterly distracted. I soon found it was a merely natural case ; a temporary disorder common to women at that period of life.

Tues. 25.—I spent an agreeable hour with Dr. C[onyers],³ a deeply serious man, who would fain reconcile the Arminians and Calvinists. Nay, but he must first change their hearts.

MARCH 2, *Sun.*—Being a warm sunshiny day, I preached in Moorfields, in the evening. There were thousands upon thousands ; and all were still as night. Not only violence and rioting, but even scoffing at field-preachers is now over.

To-day I received from an eye-witness a particular account of a late remarkable occurrence. Captain Bell, a most amiable man, beloved of all that knew him, and just engaged to one which he tenderly loved, sailed from England last autumn. On September 20 he was hailed by the *Hawke*, a small sloop, Captain Arthur Crawford, commander, who told him he came from Halifax, in His Majesty's service, cruising for American privateers. Captain Bell invited him to breakfast, entertained him with all kindness, and made him some little presents ; but on his cursing and swearing at the Americans, mildly reproved him, and he desisted. Mr. M'Aness, the supercargo, seeing him walk round the ship, and diligently observe everything in it, told Captain Bell, 'Be upon your guard, this is certainly an enemy !' But the Captain answered, 'It cannot be ; no man can act so base a part.'

Captain Crawford returned to his own ship, and, sailing under

¹ He wrote to Robert Costerdine. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

² He wrote to Mrs. Barton (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 379), and on the 22nd to Samuel Bradburn. See *W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 152.

³ Who was now at St. Paul's, Deptford, having quitted Helmsley soon after the

death of his wife. See below, p. 391 ; *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 329. Fletcher appealed to him to attempt the reconciliation of Arminians and Calvinists. See *Arm. Mag.* 1788, p. 386 ; also above, vol. v. pp. 17 and 58-9.

the stern of the other, while Captain Bell and some others were standing on the quarter-deck, ordered his men to fire at him. They did so, and shot him in the belly, so that his bowels came out. But he did not fall. He ordered them to fire again. He fell; and while his men were carrying him away, Crawford took the vessel.

Captain Bell being conveyed into the cabin, sent and desired to speak with Captain Crawford; but he would not come. He then desired to speak with his own sailors, one by one. One of them saying, 'Sir, you have been basely murdered,' he replied, 'Love your enemies; pray for them that despitefully use you. What are our sufferings to those which our Lord endured for us?' He then desired the account which St. John gives of our Lord's sufferings to be read to him. He desired his love to all that loved the Lord Jesus; particularly to her he was about to marry. Then, bidding them all farewell, he died in peace, about two hours after he received the second shot.

But what did Captain Crawford do amiss? Have not the English also taken American ships by surprise? Yes; but not with such circumstances. For (1) he hoisted no colours, nor ever summoned the ship to yield; (2) he fired on men who thought nothing of the matter, and pointed the men to Captain Bell in particular. So it was a deliberate murder. Such is the mercy, such the gratitude, of American rebels!

Mon. 10.—In the evening I preached at Reading.¹ How many years were we beating the air at this town! Stretching out our hands to a people as stupid as oxen! But it is not so at present. That generation is passed away, and their children are of a more excellent spirit. After preaching at Newbury and Ramsbury in the way, on *Wednesday* the 12th I went on to Bristol.

Sun. 16.²—I preached at St. Werburgh's,³ the first church I

¹ The 'preaching-house' at Reading in Wesley's day was a room at the top of London Street, rented from a tradesman named Richards. See J. J. Beecroft in *Meth. Rec.* April 6, 1905; cf. above, p. 56, and note.

² On March 13 he wrote to Hannah Ball (see new ed. *Wesley Letters*),

and on the 15th to Miss Bishop; the next day to Christopher Hopper (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 33; vol. xii. p. 316). On the 19th he wrote to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 4).

³ Richard Symes was vicar. From 1729 to 1743 Romney Penrose was vicar. He died in 1749. Cf. Moravian Letter,

ever preached in at Bristol. I had desired my friends not to come thither, but to leave room for strangers. By this means the church was well filled, but not over-much crowded; which gives occasion to them that seek occasion, as it is a real inconvenience to the parishioners.

Fri. 21.—I preached at Bath. I often wonder at this: Our chapel¹ stands in the midst of all the sinners, and yet, going or coming to it, I never heard an immodest word, but prayers and blessings in abundance.

Sun. 23.—I preached at St. Ewen's² church, but not upon Justification by Faith. I do not find this to be a profitable subject to an unawakened congregation. I explained here, and strongly applied, that awful word, 'It is appointed unto men once to die.'

Mon. 24.³—I left Bristol, and preaching at Ramsbury, Wit-

April 16, 1739. Rouquet, his curate, died Nov. 16, 1776. Have we any reliable information respecting this service in St. Werburgh's, Bristol? Almost our only authority for Wesley's early Bristol ministry is the Rev. Henry J. Foster's Notes on Bristol Methodism in *W.H.S.* vol. iii. This includes the Wesley-Hutton correspondence of which large use has been made above, vol. ii., and which will be found complete in the new ed. *Wesley Letters*. For all this period the newly transliterated and published Diary is available. See above, vol. ii. p. 167. The Diary (confirming the Journal) shows that on Saturday, March 31, 1739, at seven o'clock, he arrived in Bristol. On Sunday, April 1, at eight o'clock, he heard Whitefield 'at the Bowling Green.' At ten he was 'at home, singing, &c.:' at 12.30 at Hanham, where he again heard Whitefield; 1.45 at home, dinner. The record for two o'clock is all-important: '2 at St. Peter's, prayers, sermon.' From this we can only infer (1) that when, on March 16, 1777, he wrote, 'St. Werburgh's, the first church I ever preached in at Bristol,' either his memory was at fault, or (2) that there was a visit to Bristol prior to March 31, 1739. It is possible, of course, however improbable,

that the two references to 'prayers and sermon' at St. Peter's on April 1 and 8 may not mean that Wesley himself officiated. Neither in Diary, Journal, nor Moravian Letters, however, does St. Werburgh appear. It must be remembered that a hitherto unpublished record of Wesley's life after his ordination, and before he sailed for America, awaits decipherment and exposition. Glimpses of that life may be seen in the Introduction to this Standard Edition of the Journal, vol. i. It is not improbable that during that earlier period he visited Bristol and preached in one of the city churches. He certainly preached in Gloucester. See above, vol. i. p. 67 (facsimile), 'Pr[eached] at Wroot, Gloucester Coll^e, Wattleto[n]'; also a record in the Monthly Summary for April 1732,—an example of early preaching, of which, hitherto, we have had no knowledge. Cf. his preaching extempore for the first time in Allhallows Church, above, Jan. 28, 1776.

¹ In Avon Street.

² Romney Penrose, son of the earlier vicar of the same name, was vicar in 1770.

³ Miss Ritchie wrote to Wesley informing him of her illness, which she and her friends then believed to be fatal. See Bulmer's *Life of Mrs. Mortimer*, p. 68.

ney, Oxford, and High Wycombe in my way, on *Thursday* came to London; whence I cannot be long absent while the new chapel is building.

Fri. 28.—I received an affectionate message from a great man.¹ But I shall not wonder if the wind changes.

Sun. 30.—*Easter Day* was a solemn and comfortable day, wherein God was remarkably present with His people. During the Octave I administered the Lord's Supper every morning, after the example of the Primitive Church.

APRIL 6, *Sun.*—I began a journey through some of our societies, to desire their assistance towards the expense of the new chapel. I preached at Birmingham on *Monday* the 7th; in Congleton on *Tuesday*; and on *Wednesday* went on to Macclesfield. The new church here is far the most elegant that I have seen in the kingdom. Mr. Simpson² read prayers, and I preached on the first verse of the Second Lesson, Heb. xi. And I believe many felt their want of the faith there spoken of. The next evening I preached on Heb. xii. 14: 'Without holiness no man shall see the Lord.' I was enabled to make a close application, chiefly to those that expected to be saved by faith. I hope none of them will hereafter dream of going to heaven by any faith which does not produce holiness.

¹ This may have been either Lord Dartmouth or Lord North.

² Rev. David Simpson (see *W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 50), born 1745 at Ingleby Arncliffe, near Northallerton. He was ordained to the curacy of Ramsden, Essex, and then went to Buckingham, where his evangelical preaching led to his removal. On the invitation of Charles Roe, of Macclesfield, he went there as a visitor and soon after became curate of St. Michael's, at that time the only church in Macclesfield and subordinate to Prestbury church, three miles away. The head clergyman of St. Michael's was entitled 'prime curate.' David Simpson married Miss Waldy, of Yarm, who died in 1774, leaving a daughter, who became the wife of Mr. Lee, of Wem, in Shropshire. As

prime curate of the old church Simpson's evangelical preaching excited inveterate hostility. In a letter to the Bishop of Chester he frankly acknowledged the truth of the charge of Methodism brought against him, briefly explaining his method of preaching and the results which followed. Mr. Roe ended the dispute by offering, in fulfilment of a vow made in his youth, to build Christchurch, if David Simpson might be appointed to the incumbency. Wesley frequently preached in the church. It contains a monument to Mr. Roe by Bacon. For an interesting account of Simpson and a description of him by Wesley, see *W.M. Mag.* 1857, p. 896; also *Arm. Mag.* 1783, p. 522, and *Meth. Mag.* 1813, pp. 3, 81. He died March 29, 1799.

Fri. 11.—I preached at Stockport about ten, and at Manchester in the evening.

Mon. 14.—I preached about noon at Warrington, and in the evening at Liverpool; where many large ships are now laid up in the docks, which had been employed for many years in buying or stealing poor Africans, and selling them in America for slaves. The men-butchers have now nothing to do at this laudable occupation. Since the American war broke out, there is no demand for human cattle. So the men of Africa, as well as Europe, may enjoy their native liberty.

Wed. 16.—About noon I preached at Wigan; in the evening at the new house in Bolton,¹ crowded within and without, on the 'wise man' who 'built his house upon a rock.' Many here are following his example, and continually increasing both in the knowledge and love of God.

Thur. 17.—I called upon Mr. Barker² at Little Leigh, just tottering over the great gulf. Being straitened for time, I rode from thence to Chester. I had not for some years rode so far on horseback, but it did me no hurt. After preaching, I took chaise and came to Middlewich, a little before the Liverpool coach, in which I went on to London.

I have now finished Dr. Gell's *Essay toward an Amendment of the last Translation of the Bible*.³ This part only takes in the Pentateuch; but many other texts are occasionally explained. Surely he was a man mighty in the Scriptures, and well acquainted with the work of God in the soul; and he plainly shows that the Antinomians and Anti-Perfectionists were just the same then as they are now.

¹ It was opened in 1776, and its site is believed to have been 'the meadow' where was grown the hay for the preachers' horses, and with reference to which there are so many entries in the society's books at Bolton. It was then an open field outside the town, and the preaching-house stood nearly in the centre. A house was built adjoining for the preacher, and at the east end Christopher Hopper built another for himself. (Walker's *Records of Early Methodism in Bolton*, p. 19. See also articles in

Meth. Rec. Feb. 24, 1898; Oct. 15, 1908.)

² Daniel Barker, with whom lived as bailiff Ralph Kinsey, from 1755 to 1765. As a youth he heard Wesley and Whitefield at Booth Bank (see *Meth. Mag.* 1817, p. 929).

³ This work is the first on a list of books entered on the cover page of an early Oxford note-book now in the Conference Office. See Charles Wesley's enthusiastic praise of the author in his *Journal* for July 10, 1741; also above, vol. ii. pp. 429, 476.

Monday the 21st was the day appointed for laying the foundation of the new chapel. The rain befriended us much by keeping away thousands who purposed to be there. But there were still such multitudes that it was with great difficulty I got through them to lay the first stone. Upon this was a plate of brass (covered with another stone), on which was engraved, 'This was laid by Mr. John Wesley, on APRIL [2]1, 1777.'¹ Probably this will be seen no more by any human eye ; but will remain there till the earth and the works thereof are burned up.

Sun. 27.—The sun breaking out, I snatched the opportunity of preaching to many thousands in Moorfields. All were still as night while I showed how 'the Son of God was manifested to destroy the works of the devil.'

Mon. 28.—At one I took coach, and on *Wednesday* evening preached at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I love our brethren in the southern counties ; but still I find few among them that have the spirit of our northern societies.

MAY 3, *Sat.*²—I went to Sunderland, and strongly enforced 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's.'

Mon. 5.—Having finished my business in these parts, I set my face southward again ; and after preaching at Durham, about eleven went on to Darlington. I have not lately found so lively a work in any part of England as here. The society is constantly increasing, and seems to be all on fire for God. There is nothing among them but humble, simple love ; no dispute, no jar of any kind. They exactly answer the description that David Brainerd gives of his Indian congregation. I particularly desired both the preachers and leaders to have an especial care over them, and, if possible, to prevent either the devil or his agents from poisoning their simplicity. Many of them already know that 'the blood of Jesus Christ' hath 'cleansed them from all sin.'

Wed. 7.—I went to Yarm. There I found a lovely young

¹ Possibly the original intention was to lay the stone on April 1, in which case the plate may have been inscribed with that date ; but the discrepancy in dates which has up to now appeared in this

paragraph is more likely an error in the printing of the original edition of the Journal. See *W.H.S.* vol. ii. p. 122.

² He wrote to Lady Maxwell (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 350).



1. THE 'NEW CHAPEL,' CITY ROAD, LONDON, IN 1780.

2 OLDHAM STREET CHAPEL, MANCHESTER, IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

(From a print in the possession of the Rev. J. A. Sharp.)

woman in the last stage of a consumption; but such a one as I never read of, nor heard any physician speak of but Dr. Wilson.¹ The seat of the ulcers is not in the lungs, but the wind-pipe. I never yet knew it cured. My housekeeper died of it last year. This young woman died in a few weeks.

Thur. 8.—About eleven I preached at Osmotherley. I found my old friend Mr. Watson,² who first brought me into this country, was just dead, after living a recluse life near fifty years. From one that attended him I learned that the sting of death was gone, and he calmly delivered up his soul to God.

Fri. 9.—I went to Malton, hoping to meet Miss R[itchie]³ there. But instead of her I found a letter which informed me that she was on the brink of the grave; but added, 'Surely my Lord will permit me to see you once more in the

¹ Author of *Circulation of the Blood*.

² The identification of 'Watson' here with 'Adams' (March 28, 1745) is beyond question. 'Columba P.' (*W.M. Mag.* 1847, pp. 139-44), Tyerman (*Life of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 486), Ward (*History of Methodism in the Thirsk Circuit*), Stamp (*Orphan House*), and comparatively recent traditions—traceable, it is thought by some, to these writers—are responsible for the widespread belief that 'Watson' (or 'Adams,' as he is elsewhere named) was a Popish or ex-Popish priest. It is significant that neither John Wesley nor his brother so describes the recluse of Osmotherley, nor do Henry Moore, Whitehead, Coke, Southey, or Richard Watson. For the most exhaustive argument against the identification of Adams (or Watson) as the ex-Popish priest of Osmotherley, see the Rev. Thomas McCullagh's article in the *W.M. Mag.* 1903, p. 16. For reasons which are sufficiently weighty, if not absolutely conclusive, on the other side, see *W.H.S.* vol. vii. pp. 28-31. One fact cannot be contested. In *The Franciscans in England, 1600-1850*, by the Rev. Father Thaddeus, O.F.M., at p. 169, under Osmotherley, Yorkshire, an account is given of 'Our Lady of Mount Grace,' as the Franciscan establishment

occupying Osmotherley House was called; with the rectors, or preses, as they were afterwards called. Among the latter we find 'Peter of Alcantara Adams, 1729-1732.' On p. 191 'Adams, Peter of Alcantara, was approved for preaching and hearing confessions in 1725 (the year of Wesley's ordination). Appointed Preses of the residence of Mount Grace, 1729-1732,' he is mentioned again in 1734 and 1737. Eight years later he first met Wesley at the Orphan House, apparently no longer as a priest, otherwise he would have been liable to arrest under the Five Mile Act. The name 'Watson' was simply one more added to other aliases by the Franciscans; or it may have been his Methodist name, borrowed from his new friends the Methodist dalesmen, among whom the name Watson was common. See above, vol. iii. pp. 169, 209.

³ Of Otley; the 'Miss Elizabeth Ritchie' who is so frequently named in the *Journal*. She recovered from this severe illness, and lived to attend Wesley in his last sickness fourteen years later. It may be convenient here to state that in 1801 she married Mr. Harvey Walklate Mortimer, a widower with six children whom, many years before, she had refused to marry.

body.' I would not disappoint the congregation; but as soon as I had done preaching set out, and about four in the morning came to Otley. I minutely inquired into the circumstances of her illness. She is dropped suddenly into the third stage of a consumption, having one or more ulcers in her lungs, spitting blood, having a continual pain in her breast, and a constant hectic fever, which disables her from either riding on horseback or bearing the motion of a carriage. Meantime, she breathes nothing but praise and love. Short-lived flower, and ripe for a better soil!

Sat. 10.—After travelling between ninety and a hundred miles,¹ I came back to Malton; and, having rested an hour, went on to Scarborough, and preached in the evening. But the flux which I had had for a few days so increased that at first I found it difficult to speak. Yet the longer I spoke the stronger I grew. Is not God a present help?

Sun. 11.—I experienced a second time what one calls *febris ex insolatione*.² The day was cold; but the sun shone warm on my back as I sat in the window. In less than half an hour I began to shiver, and soon after had a strong fit of an ague. I directly lay down between blankets, and drank largely of warm lemonade. In ten minutes the hot fit came on, and quickly after I fell asleep. Having slept half an hour I rose up and preached. Afterwards I met the society; and I found no want of strength, but was just as well at the end as at the beginning.

Mon. 12.—I preached at Bridlington; *Tuesday* the 13th in the morning at Beverley; and in the evening at Hull, on 'Narrow is the way that leadeth unto life.' And yet, blessed be God, there are thousands walking in it now, who a few years since thought nothing about it.

Wed. 14.—At eleven I preached at Pocklington, with an eye to the death of that lovely woman, Mrs. Cross. A gay young

¹ To Otley and back.

² Probably quoted from some medical book of the time. The phrase here means 'a fever produced by an incautious exposure to the sun.' See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 87. Cf. *Century Dictionary* under the word 'insolate,'

where, in a quotation from W. R. Grove, *Correlation of Forces*, p. 125, there is a suggestion that may possibly unriddle the hitherto unsolved mystery of the photographed sheaf of pens in Wesley's first Oxford Diary. See above, vol. i. p. 73; also Mrs. Barclay's *Upas Tree*.

gentleman, with a young lady, stepped in, stayed five minutes, and went out again, with as easy an unconcern as if they had been listening to a ballad-singer. I mentioned to the congregation the deep folly and ignorance implied in such behaviour. These pretty fools never thought that for this very opportunity they are to give an account before men and angels!

In the evening I preached at York. I would gladly have rested the next day, feeling my breast much out of order; but, notice having been given of my preaching at Tadcaster, I set out at nine in the morning. About ten the chaise broke down. I borrowed a horse; but, as he was none of the easiest, in riding three miles I was so thoroughly electrified that the pain in my breast was quite cured.¹ I preached in the evening at York; on *Friday* took the diligence; and on *Saturday* afternoon came to London.

Sun. 18 (being *Whit Sunday*).—Our service at the Foundery began as usual at four. I preached in West Street chapel in the forenoon; and at the Foundery in the evening. In the afternoon I buried the body of Joseph Guilford,² a holy man and a useful preacher. Surely never before did a man of so weak talents do so much good! He died, as he lived, in the full triumph of faith, vehemently rejoicing and praising God.

Tues. 20.—I met the committee for building, which indeed was my chief business at London. We consulted together on several articles, and were confidently persuaded that He who had incited us to begin would enable us to finish.

Sat. 24.—My brother and I paid another visit to Dr. Dodd,

¹ See above, p. 71.

² He had been in the army for several years. Atmore (*Memorial*, p. 169) describes him after his conversion as a 'hero,' a 'Boanerges,' as the husband of an eminently holy woman. His age and his second wife compelled the Conference to retire him into the ranks of local preachers. He seems to be the 'brother Gilford' at whose house, in a holiness revival (1761-2), Mary Bosanquet prayed for four hours. See Henry Moore's *Life of Mrs. Fletcher*,

p. 38. For Atmore's story of the Duke of Cumberland and Guilford's prayer see above, vol. v. p. 362. The story of his death, printed in the *Arm. Mag.* (1784, p. 23), is one of the quaintly beautiful pieces which Wesley himself 'writ' for the magazine. One other note of interest may be gleaned. Thomas Olivers, writing in 1756, remembers that under a sermon he preached in the Foundery 'that good man and useful preacher, Mr. Joseph Guilford, was awakened.'

and spent a melancholy and useful hour. He appears, so far as man can judge, to be a true evangelical penitent.

To ease my journey, I went to Stevenage on *Sunday* evening. *Monday* the 26th I went on to Witham Common, and on *Tuesday* reached Sheffield. The next day I went to Leeds, and, after preaching in the evening, pushed on to Otley. Here I found E[lizabeth] R[itchie] weaker and happier than ever. Her life seemed spun out to the last thread. I spent half an hour with her, to

Teach her, at once, and learn of her, to die.¹

I then rested two or three hours; and took chaise at two on *Thursday* the 29th, hoping to reach Whitehaven in the evening; but I could only get to Cockermouth.

Fri. 30.—I went on to Whitehaven, where I found a little vessel waiting for me. After preaching in the evening, I went on board about eight o'clock, and before eight in the morning landed at Douglas, in the Isle of Man.²

Douglas exceedingly resembles Newlyn in Cornwall, both in its situation, its form, and buildings; only it is much larger, and has a few houses equal to most in Penzance. As soon as we landed I was challenged by Mr. Booth, who had seen me in Ireland, and whose brother has been for many years a member of the society in Coolalough. A chaise was provided

¹ Altered from Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 154.

² In the year 1775 Mr. John Crook was sent as a 'Gospel Missionary' to the Isle of Man from the society in Liverpool (*Arm. Mag.* 1781, p. 537). The son of a physician who was sole heir to Shaw Hall estate in Lancashire, he received a good education. His mother also was a lady of family and fortune. Extravagance wasted the family resources. The son, put to a laborious trade, enlisted in the army. In Limerick the young soldier was drawn to the Methodist preaching and was 'arrested for Christ.' A relative, accidentally finding him in Ireland, purchased his discharge. In Cork he had married an excellent wife. In Liverpool he was appointed class-

leader, and so became the 'Apostle of Methodism in the Isle of Man.' As one of Wesley's preachers he travelled in Irish and English circuits, and was sent repeatedly to the Isle of Man. Outside John Crook's Journal, which the Rev. James Macdonald has quoted freely in a memoir of Crook in the *Meth. Mag.* for 1808, the information respecting the early history of Manx Methodism is scanty. It may now be found collected in *W.H.S.* vol. v. pp. 80-84 and 255-6 (where will be found important qualifications and corrections), and in successive numbers of the *Meth. Rec.* Winter No. See also below, pp. 318-22. Wesley arrived in Douglas during the visit of the Rev. Edward Smyth, of Dublin, whose preaching greatly profited the islanders.

to carry me to Castletown. I was greatly surprised at the country. All the way from Douglas to Castletown it is as pleasant and as well cultivated as most parts of England, with many gentlemen's seats. Castletown a good deal resembles Galway; only it is not so large. At six I preached near the castle,¹ I believe, to all the inhabitants of the town. Two or three gay young women showed they knew nothing about religion; all the rest were deeply serious. Afterwards I spent an hour very agreeably at Mrs. Wood's,² the widow of the late Governor. I was much pressed to stay a little longer at Castletown, but my time was fixed.

JUNE 1, *Sun.*—At six I preached in our own room; and, to my surprise, saw all the gentlewomen there. Young as well as old were now deeply affected, and would fain have had me stayed, were it but an hour or two; but I was forced to hasten away, in order to be at Peel before the service began.

Mr. Corlett³ said he would gladly have asked me to preach, but that the Bishop had forbidden him; who had also forbidden all his clergy to admit any Methodist preacher to the Lord's Supper.⁴ But is any clergyman obliged, either in law or

¹ In this castle, originally founded by King Godred in 960, the Countess of Derby and Bishop Wilson were confined.

² Mr. Wood and the minister attended the first Sunday service of the Methodists in 1775, Crook being the preacher. There is some uncertainty as to the date of Wood's governorship. In *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 255, the Rev. H. J. Foster writes: 'R. Corlett Cowell, in MS. Journal makes Wood's governorship 1763-5. In this last year the Island was sold to the Crown, and Wood was succeeded by Sir Richard Dawson, with deputy-governor Hope.'

³ This name was misspelt 'Corbett' in earlier editions. The Rev. Canon Kewley, of Arbory vicarage, Ballabeg, writes to the Rev. W. Kimber Hardy (who on behalf of the *W.H.S.* investigated the early history):

Corbett is a mistake for Corlett. . . . Corbett is a purely English name and does not appear in Moore's *Surnames of the Isle of Man*. There was a Henry Corlett, vicar of

German, at the time of Wesley's visits (1777 and 1781) who took a considerable interest in the movement. He was appointed vicar of German, March 4, 1761, and held the vicarage until his death in Nov. 1801. He translated the Book of Exodus for the Manx version of the Bible. He was not a University man, but was one of those trained at Bishop's Court by Bishop Wilson. It was he who was reading the Greek Testament to the Bishop a few days before his death, when the Bishop saw a vision of the angels. . . . 'I do not know anything of Catherine Corlett, but Catherine is a family name with the Gills.'

Henry Corlett's daughter married Hugh Stowell, rector of Ballaugh. His daughter Ann Stowell married William Gill, vicar of Malew, and became the mother of Archdeacon Gill. (See *W.H.S.*, vol. v. pp. 80, 255.)

⁴ Bishop Richmond's pastoral letter of 1776 requires every one of his clergy to repel any Methodist preacher from Holy Communion if he should offer himself at the table to receive it. He further directs that the pastoral shall be read in full church, the next Sunday after the receipt thereof.

conscience, to obey such a prohibition? By no means. The will even of the King does not bind any English subject, unless it be seconded by an express law. How much less the will of a bishop? 'But did not you take an oath to obey him?' No, nor any clergyman in the three kingdoms. This is a mere vulgar error. Shame that it should prevail almost universally.

As it rained, I retired after service into a large malt-house. Most of the congregation followed, and devoured the word. It being fair in the afternoon, the whole congregation stopped in the churchyard; and the word of God was with power. It was a happy opportunity.

Mon. 2.—The greater part of them were present at five in the morning. A more loving, simple-hearted people than this I never saw. And no wonder; for they have but six Papists, and no Dissenters, in the island. It is supposed to contain near thirty thousand people, remarkably courteous and humane.¹ Ever since smuggling was suppressed, they diligently cultivate their land; and they have a large herring fishery, so that the country improves daily.²

The old castle at Peel³ (as well as the cathedral built within

¹ Forty years before Wesley's visit the population was upwards of 20,000. In his *History of the Isle of Man* Bishop Wilson gives them the same good character.

² Crook's mission to the Isle of Man was not the earliest appearance of Methodism in the island (see above, vol. v. p. 12). An accident gave John Murlin a companion for three or four years in Benjamin Biggs, who was 'a favourite servant of the late Sir James Lowther.' A further 'accident' befell the two new-made friends. They embarked at Whitehaven for Liverpool (July 1758). 'But the captain deceived us, and carried us to the Isle of Man. Here we stayed a week. The second evening I preached in a large barn. But on Sunday it would not contain the congregation, so I was obliged to preach abroad.' Murlin seems to have created a profound impression, for the people sent to Whitehaven, desiring another preacher. 'But it was some

years before another went, there being so little probability of doing any considerable good while the whole island was a nest of smugglers. The Duke of Athol was then King of the Isle. But the case is now widely altered.' He adds a description of the social revolution in the island—the rooting out of smuggling, the cultivation of the land, the establishment of a herring fishery, and of a large linen manufactory—'and we now see the fruit of our labours there, in the conversion of many sinners to God' (*Wesley's Veterans*, vol. ii. pp. 161-2, or *E.M.P.* vol. iii. p. 298; *Life of Mrs. Fletcher*, p. 373). For another 'accidental' episode in the story of early Isle of Man Methodism, see 'Account of a remarkable deliverance by Catherine Corbett [Corlett], of Castletown' (*Arm. Mag.* 1781, p. 535).

³ The space within the walls covers two acres. See Waldron's *Description of the Isle of Man* (1731, p. 103), Scott's

it) is only a heap of ruins. It was very large and exceeding strong, with many brass guns ; but they are now removed to England.

I set out for Douglas in the one-horse chaise, Mrs. Smyth¹ riding with me. In about an hour, in spite of all I could do, the headstrong horse ran the wheel against a large stone ; the chaise upset in a moment, but we fell so gently on smooth grass that neither of us was hurt at all. In the evening I preached at Douglas to near as large a congregation as that at Peel, but not near so serious. Before ten we went on board, and about twelve on *Tuesday* the 3rd landed at Whitehaven. I preached at five in the afternoon, and, hastening to Cocker-mouth, found a large congregation waiting in the Castle-yard. Between nine and ten I took chaise, and about ten on *Wednesday* the 4th reached Settle.² In the evening I preached near the market-place, and all but two or three gentlefolks were seriously attentive.

Thur. 5.—About noon I came to Otley, and found E[lizabeth] R[itchie] just alive, but all alive to God. In the evening it seemed as if the departing saint had dropped her mantle upon the congregation, such an awe was upon them while I explained and applied ‘They were all filled with the Holy Ghost.’

Fri. 6.—I preached at Bradford, where a blessed work has increased ever since William Brammah³ was here. ‘Hath not God chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise’?

Sun. 8.—About one I took my stand at Birstall. Thousands

Peveil of the Peak, ch. xv., and Hall Caine’s *The Deemster*. Cf. also, for parallel to Wesley’s ‘Leave off thy reflections and tell us thy tales’ (above, vol. v. 457) *Peveil of the Peak*, same chapter.

¹ Wife of the Rev. Edward Smyth. See Tyerman’s *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 241.

² At Keighley ‘Wesley stood on one side of the church path and Taylor on the other, with their hats in their hands, and collected upwards of £7 for the new chapel in City Road’ (Taylor’s Manuscript Diary, quoted by Tyerman, *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 243).

³ In a letter to Miss Bolton, Wesley

asks her to warn ‘Billy Brammah’ against screaming and the use of spirituous liquors, but gives him a kindly word for the good in him. At an early period Brammah began to exhort a little in Sheffield, his native place, and in the towns and villages around. He is described as a ‘plain, honest man, of deep piety and great zeal. His preaching talents were very slender. . . . Mr. Wesley used to say respecting him that he had but one talent, that of directing sinners to Christ—now.’ See Steele’s *Meth. in Barnard Castle*, p. 82 ; also Laycock’s *Haworth Round*, p. 333.

upon thousands filled the vale and the side of the hill ; and all, I found, could hear. Such another multitude assembled near Huddersfield in the evening. Many of these had never heard a Methodist preacher before ; yet they all behaved well.

Mon. 9.—I spent one hour more at Otley. *Spectaculum Deo dignum!*¹ I have not before seen so triumphant an instance of the power of faith. Though in constant pain, she has no complaint : so does the glory of God overshadow her, and swallow up her will in His ! She is indeed

All praise, all meekness, and all love.²

Wed. 11.—I had appointed to preach in the new preaching-house at Colne. Supposing it would be sufficiently crowded, I went a little before the time ; so that the galleries were but half full when I came into the pulpit. Two minutes after, the whole left-hand gallery fell at once, with a hundred and fifty or two hundred persons. Considering the height, and the weight of people, one would have supposed many lives would have been lost ; but I did not hear of one.³ Does not

¹ Martial, *Epigr. I.* 105, 16 : 'A sight worthy of God Himself.' See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 87, where Webb's versified translation, though not literal, is incomparably better than the 3rd edition footnote : 'A pageant fit for gods to see.' See also *W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 36.

² Meth. H.-B. (1904), 530, verse 4. From C. Wesley's *Scripture Hymns*. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 219.

³ The romantic story of the preaching-house at Colne is told in detail in Benjamin Moore's *Meth. in Burnley and East Lancashire*, pp. 30-31. William Sagar, to whom Colne was mainly indebted for the chapel, was a man of remarkable energy and faith. The answers to prayer he received in connexion with the building of the chapel were striking. Thomas Taylor, who was present with Wesley in the pulpit at the opening service, gives a fuller description of the accident. He says that 'abundance of people had legs, arms, or thighs broken.' He adds : 'Many false reports were spread concerning the

adventure.' One of these—from a cutting in the Richmond College interleaved *Journal*—says that 'several lay dangerously ill, with very little hope of recovery. It is scarcely to be wondered at that an accident occurred considering the difficulties under which the house was built. When the building was ready for the roof an equinoctial gale blew down the western gable-end into the area and shook the whole fabric. A house was built against the chapel to prevent a total collapse.' Alexander Mather, who was appointed to the circuit at the Conference following, says that 'though no one was killed, limbs were broken,' and he was 'compelled to travel through many societies in order to defray those large expenses of taking care of those that were hurt, and rebuilding the gallery.' . . . 'But,' he adds, 'whatever fatigue I had was abundantly made up by the kindness and liberality of the brethren.' (*Wesley's Veterans*, vol. ii. p. 108 ; or *E.M.P.* vol. ii. p. 185, and vol. v. p. 47.)

God give His angels charge over them that fear Him? When the hurry was a little over, I went into the adjoining meadow, and quietly declared the whole counsel of God.

On *Thursday* and *Friday* I preached at Halifax, Dawgreen, Horbury, and Wakefield. On *Saturday* I wrote *Thoughts upon God's Sovereignty*.¹ To a cool man, I think the whole matter will appear to rest on a single point: as Creator, He could not but act according to His own sovereign will; but as Governor He acts, not as a mere Sovereign, but according to justice and mercy.

*Mon. 16.*²—I met the class of children at Rothwell. This consisted last year of eleven young maidens. They are increased to twenty. I think seventeen or eighteen of them are now rejoicing in the love of God. And their whole behaviour is suitable thereto, adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour.

Afterwards I went on to Rotherham, and was glad to find that the society is not discouraged by the death of that good man, William Green,³ who had been as a father to them from

¹ See Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 319.

² He wrote to Miss Ritchie, urging her not to write in reply, or only a few words at a time (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 58); but on the 24th, though worse in health, she wrote quite a long letter. See *Life of Mrs. Mortimer*, pp. 75-7.

³ About 1741, when David Taylor and John Nelson were preaching in Sheffield, Thorpe, and the neighbourhood, William Green, then teaching a school at Thorpe, became decidedly serious. He was appointed class-leader and local preacher. His second wife, Miss Holmes of Sykehouse, was one of the saintly women of early Methodism, who for years figured prominently in its best work. William Green afterwards had a school at Rotherham, where he introduced Methodism, and suffered severe persecution. His school was the preaching-house until 1761, when he led the way in building the 'Octagon Chapel.' He kept a horse that carried himself or other preachers to Eckington, Barley Hall, High Green, Sykehouse, and even

Epworth. His house—often wrecked by the mob, as glaziers' bills prove—was 'the resort of the pious, and the home of the preachers.' He acted as Wesley's book agent in this part of the country. Lists of subscribers for Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament*, in Green's handwriting, are probably still in the Everett-Tyerman-Stampe Collection. As many as 108 parts of the *Notes*, at six shillings a part, came at a time, and were distributed in Epworth, Grimsby, and other places. Among the purchasers of Wesley's *Works* in Rotherham were Mr. Samuel Walker, John Thorpe, Val. Radley, and William Green. But the full story of William Green, Mrs. Green, and the Holmes family of Sykehouse reaches back to the earliest dawn of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Methodism, and has not even now finished its tale of extraordinary providential interposition and gracious leading. The facts are scattered in the biographies preserved in the old magazines (see *Arm. Mag.* 1781,

the beginning. He never started either at labour or suffering ; but went on calm and steady, trusting God with himself and his eight children, even while all the waves and storms went over him. He died, as he lived, in the full assurance of faith, praising God with his latest breath.

Tues. 17.—I preached in the market-place at Chesterfield,¹ on 'It is appointed unto men once to die.' Although the congregation was numerous, yet I did not observe any either trifling or inattentive hearers. In the evening I preached at Derby.² It was supposed the people would be afraid to come, as part of the roof had lately fallen in. (Indeed it fell an hour before the congregation met ; otherwise many must have been hurt.) But they were not afraid ; the house was well filled, and even the rich attended with seriousness.

Wed. 18.—I preached at Nottingham, to a serious, loving congregation. There is something in the people of this town which I cannot but much approve of ; although most of our society are of the lower class, chiefly employed in the stocking manufacture, yet there is generally an uncommon gentleness and sweetness in their temper, and something of elegance in their behaviour, which, when added to solid, vital religion, make them an ornament to their profession.

Thur. 19.—I did not reach Leicester till the congregation had waited some time ; so I began immediately to enforce 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.'

pp. 251 and 450 ; also 1798, p. 301), and especially in such books as James Everett's *Historical Sketches of Wes. Meth. in Sheffield and its Vicinity*—one of the unfinished records of early Methodism. See also the Rev. T. Alexander Seed's *Norfolk Street Chapel, Sheffield*, and Mr. Laycock's *Haworth Round*.

¹ This was not Wesley's first visit to Chesterfield (see above, p. 116). Benjamin Wilkinson of Sheffield some time later twice attempted to preach in the town or on the green outside. He was rudely interrupted, and at the second venture his life was endangered. The first permanent footing of Methodism in

the area now known as the Chesterfield circuit was obtained at the villages of Ridgeway and Brimington. The latter village was the birthplace of the once popular tunes 'Nazareth,' 'Harvest Home,' and 'Carmel' (*W.M. Mag.* 1906, p. 145).

² During this visit Wesley seems to have preached in the market-place, where Catherine Spencer (we do not know her maiden name) heard him and had afterwards the privilege of his company. She was a faithful Church of England Methodist for sixty-four years, and died in 1843 in her eighty-sixth year (*W.M. Mag.* 1844, p. 70).

I had designed not to call here at all, supposing it would be lost labour. But the behaviour of the whole congregation convinced me that I had judged wrong.¹ They filled the house at five in the morning, and seemed determined to 'stir up the gift of God which was in them.'

Sat. 21.—I returned to London.

*Wed. 25.*²—I saw Dr. Dodd for the last time. He was in exactly such a temper as I wished. He never at any time expressed the least murmuring or resentment at any one, but entirely and calmly gave himself up to the will of God. Such a prisoner I scarce ever saw before, much less such a condemned malefactor. I should think none could converse with him without acknowledging that God is with him.

Thur. 26.—I read the truly wonderful performance of Mr.

¹ How wrongly he judged may be gathered from the story of Gaddesby and Barsby. William Reeve heard the sermon in the house at Millstone Lane, Leicester, and was converted. He went home to Gaddesby, to live a courageous life. He opened his house for the first Methodist preaching, became the first class-leader in the district, held office blamelessly for sixty years, and built a cottage adjoining his own house and fitted the lower part as a preaching-house, in which service was regularly held until 1837, when Dr. Newton opened the first chapel, reopening it after enlargement in 1848. Preaching in Hinde Street Chapel, Dr. Newton told the story of a man, about one hundred years of age, on the margin of Rutland, who seventy years before heard Wesley preach, with two other young men. They were converted, and united in their native village to teach and live the faith that had saved them. 'The old man went to Leicester the last time Wesley preached there. Though nearly blind, he recognized their voices, and the last thing he said to them was, "My little children, love one another."' Dr. Newton told also how the old man, desiring to see a chapel in his native village 'before I go to heaven,'

called on Colonel Cheney, who gave him a site and a subscription. This is only the beginning of a long and deeply interesting story showing how God in His providence multiplied 'the sower's seed'—an example of the way in which Methodist family religion thrived in the old time, spreading its influence far and wide. The writer of the story, the Rev. J. G. Warrington, adds:

It is my privilege now, as a minister of the circuit, to stand occasionally in the Barsby pulpit, the one from which my grandfather preached so many sermons, and the first I ever entered; also to be entertained at the house built by my great-grandfather for Methodist services at Gaddesby, the first in that neighbourhood. My grandfather and great-grandfather sleep together, with most of the other members of the Reeve family, in the quiet resting-place of Gaddesby churchyard; but their hallowed memories are still springs of inspiration, and by their graves prayer and praise continue to ascend to heaven.

² He wrote to Walter Churchey on the relations of his religion and his political conduct. He reports that Dr. Coke, whom Churchey had known in Brecon, was behaving 'exceeding well, and seems to be aware of his grand enemy, applause.' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 435.)

Rowland Hill.¹ I stood amazed! Compared to him, Mr. Top-lady himself is a very civil, fair-spoken gentleman!

Fri. 27.—I wrote an answer to it: 'not rendering railing for railing' (I have not so learned Christ), but 'speaking the truth in love.'

Sat. 28.—I have now completed my seventy-fourth year, and by the peculiar favour of God I find my health and strength, and all my faculties of body and mind, just the same as they were at four-and-twenty.

Mon. 30.—I set out for Northamptonshire, and preached in the evening at Stony Stratford. Mr. Canham had prepared a large and commodious place, but it would not contain the congregation. However, all without, as well as within, except one fine lady, were serious and attentive.

JULY 1, *Tues.*—I preached in the evening at [Maids] Moreton, near Buckingham. The thunder, attended with heavy rain, was likely to rob us of our whole congregation. We cried to God. The thunder and rain ceased, and we had a fair, sunshiny evening. A large number of people flocked together, some of whom came twelve or fourteen miles. And they did not lose their labour, for God accompanied His word with the demonstration of His Spirit.

Wed. 2.—The house was more than filled at five, and chiefly with genteel young women, of whom (I learned) there is a large number in this village, remarkable both for sense and seriousness. After dinner we went on to Oxford, where also we had a very serious congregation. So all the seed sown here has not fallen either on stony or thorny ground.

In the afternoon I went to Witney,² and, the evening being fair and mild, preached on Wood Green to a far larger congregation than the house could have contained. I spent the

¹ This was Hill's *Imposture Detected*. It is not necessary to repeat any of the scurrilities to which Wesley refers. Students who find it necessary, in the interests of historic truth, to disinter buried follies may consult Green's *Wes. Bibliog.* No. 320, or Wesley's *Works*, vol. x., or sections of the *Life of C. of Huntingdon*, which refer

to the extraordinary behaviour of one of the most exceptional men of the London dissenting pulpit. Cf. below, p. 208.

² Some details of this journey are given in the experience of Mr. Robert Roe (*Arm. Mag.* 1784, p. 246); there seems, however, to be an error in the date, Mr. Roe giving it as July 3.



1. MR. VERNON'S HOUSE AT COMBE HILL, NEAR TEWKESBURY.
 2. THE MANOR FARM, FINSTOCK, RESIDENCE OF MR. EDWARD BOLTON (*see* PAGE 161).
- (*Photo by W. Adams.*)

rest of the evening profitably and agreeably with a few of the excellent ones of the earth.¹ I was ready to say, 'It is good for me to be here.' No! Go thou and preach the gospel.

Thur. 3.—I was much comforted at Stroud among an earnest, serious, loving people.

Fri. 4.—I preached in dull Gloucester at ten, and at six in the new house at Tewkesbury.

Sat. 5.—I sent my chaise straight to Worcester, and myself took horse for Bengeworth. The church was tolerably filled. Afterwards I went down with Mr. Beale² to his house, the same in which Mr. Benjamin Seward lived three- or four-and-forty years ago. In the evening I preached in the little chapel at Broadmarston.

Sun. 6.—I preached in Pebworth church morning and afternoon, and at Bengeworth in the evening. The church, large as it is, was well filled; and many, for the present, were much affected. I preached there once more at eight in the morning, and then rode on to Worcester.³ On *Tuesday* evening the rector of the parish was at the preaching; a candid, sensible man. He seemed much surprised, having never dreamed before

¹ The Bolton family, for whom see vol. v. p. 44. No apology is needed for an additional note on a family to which Methodism, through successive generations, from Wesley's time to the present day, owes so much. Mr. Henry Bolton of Finstock, of the fourth generation of this honoured and continuously Methodist family, informs us that Edward Bolton (his great-grandfather) resided at a corner house, Wood Green, at the west end of Witney, near to which Wesley preached under the trees. At another time he lived at the Manor Farm, Finstock, a house dating from 1660; and afterwards in a house at Blandford Park, now known as Cornbury Park, where he died in 1818. See *W.M. Mag.* 1819, p. 142. The last named is to be distinguished from the fine mansion named on Oct. 18, 1774. This information accounts for the various places mentioned in connexion with this family. His grandfather (Edward Bolton's son) returned to the

old home at Finstock about the year of his father's death, and the family has remained there since. Wesley preached in the kitchen of this house, which, with a small room opening into it, accommodated thirty or forty persons. Wesley and Fletcher once met here. Mr. Bolton possesses a coin given by Wesley to his grandfather when a boy.

² He was the clergyman of Bengeworth chapel. His name appears as a witness in the remarkable case of George Lukins the demoniac (*Arm. Mag.* 1789, p. 375). Mr. Beale was a man whose universal charity prompted him to contribute to the support of all the principal charitable institutions in the kingdom. He died in 1805. For Benjamin Seward see above, vol. ii. p. 285.

³ On July 7 he wrote to Mr. — (see new ed. *Wesley Letters*), and the next day to Joseph Benson (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 426).

that there was such a thing as common sense among the Methodists! The society here, by patient continuance in well-doing, has quite overcome evil with good; even the beasts of the people are now tame, and open not their mouths against them. They profited much when the waves and storms went over them; may they profit as much by the calm!

Wed. 9.—I went through a delightful vale to Malvern Wells, lying on the side of a high mountain, and commanding one of the finest prospects in the world—the whole vale of Evesham.¹ Hitherto the roads were remarkably good, but they grew worse and worse till we came to Monmouth. Much disturbance was expected here,² but we had none; all were deeply attentive.

About six in the evening, on *Thursday* the 10th, I preached on the bulwarks³ at Brecon.

Fri. 11.—I called upon Mr. Gwynne, just recovering from a dangerous illness; but he is not recovered from the seriousness which it occasioned. May this be a lasting blessing!

Sat. 12.—We dined at Llandilo. After dinner we walked in Mr. Rice's⁴ park, one of the pleasantest I ever saw; it is so finely watered by the winding river running through and round the gently rising hills. Near one side of it, on the top of a high

¹ Or rather, that of the Severn. The Vale of Evesham is visible only at its mergence into the Severn Valley at the rear of the distant Bredon Hill. From Wynds Point (800 ft.) where the road crosses the range of hills, glimpses of the river are obtained from Worcester north-east to Gloucester and the Bristol Channel in the distant south-east. Fine as is the vast panorama on the east, it is surprising that Wesley does not refer to the far finer and more varied scene on the western side over Herefordshire and Shropshire, with the Black Mountains of Brecknock beyond.

'Twelve fair counties saw the blaze on Malvern's lonely height.'

The Armada (Macaulay).

² Cf. Alexander Mather's experiences at the opening of the first preaching-house in 1771. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. ii. p. 107; or *EM.P.* vol. ii. p. 184.

Thomas Wilks, who at a later date was converted and became a useful Methodist, living to a good old age, heard Wesley preach in the street at Monmouth. He was 'strongly inclined to disturb that venerable man,' but was 'restrained by an invisible power' (*W.M. Mag.* 1830, p. 573). Possibly this may refer to a later visit.

³ That is to say, the open space near St. Mary's Church.

⁴ Mr. George Rice was created Baron Dynevor in 1780. He was favourable to the Methodists. Dynevor Castle is still accounted one of the sweetest spots in Wales. The old castle was circular and defended by a double moat and rampart. Bret Harte says this was the loveliest park he had ever roamed in. The castle is said to have been built before 877 and rebuilt in 1150.

eminence, is the old castle ; a venerable pile at least as old as William the Conqueror, and ‘majestic though in ruins.’¹

In the evening I preached to a large congregation in the market-place at Carmarthen.² I was afterwards informed, the mayor had sent two constables to forbid my preaching there ; but, if he did, their hearts failed them, for they said not one word.

Sun. 13.—We had a plain, useful sermon from the vicar,³ though some said, ‘He did not preach the gospel.’ He preached what these men have great need to hear, lest they seek death in the error of their life.

In the evening I explained to a huge congregation who it is that builds his house upon a rock. I believe many had ears to hear, even of the young and gay : to whom I made a particular application.

Mon. 14.—I reached Llwynygwair⁴ about noon. In the evening Mr. Pugh⁵ read prayers and I preached at Newport. This is the only town in Wales which I had then observed to increase.

In riding along on the side of Newport Bay, I observed on the ground a large quantity of turfs.⁶ These are found by removing the sand above the high-water mark, under which there is a continued bed of turf, with the roots of trees, leaves, nuts, and various kinds of vegetables. So that it is plain the sea is an intruder here, and now covers what was once dry land. Such probably was the whole bay a few centuries ago.⁷ Nay, it is not at all improbable that formerly it was dry land from Aberystwyth to St. David’s Point.

Tues. 15.—Mr. Bowen carried me in his chaise to Cardigan. This is the second town I have seen in Wales which is continuously increasing both in buildings and in number of inhabitants. I preached at noon, five or six clergymen being

¹ A phrase in which Milton describes the aspect of Satan (*Paradise Lost*, ii. 305).

² A very commodious market-place.

³ Probably the Rev. Oakley Rees. See below, p. 251.

⁴ The seat of the Bowens. His host on this occasion was George Bowen, Esq.

Here Wesley first met Admiral Vaughan.

⁵ See *Life of C. of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 422, and above, vol. v. p. 483.

⁶ Cardigan Bay covers the fertile plains of Caustrep.

⁷ Giraldus Cambrensis refers to the changes of this coast. See fragment

present, with a numerous congregation; and a more attentive one I have not seen. Many likewise appeared deeply affected. If our preachers constantly attended here, I cannot think their labour would be in vain.

Wed. 16.—About nine I preached again in Newport church, and found much liberty among that poor, simple people. We dined with Admiral Vaughan at Trecwn,¹ one of the most delightful spots that can be imagined. Thence we rode to Haverfordwest²; but the heat and dust were as much as I could bear. I was faint for a while, but it was all gone as soon as I came into the congregation; and, after preaching and meeting the society, I was as fresh as at six in the morning.

Thur. 17.³—I preached at Roch, and took a view of the old castle, built on a steep rock.⁴ A gentleman wisely asked Mr. S——, ‘Pray, is this natural or artificial?’ He gravely replied, ‘Artificial, to be sure; I imported it from the north of Ireland.’

Fri. 18.—The more I converse with the society at Haverfordwest, the more I am united to them.

from an old Welsh bard on the encroachments of the sea, *Quarterly Review*, September 1852, p. 296.

¹ Fenton's *Tour through Pembrokeshire* is the classic on that county, and he, living in Wesley's day, writes Treccon; but Trecwn is the spelling of to-day. Five times Wesley visited it. Trecwn stands in a deep valley surrounded with tall trees, and then with lofty mountains. Although Wesley never had a society at Trecwn, the Admiral was greatly attracted to him, and his sisters became faithful members of society. Late in the nineteenth century a descendant of the old family erected and endowed an educational establishment in the place, which was subject to and under the direction of the Wesleyan Education Committee. See Young's *Meth. in Wales*, p. 252. A branch of the ancient Monmouthshire Vaughans settled in Pembrokeshire in Henry VII's reign; ‘a brave and courtly race.’ It was a long distance between Trecwn and Haverfordwest, but Mary Vaughan

was a faithful member in Mr. Green's class.

² The circuit-book seen by Mr. Young gives the membership as sixty. The first name on the list of members is George Richards, a labourer; his wife Anne follows. Barbara Surnam, living in Goat Street, and Mary Vaughan, of Trecwn, sister of Admiral Vaughan, are returned as ‘gents.’ John Green comes eighth on the list, a name ever honourably connected with Methodism in the county. See, for these and other records, Young's *Meth. in Wales*, p. 260.

³ He wrote to John Bredin from Haverfordwest. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

⁴ This strong fortress, which is a prominent landmark, was built in the thirteenth century by Adam de Rupe, ancestor of Colonel de Rupe Burke Roch. A tall turreted tower only was left when the Parliamentarians dismantled it. William Wade, of Roch, in Wesley's time was a man of substantial reputation and usefulness. (Young's *Meth. in Wales*, p. 261.)

Sat. 19.—About eleven I preached at Houghton, two miles short of the Ferry. There was an uncommon blessing among the simple-hearted people. At Pembroke in the evening we had the most elegant congregation I have seen since we came into Wales. Some of them came in dancing and laughing, as into a theatre; but their mood was quickly changed, and in a few minutes they were as serious as my subject—Death. I believe, if they do not take great care, they will remember it—for a week!

Sun. 20.—The congregation at St. Daniel's was more than the church could contain. After reading prayers I preached an hour (an uncommon thing with me) on 'Not every one that saith unto Me, Lord! Lord!' Many were cut to the heart, and at the Lord's Supper many were wounded and many healed. Surely now, at least, if they do not harden their hearts, all these will know the day of their visitation.

Mon. 21.—Having been much pressed to preach at Jeffreston, a colliery six or seven miles from Pembroke, I began soon after seven. The house was presently filled, and all the space about the doors and windows; and the poor people drank in every word. I had finished my sermon when a gentleman, violently pressing in, bade the people get home and mind their business. As he used some bad words, my driver spake to him. He fiercely said, 'Do you think I need to be taught by a chaise-boy?' The lad replying, 'Really, sir, I do think so,' the conversation ended.

In the evening I preached in the market-place at Carmarthen to such another congregation as I had there before, and my heart was so enlarged towards them that I continued preaching a full hour.

Tues. 22.—I preached at Llanelly about one, and at Swansea in the evening.

Wed. 23.—I preached in Swansea at five, in Neath between eight and nine, and about one at Margam. In the road between this and Bridgend we had the heaviest rain I ever remember to have seen in Europe. And it saved John Prickard's¹ life;

¹ He was born in Pembrokeshire in 1744, and became an itinerant in 1774. His life appeared in the *Arm. Mag.*

1788, 1789. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. iii., or *E.M.P.* vol. iv. p. 170; and *Atmore's Memorial*, p. 336.

for presently man and beast were covered with a sheet of lightning ; but, as he was thoroughly wet, it did him no harm. In the evening I preached in Oldcastle church, near Bridgend.

Thur. 24.—I preached to a large and serious congregation in the town-hall at Cowbridge.

Fri. 25.—About eleven I read prayers and preached in Llantwit [Major] church,¹ to a very numerous congregation. I have not seen either so large or so handsome a church since I left England. It was sixty yards long ; but one end of it is now in ruins. I suppose it has been abundantly the most beautiful, as well as the most spacious, church in Wales.

In the evening I preached at Mrs. Jones's house in Font-e-gary.² For the present, even the genteel hearers seemed affected ; and God is able to continue the impression.

Sat. 26.—I breakfasted at Fonmon Castle, and found a melancholy pleasure in the remembrance of past times. About noon I preached at Penmark,³ and in the evening in that memorable old castle at Cardiff.

Sun. 27.—I preached in the town-hall, and again in the afternoon to a crowded audience, after preaching in a little church⁴ at Caerphilly. In the evening I preached in Mr. M[atthew]'s⁵ hall at Llandaff ; and God applied His word (I think) to every heart.

Mon. 28.—I preached at Newport, and in the evening reached Bristol.⁶

¹ The Rev. Joshua Powell was the vicar. There were really two churches. Wesley saw the ruins of the Lady Chapel of one of them. He might also have seen the memorials of a branch of his own family settled at Lechmere, near Llantwit Major. There are fields still called Wesley (the old style) Fields.

² To Font-e-gary, near the shore at Rhoose, Mrs. Jones retired after her son, on attaining his majority, took possession of Fonmon Castle. The house still stands. The dining-room in which Wesley preached, and the bedroom he occupied, remain much as in his day.

³ The monuments of the Jones family are in the large church at Penmark.

⁴ The old St. Martin's, long replaced by the present church of that name.

⁵ Colonel Matthew married one of the daughters of Squire Jones of Fonmon. This connexion explains Wesley's three visits to Llandaff Court. The Matthews were an ancient family. The cathedral contains several monuments of the colonel's distinguished ancestors. See above, p. 35, and below, p. 252. Henry Matthews, Q. C., M. P., Home Secretary 1886–92, first Viscount Llandaff, was of this family.

⁶ On July 29 he wrote from Bristol to Mrs. Barton (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 380), and to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 5).

Wed. 30.—I spent an hour or two with Mr. Fletcher,¹ restored to life in answer to many prayers. How many providential ends have been answered by his illness! And perhaps still greater will be answered by his recovery.

AUG. 1, Fri.—I desired as many as could to join together in fasting and prayer, that God would restore the spirit of love and of a sound mind to the poor deluded rebels in America. In the evening we had a watch-night at Kingswood; and I was agreeably surprised to observe that hardly any one went away till the whole service was concluded.²

Tues. 5.—Our yearly Conference began. I now particularly inquired (as that report had been spread far and wide) of every Assistant, 'Have you reason to believe, from your own observation, that the Methodists are a fallen people? Is there a decay or an increase in the work of God where you have been? Are the societies in general more dead, or more alive to God, than they were some years ago?' The almost universal answer was, 'If we must "know them by their fruits," there is no decay in the work of God among the people in general. The societies are not dead to God; they are as much alive as they have been for many years. And we look on this report as a mere device of Satan, to make our hands hang down.'

'But how can this question be decided?' You, and you,

¹ The vicar of Madeley was then staying at Mr. Ireland's house, three miles from Bristol. He had been brought from Stoke Newington, where, in a serious illness, he had been nursed by his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Greenwood. At the Conference, held a few days after this interview with Wesley, James Rogers was appointed to Cornwall, and, passing through Bristol, he called on Fletcher, taking with him two of the Bristol preachers. They met Fletcher in the yard, dismounting after a ride. There, standing by their horses, they had an affecting conversation. Before remounting, Mr. Ireland's footman appeared with a bottle of wine and slices of bread for the visitors. They uncovered while Fletcher asked a blessing. 'He handed,' writes Rogers, 'first the bread to

eat, pronouncing the words, "The body of our Lord which was given for thee," &c. Afterwards handing the wine, he repeated in like manner, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. But such a sacrament I never had before. . . . That very hour more than repaid me for my whole journey from Edinburgh to Cornwall.' See Benson's *Life of Fletcher*. Fletcher's health became worse. Acting upon the advice of a physician, he embarked at Dover for the Continent in December of this year, and did not return to England until April 1781, having spent the interval partly in France and partly in his native Switzerland.

² On Aug. 2 he wrote to Elizabeth Ritchie, by this time wonderfully restored to health (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 59).

can judge no farther than you see. You cannot judge of one part by another; of the people of London, suppose, by those of Bristol. And none but myself has an opportunity of seeing them throughout the three kingdoms.

But to come to a short issue. In most places the Methodists are still a poor, despised people, labouring under reproach, and many inconveniences; therefore, wherever the power of God is not, they decrease. By this, then, you may form a sure judgement. Do the Methodists in general decrease in number? Then they decrease in grace; they are a fallen, or, at least, a falling people. But they do not decrease in number; they continually increase; therefore, they are not a fallen people.¹

The Conference concluded on *Friday*, as it began, in much love. But there was one jarring string: John Hilton² told us he must withdraw from our Connexion, because he saw the Methodists were a fallen people. Some would have reasoned with him, but it was lost labour; so we let him go in peace.

¹ It was at this Conference (on Aug. 7, according to Thomas Taylor's MS. diary) that the scene occurred of which Tyerman (vol. iii. p. 247) gives a graphic description:

Fletcher, emaciated, feeble, and ghost-like, entered the Conference leaning on the arm of his host, Mr. Ireland. In an instant the whole assembly stood up, and Wesley advanced to meet his almost seraphic friend. The apparently dying man began to address the brave itinerants, and before he had uttered a dozen sentences, one and all were bathed in tears. Wesley, fearing that Fletcher was speaking too much, abruptly knelt at his side, and began to pray. Down fell the whole of Wesley's preachers, and joined in the devotion of their great leader. The burden of Wesley's supplication was that his friend might be spared to labour a little longer; and this petition was urged with such fervency and faith that at last Wesley closed by exclaiming, with a confidence and an emphasis which seemed to thrill every heart: 'He shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord!'

The prayer was answered; Fletcher did not die until eight years later.

² John Hilton was Assistant in the Bristol Circuit, where Methodism was suffering, in part, probably, through the

growing uncertainty of his religious opinions. He had fallen in some measure under the spell of Barclay's *Apology*, and was already on the high-road to the Quakerism which became his ultimate bourne. The pessimism he represented John Fletcher unwittingly fostered. Infirm in health, alarmed at the growing disposition to drift from the 'old plan' into a non-Church-of-England type of Methodism, fearful lest John and Charles Wesley might shortly be taken from their head, he inclined to measures that Hilton disapproved. Wesley also saw the peril, and saw, as did neither Fletcher nor Hilton, the true remedy. He let Hilton, who was hopelessly verging on disaffection, 'go in peace,' sent a succession of strong men to Bristol, himself gave the circuit special attention, and, in the Conference, knit the preachers together in a compact to which there was not a single dissentient vote. The retirement of Hilton and the debate in the Conference, which unanimously endorsed Wesley's action in accepting his resignation, led Wesley—so Dr. Smith suggests (*History of Meth.* vol. i. p. 411)

Mon. 11.—I returned to London. *Thursday* the 14th I drew up proposals for *The Arminian Magazine*.¹ *Friday* the 15th the committee for the building met, which is now ready for the roof. Hitherto God has helped us!

Sun. 17.—In the calm, fair evening, I took the opportunity to preach in Moorfields.² The congregation was at least as large as I ever saw there. As yet I do not see any sign of the decay of the work of God in England.

Mon. 18.—I went down to Bristol again, and read in the way Dr. M'Bride's *Practice of Physic*.³ Undoubtedly it is an ingenious book; yet it did not answer my expectation. Several things I could contradict from my own experience; e.g. he says, 'All fevers are attended with thirst and vigilia.' Nay, in two violent fevers I had no thirst at all, and slept rather more than when I was in health.

Tues. 19.—I went forward to Taunton with Dr. Coke,⁴ who, being dismissed from his curacy, has bid adieu to his honourable name, and determined to cast in his lot with us. In the evening I endeavoured to guard all who love or fear God against that miserable bigotry which many of our mistaken brethren are advancing with all their might.

Wed. 20.—I preached at Tiverton; *Thursday* the 21st at Launceston; *Friday* the 22nd, about ten, in Bodmin. Thence I went on to Cubert, and found that venerable old man, Mr. Hosken, calmly waiting for his discharge from the body.

—to establish *The Arminian Magazine*, the prospectus of which was signed at Lewisham, Nov. 24, 1777, the magazine appearing on January 1, 1778. From the Conference Fletcher retired to Mr. Ireland's house at Brislington, and thence, lovingly cared for by Mr. Ireland and his daughter, to his native home at Nyon, Switzerland. Four years later, in November 1782, he married Mary Bosanquet, and once more became, with his wife, a tower of strength to English Methodism. For John Hilton see Rev. J. S. Pawlyn's *Bristol Methodism in John Wesley's Day*, p. 85, and for this whole period Stevens's *History of Meth.*, book v. chap. v.

¹ For copy of the 'proposals' referred to in the text, see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 281-2.

² This, so far as present records go, was his last sermon in Moorfields. It must be remembered that this famous open-air resort was rapidly changing its character. The city was covering the ground with streets and houses.

³ Dr. David M'Bride, of Dublin (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 71).

⁴ It is a significant fact that exactly at the moment when Fletcher was failing and the Methodist movement needed the courage and vitality of a born optimist, Dr. Coke appeared on the scene. See above, p. 120.

Sat. 23.—At noon I preached in Redruth, and in the evening on the cliff of St. Ives.¹ In the following week I visited most of the western societies, and on *Saturday* the 30th had the Quarterly Meeting. I now inquired particularly whether the societies were increasing or decreasing. I could not hear of a decrease in any, but several were swiftly increasing, particularly those of St. Just, Penzance, and Helston.

Sun. 31.²—I preached in the morning at St. Agnes; in the evening to the huge congregation at Gwennap, larger (it was

¹ On Aug. 24 he wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 60), and on the 29th to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 6).

² There is an interval of more than three weeks before the *Journal* resumes. Wesley himself makes no reference to it in the printed *Journal*, but there can be no doubt that America—its Methodist Societies and the war then raging—must constantly have been in his thoughts. Thomas Rankin, George Shadford, Martin Rodda, and Francis Asbury were the representatives of British Methodism. See *Minutes*, vol. i. pp. 113 and 118. With the exception of Asbury, they were not always prudent. Eventually it became necessary for all except Asbury to return home. Even Asbury himself was fined for preaching at Nathan Perigau's, and for some time was concealed in the house of a friend. But he proved to be the man of the hour—the man who, trained in Wesley's school at home, and saturated with belief in 'the Methodist plan,' carried on a work in the face of prodigious difficulties at which both English and American Methodism has never ceased to wonder.

him Tyerman wrote: 'A grander specimen of a Christian apostle than Francis Asbury the world has never had.' For a brief, just, comprehensive description of 'the only one of Wesley's English itinerants left in America in 1777,' see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. pp. 248-51. For his early life see Mr. W. C. Sheldon's article

in the *W.M. Mag.* 1914, p. 525.

Another and very different subject also occupied Wesley's thoughts during this interval. On Sept. 1 he wrote once more a letter of earnest expostulation to his wife. A few days before he had met her. To his great surprise, he found her willing to return. He laid down two conditions: the restoration of his stolen papers, and a promise to take no more. On further reflection he judged it necessary to insist also upon a retraction of the monstrous lies which the unhappy woman (surely suffering, as she seems frequently to have done, from temporary insanity) had circulated against him. Had Mrs. Wesley at that time fulfilled these three reasonable conditions—restoration, promise, and retraction—she might have ended her days peacefully under the shelter of her husband's sincere affection. The letter will be found in *Wesley Studies*, pp. 103-4, and in the new ed. of *Wesley Letters*. See below, p. 246.

On Sept. 7 he wrote from Bristol to his great-niece, Miss Patty Ellison, who, some years later, reappears on the scene as Mrs. Patty Whereat. Tradition says that she used occasionally to travel with her uncle, assisting him in the visitation of the small societies around Bristol. But for some years she was separated from him by the Calvinistic opinions which she imbibed. On the 8th, 9th, and 11th he wrote to Alexander Clark, and on the 24th to Mr. Duncan McAllum (see new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

supposed) by fifteen hundred or two thousand than ever it had been before.

SEPT. 27, *Sat.*¹—Having abundance of letters from Dublin informing me that the society there was in the utmost confusion² by reason of some of the chief members, whom the preachers had thought it needful to exclude from the society, and finding all I could write was not sufficient to stop the growing evil, I saw but one way remaining, to go myself, and that as soon as possible. So the next day I took chaise with Mr. Goodwin, and made straight for Mr. Bowen's, at Llwynygwair, in Pembrokeshire, hoping to borrow his sloop, and so cross over to Dublin without delay. I came to Llwynygwair on *Tuesday* the 30th. The next day, OCTOBER 1, the captain of a sloop at Fishguard, a small seaport town ten or twelve miles from Llwynygwair, sent me word he would sail for Dublin in the evening, but he did not stir till about eight the next evening. We had a small, fair wind. From Fishguard to Dublin is about forty leagues. We had run ten or twelve, till, at about eight in the morning, *Friday* the 3rd, it fell dead calm. The swell was then such as I never felt before, except in the Bay of Biscay. Our little sloop, between thirty and forty tons, rolled to and fro with a wonderful motion. About nine, the captain, finding he could not get forward, would have returned, but he could make no way. About eleven I desired we might go to prayer.

¹ He wrote to Miss Bolton (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 483).

² Early in 1777 Samuel Bradburn, one of the most eloquent of the Methodist preachers, was removed to Dublin. At the same time Wesley's friend, the Rev. E. Smyth, was preaching frequently in the Methodist chapel. Under these two preachers Henry Moore was converted, and joined the society. Another preacher, John Hampson, later in the year came to Dublin as 'Assistant.' Bradburn was attacked by Alexander Clark, a tailor residing at 29 Chancery Lane, because he preached against Calvinism. Clark was on friendly terms with Lady Huntingdon's preachers. Bradburn, in their eyes, was a heretic. Hampson

justified his colleague. A still more serious disturbance arose out of a meeting of the trustees of the Widows' Almshouse, a Methodist charity in Dublin. A false accusation was brought against the treasurer in his absence. In the disputes which followed matters grew worse and worse. Hampson had proceeded to extremities. Four leaders were expelled. In all, thirty-four members were lost to the society. Wesley (see below, Oct. 6), after investigation, offered the excluded gentlemen their membership again, but they declined it. They continued, however, to attend Whitefriar Street Chapel. See Crookshank's *Hist. of Meth. in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 309-14.

Quickly after the wind sprung up fair; but it increased, till, about eight at night, it blew a storm; and it was pitch dark, so that, having only the captain and a boy on board, we had much ado to work the vessel. However, about ten, though we scarce know how, we got safe into Dublin Bay.

Sat. 4.—Between seven and eight I landed at Ringsend. Mr. M'Kenny¹ met me, and carried me to his house. Our friends presently flocked from all quarters, and seemed equally surprised and pleased at seeing me. I moved no dispute, but desired a few of each side to meet me together at ten on Monday morning. In the evening, although on so short a warning, we had an exceeding large congregation, on whom (waiving all matter of contention) I strongly enforced those solemn words, 'I must work the works of Him that sent me, while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work.'

Sun. 5.—I was much comforted at St. Patrick's, where an uncommon awe seemed to rest on the whole assembly. In the evening I preached on Eph. iv. 30, &c., being the conclusion of the Epistle for the day. Nothing could be more seasonable, and I read it as a presage of good.²

Mon. 6.—At ten I met the contending parties, the preachers on one hand, and the excluded members on the other. I heard them at large, and they pleaded their several causes with earnestness and calmness too. But four hours were too short to hear the whole cause, so we adjourned to the next day. Meantime, in order to judge in what state the society really was, I examined them myself, meeting part of them to-day, and the rest on *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*. Four-and-thirty persons, I found, had been put out of, or left, the society; but, notwithstanding, as there were last quarter four hundred and fifty-eight members, so there are just four hundred and fifty-eight still. At

¹ Presumably James M'Kenny, hosier and haberdasher, 63 Stephen Street, the only one of the name in Watson's *Dublin Directory* for this year.

² Wesley's reply to Alexander Clark, who had written to him, is given in Lockwood's *Western Pioneers*, p. 45. During this visit to Dublin the Rev. Adam Averell, then a young man of twenty-

one, calling on Mr. Persse, a barrister, found Wesley at dinner telling an anecdote. Averell went with his host to Whitefriar Street Chapel, sat in the pulpit, and heard Wesley preach. (*Memoir of Rev. A. Averell*, pp. 15, 16; quoted in Crookshank's *Meth. in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 314.)

the desire of the members lately excluded, I now drew up the short state of the case, but I could in nowise pacify them. They were all civil, nay, it seemed, affectionate, to *me*; but they could never forgive the preachers that had expelled them: so that I could not desire them to return into the society; they could only remain friends at a distance.

Thur. 9.—I was desired by some of our friends to clear up the point of Imputed Righteousness. I did so by preaching on ‘Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.’ In opening these words, I showed what that faith was which was imputed to him for righteousness,¹ viz. faith in God’s promise to give him the land of Canaan; faith in the promise that Sarah should conceive a son; and the faith whereby he offered up Isaac on the altar. But Christ is not in any of these instances the direct or immediate object of Abraham’s faith; whereas He is the direct, immediate object of that faith which is imputed to us for righteousness.

Sat. 11.—I visited many, sick and well, and endeavoured to confirm them in their love towards each other. I was more and more convinced that God had sent me at this time to heal the breach of His people.

Sun. 12.—We had a lovely congregation in the morning, to whom I closely applied St. Peter’s words: ‘I exhort you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly desires which war against the soul.’ To the mixed multitude in the evening I applied our Lord’s words: ‘All things are ready; come unto the marriage.’ I then took a solemn and affectionate leave of the society, and cheerfully commended them to the Great Shepherd; more in number, and, I am persuaded, more established in grace, than they had been for twenty years.

Mon. 13.—In the morning we went on board; but, the wind being right ahead, and blowing hard, we made but little way till night; and the sea was so rough that I could not sleep till midnight.

Tues. 14.—After beating up and down several hours more the captain thought best to run under the Carnarvonshire shore. About noon we put out to sea again, but the storm

¹ Cf. Green’s *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 211.

increased, and, about four, carried away our bowsprit and tore one of the sails to tatters. But the damage was soon repaired; and before six, by the good providence of God, we landed at Holyhead.¹

Wanting to be in London as soon as possible, I took chaise at seven, and hastened to Bangor Ferry. But here we were at a full stop. They could not, or would not, carry us over till one the next day; and they then gave us only two miserable horses, although I had paid beforehand (fool as I was)² for four. At Conway Ferry we were stopped again, so that, with all the speed we could possibly make, even with a chaise and four, we travelled eight-and-twenty miles yesterday, and seventeen to-day. *Thursday*, in the afternoon, we reached Chester; *Friday* morning, Lichfield; and on *Saturday*³ morning, London.

Mon. 20.—I went on to High Wycombe; but, good Mr. James having procured a drummer to beat his drum at the window of the preaching-house, I only prayed and sung by turns from six to seven; and many of the people were much comforted. In the rest of the week I visited the societies at Oxford, Witney, Finstock, and Wallingford, and had reason to believe that many received the seed in honest and good hearts.⁴

Mon. 27.—I preached at Stony Stratford. The congregation was large and attentive; so it always is, yet I fear they receive little good, for they need no repentance. *Tuesday*⁵ I preached at Towcester; on *Wednesday* at Whittlebury; and on *Thursday* at Northampton; and some of even that heavy congregation seemed to feel 'The night cometh, when no man can work.'

NOV. 3, *Mon.*—I began visiting the classes in London, in which I was fully employed for seven or eight days; afterwards I visited those in the neighbouring towns, and found reason to rejoice over them.

Sun. 16.—I was desired to preach a charity sermon in St.

¹ On Oct. 15 he wrote from Bangor Ferry to Mrs. William Smyth a long letter describing his voyage from Dublin, which reads like an extract from his Journal. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

² The Rev. H. J. Foster notes this as a classical man's reminiscence of *stultus ego* in Virgil, *Ecl.* 20, 21.

³ On Oct. 18 he wrote to Walter Churchey and Christopher Hopper (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 316, 435).

⁴ On Oct. 22 he wrote from Witney to Joseph Benson (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 427).

⁵ He wrote to Mrs. Jane Barton. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

Margaret's church, Rood Lane.¹ In the morning I desired my friends not to come; in the afternoon it was crowded sufficiently, and I believe many of them felt the word of God sharper than any two-edged sword.

Mon. 17.—I went to Norwich, and preached there in the evening. The house was far too small, the congregation being lately increased very considerably. But I place no dependence in this people; they wave to and fro, like the waves of the sea.

Wed. 19.—I went over to Loddon, and preached at one to a much more settled congregation. In the evening I preached at Norwich, and afterwards administered the Lord's Supper to the society; and I was almost persuaded that they will no longer be tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine.

Thur. 20.—Abundance of people were present at five, and we had a solemn parting. I went to Lynn the same day²; and *Saturday*, the 22nd, taking chaise soon after twelve, reached London in the afternoon.

Sun. 23.—I preached in Lewisham church for the benefit of the Humane Society, instituted for the sake of those who seem to be drowned, strangled, or killed by any sudden stroke. It is a glorious design; in consequence of which many have been recovered that must otherwise have inevitably perished.

Mon. 24.—I spent the afternoon at Mr. Blackwell's with the B[ishop] of [London].³ His whole behaviour was worthy

¹ Still standing at the S.E. corner of Rood Lane, Eastcheap, and known as St. Margaret Pattens. The incumbent at this time was Peter Whalley, M.A., D.D. Miss Eliza Wesley, daughter of Samuel Wesley and sister of S. Sebastian Wesley, Mus.Doc., was organist here for forty years (1846–86). 'In her own home,' writes Mr. F. G. Edwards, 'and among the many interesting relics she lovingly preserved of her father and grandfather, Miss Wesley was a striking personality.'

² On Friday 21 he wrote the sermon on Matt. xxv. 34 to be delivered at Lewisham, before the Humane Society. It was afterwards published in pamphlet

form, and is found as Sermon No. xcix. in *Works*, vol. vii. p. 127.

³ Robert Lowth, D.D. (1710–87), was educated at Winchester School, and entered New College, Oxford, in 1730. In 1741 he was appointed Professor of Poetry in the University. In that office he delivered and published his lectures on Hebrew poetry. In 1765 he replied in trenchant style to Bishop Warburton, who, in his *Divine Legation*, attacked him unfairly. The year after he was made Bishop of St. Davids, but in four months was transferred to the see of Oxford. In 1777 he became Bishop of London. On the death of Archbishop Cornwallis he was offered the Primacy,

of a Christian bishop—easy, affable, courteous; and yet all his conversation spoke the dignity which was suitable to his character.

Having been many times desired, for near forty years, to publish a magazine, I at length complied; and now began to collect materials for it. If it once begin, I incline to think it will not end but with my life.¹

DEC. 1, *Mon.*—I spent some hours, both morning and afternoon, in visiting the sick at the west end of the town; but I could not see them all.

Wed. 3.—I visited as many as I could on the north-east part of the town. I spent the evening at Newington with Mr. Fletcher,² almost miraculously recovering from his consumption; and on *Thursday* the 4th he set out with Mr. Ireland for the south of France.³

Tues. 9.—I visited the chief societies in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire, and returned by Hertford; where (for once) I saw a quiet and serious congregation. We had a larger

which because of increasing infirmities he declined (see *Annual Register*, 1777, p. 273). Ebenezer Blackwell's second wife was Mary Eden, a niece of Mrs. Lowth. This will account for Wesley's meeting with the newly appointed Bishop of London at the residence of his old and faithful friend. See above, vol. v. p. 153. It was on this occasion the incident occurred described by Thomas Jackson in the Centenary volume (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 252).

¹ See above, p. 169. The Preface to vol. i. of *The Arminian Magazine* is dated Nov. 1, 1777. For a detailed description of the first year's issue of this magazine see Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 333. The first number was published in Jan. 1778, and in Dec. the twelve numbers appeared bound together as the first annual volume. It is probably the earliest of the religious magazines (proper) in the United Kingdom. Dr. Stevens says, 'It was one of the first four religious magazines which sprang from the resuscitated religion of

the age.' He adds that the history of Methodism never could have been written had not Wesley published this repertory of its early biographies and correspondence. (*History of Meth.* vol. ii. bk. vi. ch. v. p. 507.) The first volume has three portraits: John Wesley, Peter Jaco, and John Atlay. The last-named was the publisher of the magazine. Wesley's portrait shows him as a small man, wearing his natural hair and with an open face full of expression. In 1798, seven years after Wesley's death, the title was altered to *Methodist Magazine*. In 1822 it was again changed to *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, a title which it bore until January 1914, when it was finally altered to *The Magazine of the Wesleyan Methodist Church*.

² At Mr. Charles Greenwood's house. See below; ⁴p. 392, also Benson's *Life of Fletcher*, p. 227.

³ On Dec. 8 Wesley wrote from London to Joseph Benson, and on the 10th to 'A Member' (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 427, 304).

congregation at Barnet in the evening than ever; and a greater number of communicants. Will this poor, barren wilderness at length blossom and bud as the rose?

Sat. 13.—Being strongly urged to lay the first stone of the house which was going to be built at Bath, on *Sunday* the 14th, after preaching at West Street chapel in the morning, and at St. Paul's, Shadwell, in the afternoon, I went to Brentford. I preached at six; and, taking chaise at twelve, on *Monday* the 15th easily reached Bath in the afternoon.

Tues. 16.—I paid a short visit to Bristol; preached in the evening and morning following, *Wednesday* the 17th; and at one laid the foundation of the new chapel at Bath.¹ The wind was piercing cold; yet scarce any of the congregation went away before the end of the sermon. After preaching at the room in the evening, I took chaise, and the next afternoon reached London.²

Just at this time there was a combination among many of the post-chaise drivers on the Bath road, especially those that drove in the night, to deliver their passengers into each other's hands. One driver stopped at the spot they had appointed, where another waited to attack the chaise. In consequence of this, many were robbed; but I had a good Protector still. I have travelled all roads, by day and by night, for these forty years, and never was interrupted yet.

Thur. 25.—I buried the remains of Mr. Bespham, many years master of a man-of-war. From the time he received the truth in love, he was a pattern to all that believe. His faith was full of mercy and good fruits: his works shall praise him in the gates.

Sat. 27.—A few days since, my assistant, Mr. Baynes,³ by

¹ 'On Dec. 12,' writes Miss Bosanquet to Christopher Hopper, 'we reached Bath about noon, and the Lord directed us to the home of a simple young woman, who with her two maids were all seeking to save their souls. After we had been there three or four days, Mr. Wesley came unexpectedly and preached on the first stone of the new chapel; before he left us we had a lovefeast.' See *Christian Miscellany*, 1847, p. 381. This was the chapel in

New King Street. Wesley was one of the proprietors, and drew his dividends.

² On Dec. 20 he wrote from London to Thomas Rutherford. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

³ An ex-master of Kingswood School (he was English Master from 1748 to 1760, Myles's *Chron. Hist.*), ordained by the friendly Bishop of Bath and Wells. Wesley invited him to assist as curate in his London chapels.

far the strongest person in our family, was taken ill of a fever. He was immediately attended both by an apothecary and a physician; but their labour was in vain. This morning God called him into the world of spirits. I had no desire to part with him; but God knew what was best both for him and me.

Wed. 31.—We concluded the old year, and began the new, with prayer and thanksgiving. Four or five of the local preachers assisted me. I was agreeably surprised; their manner of praying being so artless and unlaboured, and yet rational and scriptural, both as to sense and expression.

1778. JAN. 1, *Thur.*—We had a very solemn opportunity of renewing our covenant with God.

Tues. 6.—I spent an agreeable and a profitable hour with three German gentlemen, two of them Lutheran ministers, and the third, Professor of Divinity at Leipzig. I admired both their good sense, seriousness, and good breeding.¹ How few of our clergy exceed or equal them!²

Mon. 19.—I went over to Tunbridge Wells, and preached in the large dissenting meeting to a numerous congregation; and deep attention sat on every face.

Tues. 20.—I went on, through miserable roads, to Robertsbridge, where an unusually large congregation was waiting. Thence we went on to Rye, where the house was sufficiently crowded, as usual. How large a society would be here could we but spare them in one thing!³ Nay, but then all our labour would be in vain. One sin allowed would intercept the whole blessing.

Mr. Holman's widow⁴ being extremely desirous I should lodge at Cadborough, two miles from Rye, I ordered my chaise to take me up at the preaching-house immediately after the service. She had sent a servant to show me the way, which

¹ See above, vol. iv. p. 193, and below, p. 222.

² On Jan. 15 he wrote from London to Thomas Taylor, defending the *Arm. Mag.*, which Taylor thought would do hurt and no good. Thomas Olivers, it may be added, acted as a sort of sub-editor and corrector of the press. A whole page of errata at the end of the

first volume was Wesley's protest against Olivers' press blunders. Wesley bore with him for twelve years.

³ Smuggling. This sin of the times Methodism steadfastly and successfully fought.

⁴ See above, vol. v. p. 350, and *Meth. Rec.* Oct. 5, 1905.

was a road dirty and slippery enough, cast up between two impassable marshes. The man waited a while, and then went home, leaving us to guide ourselves. Many rough journeys I have had, but such a one as this I never had before. It was one of the darkest nights I ever saw; it blew a storm, and yet poured down with rain. The descent, in going out of the town, was near as steep as the ridge of a house. As soon as we had passed it, the driver, being a stranger, knew not which way to turn. Joseph Bradford, whom I had taken into the chaise, perceiving how things were, immediately got out and walked at the head of the horses (who could not possibly keep their eyes open, the rain so violently beating in their faces), through rain, wind, mud, and water; till, in less than an hour, he brought us safe to Cadborough.

Wed. 21.—I went back to Shoreham. Mr. P[erronet], though in his eighty-fifth year, is still able to go through the whole Sunday service. How merciful is God to the poor people of Shoreham! And many of them are not insensible of it.¹

FEB. 2, Mon.—I had the satisfaction of spending an hour with that real patriot, Lord ——. ² What an unheard-of thing it is that, even in a Court, he should retain all his sincerity! He is, indeed, what I doubt Secretary Craggs ³ never was,

Statesman, yet friend to truth.

Perhaps no prince in Europe, besides King George, is served

¹ On Jan. 23 he wrote to Thomas Carlill (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 319).

² It has been assumed, with considerable show of reason, that the reference is to the Earl of Dartmouth, who was from 1772 to 1775 Secretary of State for the Colonies, and afterwards Lord Privy Seal. He was one of the lay leaders of the Evangelical Revival in the Church of England. Cowper describes him as 'one who wears a coronet and prays.' He seems to have been the chief medium of communication between Wesley and the Prime Minister, and possibly, the King himself.

³ Secretary of State in Lord Stanhope's Ministry. The line quoted is an allusion to Pope's epitaph on James Craggs, in Westminster Abbey (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 154, where also will be found a justification for Wesley's doubt respecting the late Secretary's moral character). Had Mr. Craggs lived until the inquiry into the South Sea Bubble was concluded, this panegyric could hardly have been written, for the Secretary of State and his father were down in the company's subscription lists for the fictitious sum of £300,000. (M. C. and E. T. Bradley's *Westminster Abbey*.)

by two of the honestest and two of the most sensible men in his kingdom.¹

This week I visited the society, and found a surprising difference in their worldly circumstances. Five or six years ago, one in three among the lower ranks of people was out of employment, and the case was supposed to be nearly the same through all London and Westminster. I did not now, after all the tragical outcries of want of trade that fill the nation, find one in ten out of business; nay, scarce one in twenty, even in Spitalfields.²

Sun. 15.—I buried the remains of Richard Burke,³ a faithful labourer in our Lord's vineyard: a more unblameable character I have hardly known. In all the years that he has laboured with us I do not remember that he ever gave me occasion to find fault with him in anything. He was a man of unwearied diligence and patience, and 'his works do follow him.'

Tues. 17.—I wrote *A Serious Address to the Inhabitants of England*⁴ with regard to the present state of the nation—so strangely misrepresented both by ignorant and designing men—

¹ Lord North and the Earl of Dartmouth. On Feb. 7 Wesley wrote to Miss Bishop, and on the 14th to S. Bardsley (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 34; vol. xii. p. 503).

² On Feb. 14 he signed the Preface to a pamphlet-letter addressed to the 'Rev. Mr. Thomas Maxfield, Occasioned by a Late Publication' (*Works*, vol. xi. p. 478). Never in his life was Wesley the subject of more infamous press-persecution than in 1778. Many of the publications described in Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 261, &c., and in Green's *Anti-Meth. Publications*, were of the foulest description. Maxfield's publication differed wholly from these; yet it contained erroneous statements which Wesley felt it necessary publicly to correct. Maxfield had come under the influence of men who wrought mischief among the London Methodists. Wesley bore long and patiently with him, remonstrating, but to no purpose. For more than fifteen years Maxfield was the head and fountain of the evil that affected the London society.

Wesley's letter of this date should be read in the light of the facts set out by Tyerman (vol. ii. pp. 431-41). Maxfield's publication was called *A Short Account of God's Dealings with Mrs. Elizabeth Maxfield* (his wife). A copy of this pamphlet has recently been found in the Conference Office Library. Neither Green nor Tyerman appears to have seen it.

³ He entered the itinerancy in 1765. Wesley's note in the *Minutes* for 1778 is: 'Richard Burke, a man of faith and patience made perfect though sufferings; one who joined the wisdom and calmness of age with the simplicity of childhood.' (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 511.)

⁴ It consisted of a pamphlet of twenty-eight pages. In pointing out the real and prosperous condition of the country, he makes large use of a paper, written with the same intent, by the Dean of Gloucester, and he begs the people to be afraid of nothing but of the judgement of God. See *Works*, vol. xi. p. 140; Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 327.

to remove, if possible, the apprehensions which have been so diligently spread, as if it were on the brink of ruin.

Thur. 26.¹—I committed to the earth the remains of George Parsons. He has left very few like him; so zealously, so humbly, so unreservedly devoted to God. For some time his profiting has appeared to all men. He ripened apace for eternity. He was as a flame of fire wherever he went, losing no occasion of speaking or working for God. So he finished his course in the midst of his years, and was quickly removed into the garner.

Friday the 27th was the day appointed for the national fast; and it was observed with due solemnity. All shops were shut up; all was quiet in the streets; all places of public worship were crowded; no food was served up in the King's house till five o'clock in the evening. Thus far, at least, we acknowledge God may direct our paths.

MARCH 1, *Sun.*—I preached at Brentford in the evening; *Monday* the 2nd at Newbury; and the next evening at Bath. *Wednesday* the 4th I went on to Bristol. I found the panic² had spread hither also, as if the nation were on the brink of ruin. Strange that those who love God should be so frightened at shadows! I can compare this only to the alarm which spread through the nation in King William's time,³ that on that very night the Irish Papists were to cut the throats of all the Protestants in England.⁴

Mon. 9.—On this and the following days I visited the society, and found a good increase. This year I myself (which I have seldom done) chose the preachers for Bristol⁵; and these were plain men, and likely to do more good than has been done in one year for these twenty years.

Fri. 13.—I spent an hour with the children at Kingswood, many of whom are truly desirous to save their souls.

¹ On Feb. 26 he wrote to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 7).

² The public panic was not surprising. This year (1778) France recognized the independence of the revolted colonies of England, and thus brought the greatest naval power, second only to that of England, into the conflict between the colonies and Great Britain.

³ The 'Irish Night' (Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, 2-vol. ed., vol. i. p. 604), Dec. 1688. William was then in England, though not yet actually King.

⁴ On March 5 he wrote to Miss Warren. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

⁵ John Goodwin, John Valton, James Wood. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. vi. p. 77, or *E.M.P.* vol. vi. p. 97.

Mon. 16.—I took a cheerful leave of our friends at Bristol, and set out once more for Ireland. After visiting Stroud, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury, on *Wednesday* the 18th I went over to Bewdley, and preached about noon, at the upper end of the town, to most of the inhabitants of it.

Thur. 19.—I preached to a large congregation in the church at Bengeworth, and spent a little time very agreeably with the rector—a pious, candid, sensible man. In the evening I preached at Pebworth church; but I seemed out of my element. A long anthem was sung; but I suppose none beside the singers could understand one word of it. Is not that ‘praying in an unknown tongue’? I could no more bear it in any church of mine than Latin prayers.

Fri. 20.—I preached at Birmingham.

Sat. 21.—Calling at Wolverhampton, I was informed that, some time since, a large old house was taken, three or four miles from the town, which receives all the children that come, sometimes above four hundred at once. They are taught, gratis, reading, writing, and Popery; and, when at age, bound out apprentices.¹

In the evening I preached in the shell of the new house at Newcastle-under-Lyme; and thence hastened forward, through Burslem, Congleton, Macclesfield, and Stockport, to Manchester. I found it needful here also to guard honest Englishmen against the vast terror which had spread far and wide. I had designed going from hence to Chester, in order to embark at Parkgate; but a letter from Mr. Wagner informing me that a packet was ready to sail from Liverpool, I sent my horses forward, and followed them in the morning. But before I came thither, the wind turned west; so I was content.

Sun. 22.—I was much refreshed by two plain, useful sermons

¹ Park Hall, Sedgley, near the old road to Dudley, the first Roman Catholic school of importance in England after the Reformation, was founded by Bishop Challoner in 1763. It was a subject of complaint in Parliament that the owner, Lord Ward, had let his house for ‘a Popish School.’ Dr. Milner, author of *The End of Religious Controversy*, and

many Catholic clergy, including six who became bishops, were educated here, as also were John Kemble and his brother. Two hundred and twelve (in 1810) was the highest number of students. The school was transferred about 1872 to Cotton Hall, North Staffs., and, after partial dismantlement, the building is now a farm-house.

at St. Thomas's church, as well as by the serious and decent behaviour of the whole congregation. In the evening I exhorted all of our society who had been bred up in the Church to continue therein.

Tues. 31.—We went on board the *Duke of Leinster*, and fell down the river with a small side-wind: but in the morning, after a dead calm, a contrary wind arose and blew exceeding hard.

APRIL 1, Wed.—The sea was rough enough. However, I went to sleep about my usual time, and in the morning found myself in Dublin Bay; and about seven we landed at the quay.

I was soon informed that one of our friends, a strong, lively, healthy man, Mr. Ham, had died the day before. From the time he was taken ill he was a mere self-condemned sinner, deeply convinced of his unfaithfulness to God, and declaring,

I give up every plea beside,
Lord, I am damned; but Thou hast died.¹

‘When my wife dies,’ said he, ‘let her be carried to the Room. She has been an honour to her profession. But I will not; I am not worthy; I have been no credit to you.’ He continued full of self-condemnation, till, after a week’s illness, his spirit returned to God.

I daily conversed with many of the society, and had the satisfaction to find them both more united together, and more alive to God, than they had been for some years.

Sat. 4.—I began meeting the classes, and was agreeably surprised. I had heard that near a hundred persons had left the society. On strict inquiry, I found about forty were wanting, the present number being about four hundred and sixty; and therefore were more loving and unanimous than I ever knew them before.²

Sun. 5.—Meeting the society in the evening, I largely explained the reasons of the late separation,³ and strongly exhorted all our brethren not to ‘render railing for railing.’

¹ Hymn 307, v. 5, *Meth. Hymn-Book* (1904), where the phrase is altered to ‘Lord, I am lost,’ &c. *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739. (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 219.)

² On April 2 he wrote from Dublin to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 7).

³ See above, pp. 171–2.

Tues. 7.—I set out for the country, and reached Tyrrell's Pass. It being a mild evening, I preached to a numerous congregation. The next evening it was larger still; and the power of the Lord was present to heal.

Thur. 9.—Between eight and nine I preached in the court-house at Mullingar to a more serious congregation than I ever saw there before. In the evening I preached in the court-house at Longford to a far more numerous, and equally serious, congregation.

Fri. 10.—About eleven I preached at Abbeyderg, and before one set out for Athlone. The sun shone as hot as it uses to do at midsummer. We had a comfortable time, both this evening and the next day, all being peace and harmony.

Sun. 12.—God spake in His word, both to wound and to heal. One young woman came to me just after service, who then first rejoiced in God her Saviour.

Mon. 13.—About noon I preached at Ballinasloe to a large congregation, some of whom seemed to be much affected; so did many at Aughrim in the evening.

Tues. 14.—I went on to Eyre Court. The wind was now piercing cold, so that I could not preach abroad. And there was no need, for the minister not only lent me his church, but offered me a bed at his house; but I was obliged to go forward. At six in the evening I preached at Birr to a congregation of deeply attentive hearers.

Wed. 15.—I met many of my old friends at Coolalough, and had a numerous congregation in the evening.

*Thur. 16.*¹—I preached in the riding-house in Tullamore. The commanding officer ordered all the soldiers to be present, and attended himself, with the rest of the officers, while I explained 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.'

¹ On this day Wesley finished the manuscript Hymn-Book which has been called the 'first draft' of the Methodist Hymn-Book. In reality it is not the first but the second draft (until a still older book is found). An older copy on the same lines is in the Colman Col-

lection, bound in strong rough calf with Wesley's Sermon Register for fifteen years (see *W.M. Mag.* 1909, p. 39, an interesting article on Wesley Treasures which, however, now needs to be rewritten). See also above, vol. iv. pp. 225, 453, and below, p. 259.

Fri. 17 (being *Good Friday*).—I preached at Tullamore in the morning, and Mountmellick in the evening.

Sat. 18.—I preached at Portarlinton in the evening, and about eight in the morning to a very genteel yet attentive audience, on ‘Acquaint thyself now with Him, and be at peace.’ I returned to Mountmellick before the church began, at which I would always be present, if possible. I would fain have preached abroad in the afternoon, but the weather would not permit; so we made all the room we could in the house, and had a solemn and comfortable meeting.

Mon. 20.—Mr. Jenkins, the vicar of Maryborough,¹ read prayers, and I preached on ‘Repent, and believe the gospel.’ The congregation was far larger than when I was here before, and abundantly more attentive. Several clergymen were present, and several gentlemen; but they were as serious as the poor.

Tues. 21.—We found the election for Parliament-men² had put all Kilkenny in an uproar. In consequence of this, we had a small, dead congregation. But another cause of this was the bitter and perpetual quarrels between the chief members of the society. I talked largely with the contending parties, and they promised better behaviour for the time to come.

Wed. 22.—I went on to Clonmel, where, our room being small, and the weather unfavourable for preaching abroad, we procured the largest room in the town, which was in the Quakers’ workhouse. I had scarce sat down when a young man came and said, ‘My father and mother send their kind respects, and would be glad of thy company this evening.’ His mother (now Mrs. Dudley) was my old acquaintance, Molly Stokes.³ I went at four, and spent an hour very agreeably; but, much company coming in, Mr. Dudley desired I would call again in the morning. I then told him what his wife was reported to say of me. He

¹ See above, p. 60.

² The Irish Parliament in Dublin.

³ The daughter of Joseph and Mary Stokes; born in Bristol, a member of the society, much esteemed by Wesley. For his letters to her see *Works*, vol. xii. pp. 514–20. When she contemplated joining the Quakers, Wesley wrote

strongly disapproving. She replied (July 29, 1772). Shortly after she joined the Society of Friends meeting in the Friars, Bristol. She was an intimate friend of Miss Elizabeth Johnson, of Bristol; and at her death in 1823 was buried in Bunhill Fields. See *Life of Mary Dudley* (1825).

answered me it was an utter mistake ; that she had never spoke a disrespectful word concerning me.

Thur. 23.—Several of our brethren from Cork met at Rathcormack. I was glad to find Mr. Rankin with them,¹ just arrived from America. When we came to Cork the congregation was waiting ; so I began without delay.

Sun. 26.—I earnestly exhorted a numerous congregation at eight to ‘abstain from fleshly desires’—a necessary lesson in every place, and nowhere more so than in Cork. At St. Peter’s church I saw a pleasing sight, the Independent Companies, raised by private persons associating together, without any expense to the Government.² They exercised every day ; and, if they answer no other end, at least keep the Papists in order, who are exceedingly alert ever since the army was removed to America.

Mon. 27.—In going to Bandon I read Abbé Raynal’s³ *History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the Indies*. I would be glad to propose a few queries. I ask : (1) Is not this ‘Philosophical History’ (so called) in many parts profoundly dull ; exactly fitted to spread a pleasing slumber over the eyes of the gentle reader ? (2) Are there not several passages quite obscure ? Is this the fault of the author or the translator ? (3) Are there not several assertions which are false in fact ? Such as that of the healthiness of Batavia, one of the unhealthiest places in the known world. (4) Do not many of his assertions so border upon the marvellous that none but a disciple of Voltaire could swallow them ? As the account of milk-white men, with no hair, red eyes, and the understanding of a monkey. (5) Is not Raynal one of the bitterest enemies of the Christian Revelation that ever set pen to paper ? Far more determined, and less decent, than Voltaire himself ? As, where he so keenly inveighs against that horrid superstition, the

¹ See *Life of Asbury*, and Stevens’s *History of American Methodism*.

² The Irish Volunteers.

³ Born in 1713, died 1796 ; educated by the Jesuits, whom he left to join the French philosophical party. Wesley read the translation by Justamond published in London 1776, five vols. The full title of the work is *Philosophical*

History of the European Settlements in the East and West Indies. It is mentioned by Carlyle in his *History of the French Revolution*, book ii. ch. 8, and vi. 5. Thirteen editions were issued. Raynal incurred the enmity of the Revolutionists, but escaped the massacre of the Reign of Terror. He died poor. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 210.

depriving men of their natural liberty of whoredom! Does he not take every opportunity of wounding Christianity through the sides of superstition or enthusiasm? Is not the whole laboured panegyric on the Chinese and the Peruvians a blow at the root of Christianity,¹ insinuating all along that there are no Christians in the world so virtuous as these heathens? Prove this fact, and it undeniably follows that Christianity is not of God. But who can prove it? Not all the baptized or unbaptized infidels in the world. From what authentic history of China is that account taken? From none that is extant; it is pure romance, flowing from the Abbé's fruitful brain. And from what authentic history of Peru is the account of the Peruvians taken? I suppose from that pretty novel of Marmontel, probably wrote with the same design.¹ (6) Is not Raynal one of the most bitter enemies of monarchy that ever set pen to paper? With what acrimony does he personally inveigh against it, as absolutely, necessarily, essentially subversive, not only of liberty, but of all national industry, all virtue, all happiness! And who can deny it? Who? The Abbé himself! He totally confutes his own favourite hypothesis; for was not Atabalipe a monarch? Yea, a far more absolute one than the King of France? And yet was not Peru industrious, virtuous, and happy under this very monarch? So the Abbé peremptorily affirms, as it were on purpose to confute himself. And is not the Emperor of China, at this day, as absolute a monarch as any in Europe? And yet who so industrious, according to Raynal, who so virtuous, so happy, as his subjects? So that he must totally give up either his argument against Christianity, or that against monarchy. If the Peruvians were, and the Chinese are, the most industrious, virtuous, and happy men, then monarchy is no way inconsistent with the industry, virtue, and happiness of a people. But if the Peruvians were, in these respects, and the Chinese are, no better than other men (which is the very truth), then the argument against Christianity falls to the ground.²

¹ Probably Marmontel's *Incas*. The author had a part in the famous *Encyclopédie*.

² The subject is too large for treatment here; but it should be noted that Wesley fully understood the importance

of the literature of the French Revolution in relation to religious and political opinion in his own country. He knew the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and the other Encyclopaedists.

From the largeness and the seriousness of the congregations here, I should have imagined the work of God was much increased; but, upon inquiry, I found just the contrary; near one-third of those were wanting whom I left in the society three years ago. Yet those who remained seemed much in earnest. In the evening God clothed His word with power; few appeared to be unaffected, and I was sorry I could not spend a little more time where the fields were so white to the harvest.

Wed. 29.—I returned to Cork, and met the classes. Oh when will even the Methodists learn not to exaggerate? After all the pompous accounts I had had of the vast increase of the society, it is not increased at all; nay, it is a little smaller than it was three years ago. And yet many of the members are alive to God. But the smiling world hangs heavy upon them.

MAY 3, Sun.—I was a little surprised at a message from the Gentlemen of the Aughrim Society (a company of Volunteers¹ so called), that, if I had no objection, they would attend at the new room in the evening. They did so, with another Independent Company, who were just raised (The True Blues): a body of so personable men I never saw together before. The gentlemen in scarlet filled the side-gallery; those in blue the front gallery. But both galleries would not contain them all; some were constrained to stand below. All behaved admirably well, though I spoke exceeding plain on 'We preach Christ crucified.' No laughing, no talking; all seemed to hear as for life. Surely this is a token for good.

Mon. 4.—I went to Kilfinane, in the neighbourhood of which there is a considerable revival of the work of God. The rain

¹ The Volunteers were a force raised for the defence of the country in the absence of the regular army engaged in the American War. The companies were organized by the Protestant gentry and nobility. The officers and men were all Protestants. That such a body of citizen soldiers as Wesley describes could be raised in the neighbourhood of Aughrim shows that Protestantism must have been strong in the district. In 1780 the Volunteer Army

of Ireland numbered forty-two thousand men. To their proceedings in pursuit of 'Liberty' has been traced the origin of the rebellion of 1798. See Croker's *Popular Songs of Ireland*, pp. 39-42. It is interesting to note that in Ireland, as in England, Wesley was in touch with movements of the day, which, with his strong common sense and loyalty to God and the King, he sought to influence both through the pulpit and the press. See above, p. 186.

continuing, I preached in a large empty house; and again at five in the morning. Probably I shall see that no more in the present world.¹ We then went on, through abundance of rain, to Limerick.

I felt in the evening the spirit of the congregation, the same as many years ago; but in one circumstance I observed a considerable change: I used to have large congregations at my first coming to Limerick; but from the first day they gradually decreased. It was not so now; but poor and rich, Protestants and Papists, flocked together from the beginning to the end. Had they a presage that they should see my face no more?

Thur. 7.—I preached once more to the loving, earnest, simple-hearted people of Newmarket. Two months ago good Philip Guier² fell asleep, one of the Palatines³ that came over and settled in Ireland between sixty and seventy years ago. He was a father both to this and the other German societies, loving and cherishing them as his own children. He retained all his faculties to the last, and after two days' illness went to God.

Fri. 8.—Finding the poor people at Ballingarrane, whom I had not seen these five years, were very desirous to see me once more, I went over in the morning. Although the notice was exceeding short, yet a large number attended.

Sat. 9.—I wrote a *Compassionate Address to the Inhabitants*

¹ He lived to preach at both places in May 1785 and 1787, and in May 1789 at Limerick.

² Philip Guier, as Tyerman has shown in a note of more than ordinary interest, was the leader and father of all that was best in the Palatines who, driven from Germany, settled in the neighbourhood of Ballingarrane. When, through lack of pastoral oversight, his compatriots degenerated into an irreligious, drunken, swearing community, Philip Guier proved faithful among the faithless. Master of the German School, he educated Philip Embury, influenced Thomas Walsh, was made leader of the infant society at Limerick, and was the first local preacher recognized by Wesley in Ireland. He

literally lived on the love of the people. A hundred years after his death his name was still fragrant in Ballingarrane. Papists and Protestants were in the habit of saluting the Methodist preacher, jogging along on his circuit horse, as though he were Philip Guier risen from the dead: 'There goes Philip Guier, who drove the devil out of Ballingrane.' For Philip Guier, and for the Limerick Conference (the first in Ireland) at which he was admitted, see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 144; *W.M. Mag.* 1828, p. 214; Crookshank's *Meth. in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 57, 96, 318; and *W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 138.

³ For an account of the Palatines see above, vol. iv. p. 397.

of Ireland.¹ Through which, as well as through England, the mock patriots had laboured to spread the alarm, as though we were all on the very brink of destruction.

Sun. 10.—I examined the society, and have not known them for many years so much alive to God; and I do not remember to have ever found them so loving before; indeed the whole city seemed to breathe the same spirit. At three in the afternoon I preached my farewell sermon on 1 Cor. xiii. 13; and, setting out immediately, reached Snugborough before eight o'clock.

Tues. 12.—Setting out early, I intended to lodge at Claregalway; but we found there was no lodging to be had. However, they told us there was a good inn at Shrute, not many miles farther. And there we found a house; but it afforded no food either for man or beast; so we were obliged to push on for Ballinrobe, which we reached about eleven o'clock. We came this day sixty-eight (English) miles—a good day's work for a pair of horses.

Wed. 13.—I preached in the evening to a large congregation, but most of them dead as stones. The next morning I crossed over to Hollymount, and preached to more than the house would contain. In the afternoon we came to Castlebar, and had a lively congregation in the evening. Here we found the same spirit as at Limerick, and solemnly rejoiced in God our Saviour.

Sun. 17.—Although the weather was rough and boisterous, the people flocked at nine from all quarters, Papists and Protestants; and God sent down a gracious rain, especially upon the backsliders. In the evening the court-house was exceedingly

¹ Written in Limerick, it was published at Belfast in a pamphlet of eleven pages. See Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 328, and Wesley's *Works*, vol. xi. p. 149. Its tone was optimistic, yet there was, as Wesley knew, grave cause for anxiety. The Irish coast was left almost unprotected, and the American privateers (especially the one under Paul Jones) were rapid and daring in their attacks. Wesley could not foresee that in the year following the naval power of Spain would unite with that of France,

and that one year later (in 1780) the fleets of Holland would join the allies against England and in favour of America. The time was rapidly approaching when England, without allies, would stand face to face with the greatest peril of her history as a nation. But John Wesley, at least, had boundless faith in his country and in the providence of God. As he wrote in this Address, 'I would fain speak a word of comfort to my poor neighbours, that they may not be frightened to death.'

crowded, and the fire of love ran from heart to heart. One eminent backslider,¹ who had drank in iniquity like water, was utterly broken in pieces, and resolved to cut off the right hand at once, and to be altogether a Christian.

When we came into the house, I told them, 'God has more work to do in this family.' Two of John Carr's sons, and four of his daughters were present. I prayed for them in faith. They were all soon in tears; their hearts were broken, and I left them mere sinners.

Mon. 18.—There were two roads to Sligo,² one of which was several miles shorter, but had some sloughs in it. However, having a good guide, we chose this. Two sloughs we got over well. On our approaching the third, seven or eight countrymen presently ran to help us. One of them carried me over on his shoulders; others got the horses through; and some carried the chaise. We then thought the difficulty was past; but in half an hour we came to another slough. Being helped over it, I walked on, leaving Mr. Delap,³ John Carr, Joseph Bradford, and Jesse Bugden with the chaise, which was stuck fast in the slough. As none of them thought of unharnessing the horses, the traces were soon broken. At length they fastened ropes to the chaise, and to the stronger horse; and, the horse pulling, and the men thrusting at once, they thrust it through the slough to the firm land. In an hour or two after we all met at Ballinacarrow.

While I was walking a poor man overtook me who appeared to be in deep distress. He said he owed his landlord twenty shillings' rent, for which he had turned him and his family out of doors; and that he had been down with his relations to beg

¹ Probably this incident led to the writing of the sermon, 'A Call to Backsliders,' printed this year in Dublin, and dated 'Sligo, May 20, 1778.' See Green's *Bibliog.* No. 329.

² For the Methodist history of Sligo from this point onwards see Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 319.

³ Andrew Delap, an itinerant whose story is one of the strangest romances in the history of Irish Methodism. See Crookshank's *Meth. in Ireland*, p. 232,

It has been noticed that Wesley here distinguishes Delap from his other companions by the title 'Mr.' It was his habit to prefix 'Mr.' or 'Rev.' to the first of a series of names; or, it may be an illustration of reversion instinctively to the habit of his early student days, when in his diaries he always distinguished between gentlemen of the University and ordinary persons by the use of the prefix 'Mr.' Delap was the son of a naval officer, and the nephew of a county treasurer.

their help, but they would do nothing. Upon my giving him a guinea, he would needs kneel down in the road to pray for me; and then cried out, 'Oh, I shall have a house! I shall have a house over my head!' So perhaps God answered that poor man's prayer by the sticking fast of the chaise in the slough!

Tues. 19.—In the evening I preached at Sligo in the old court-house, an exceeding spacious building. I know not that ever I saw so large a congregation here before; nor (considering their number) so well behaved. Will God revive His work even in this sink of wickedness, and after so many deadly stumbling-blocks?

Upon inquiry, I found there had been for some time a real revival of religion here.¹ The congregations have considerably increased, and the society is nearly doubled. We had in the evening a larger congregation than before, among whom were most of the gentry of the town. And all but one or two young gentlemen (so called) were remarkably serious and attentive.

I now received an intelligible account of the famous massacre at Sligo.² A little before the Revolution, one Mr. Morris, a Popish gentleman, invited all the chief Protestants to an entertainment; at the close of which, on a signal given, the men he had prepared fell upon them, and left not one of them alive. As soon as King William prevailed, he quitted Sligo; but, venturing thither about twenty years after, supposing no one then knew him, he was discovered, and used according to his deserts.

Thur. 21.—I went on to Peter Taylor's,³ near Swanlinbar. At six I preached in a large room in the town, designed for an assembly, where rich as well as poor behaved with the utmost decency.

Fri. 22.—We went through a lovely country to Belturbet; once populous, now greatly decayed. At eleven I preached in

¹ In which Charles Graham, 'The Apostle of Kerry,' took a leading part. See his *Life*.

² This was a local legend. In an earlier version (1641) the hero of the legend was one O'Connor. Protestants and Catholics were seated alternately, and at a signal from O'Connor each

Romanist buried his dagger in his neighbour's breast. A third version refers it to a still earlier date, when the parties were members of rival native septs.

³ See Crookshank's *Meth. in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 279. But apparently at the time here referred to Peter Taylor was at Gortnaleag.

the Armoury, a noble room, to a very large and very serious congregation. At six I preached in the court-house at Cavan to a larger congregation than at Belturbet.

Sat. 23.—I was desired to preach once more at Cootehill, which I had not seen for many years. The use of the Presbyterian meeting-house being procured, I had a very extraordinary congregation. To many Church-people were added Seceders, Arians, Moravians, and what not. However, I went straight forward, insisting that ‘without holiness no man shall see the Lord.’

After dinner we went on to Clones,¹ finely situated on the top of a hill, in the midst of a fruitful and well-cultivated country; and the people seemed as sprightly as the place. I preached in the Green Fort² near the town to abundance of people, but no triflers.

Sun. 24.—I preached there again at nine, to a still larger congregation; but the far largest of all was in the evening, the people coming in from all parts of the country.

There is something very peculiar in this people. They are more plain, open, and earnest than most I have seen in the kingdom. Indeed, some of our Irish societies, those in Athlone, Limerick, Castlebar, and Clones, have much of the spirit of our old Yorkshire societies.

Mon. 25.—I went through a pleasant country to Aghalun.³ A very large congregation was soon assembled; and the rich seemed to be as attentive as the poor. So they were also in the evening at Sidaire.

Tues. 26.—We went on to Lisleen.

Wed. 27.—I received a very remarkable account from Mrs. Brown,⁴ a gentlewoman in the neighbourhood. She said: ‘Six years ago my daughter Jane, then seventeen years old, was struck raving mad; she would strike any one she could,

¹ Some of the leading members here were Andrew Thompson (cousin of the Rev. William Thompson, first President of the Conference after the death of Wesley), Bernard Connolly, and John Armstrong.

² This was on a mound (visible from the railway), on which Wesley preached several times.

³ Now Brookeborough.

⁴ For Mrs. Brown of Creevy, and her influence upon Mrs. Margaret Johnstone—a member of the noble family of Annadale—see Crookshank’s *Meth. in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 247.

particularly her father; she cursed and swore horribly; she never slept; and, let her hands be bound ever so fast overnight, they were loose in the morning. The best physicians were consulted, and all means used; but to no purpose. On Thursday, December 28 last, she violently struck her father on the breast; the next day, Friday the 29th, she was perfectly well, without using any means at all; and she has continued ever since, not only in her senses, but full of faith and love.'

Thur. 28.—Between nine and ten I preached at a village called Magheracolton, to a large and serious congregation; and in the evening at Londonderry. Considering the largeness and seriousness of the congregations, I wonder no more good is done here.

JUNE 1, *Mon.*—I went over to New Buildings, and took my honourable post in the Mill. Deep attention sat on every face. So it usually does, when the poor have the gospel preached. I preached at Londonderry in the evening, on 'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.' How happy would many of those be if they had but thoroughly learned this lesson!

Wed. 3.—I took an account of the present society, a little smaller than it was three years ago.

Thur. 4.—I took my leave of this affectionate people, and about eleven preached at Newtownlimavady.¹ In the afternoon I went on to Kilrea, and was cordially received by Mr. Haughton,² once a travelling preacher, now a magistrate, and rector of a parish. But the church wherein it was at first proposed I should preach is, as I found, a mere heap of ruins: so I preached in the new meeting-house,³ a very large and commodious building. Abundance of people flocked together;

¹ Now Limavady.

² Rev. John Haughton, originally a weaver. He was among the first lay preachers employed by Wesley. He entered the itinerancy in 1741, and is named among the trustees of the Orphan House, Newcastle. In Staffordshire he was exposed to insult and injury. Summoned to appear before Lord Dudley, one of the magistrates of the county, he fared better than many. Informed that he preached and prayed

extempore, Lord Dudley asked, 'Did he repeat the Lord's prayer? Did he pray for the King?' Satisfied on these two points, his Lordship decided 'Why, then, Mr. Haughton, you may go, and preach and pray wherever you please.' He ceased to travel in 1760, obtained episcopal ordination, and settled in Ireland. Stamp's *Orphan House*, p. 115, and Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 202; see also above. vol. iii. p. 471.

³ This was Presbyterian.

some of them seemed not a little affected, and all were seriously attentive. Surely some will bring forth good fruit.

Fri. 5.¹—We went on to Coleraine.² As the barracks here are empty, we hired one wing, which, by laying several rooms into one, supplied us with a spacious preaching-house; but it would not contain a third of the congregation; but standing at the door, I had them all before me in the barrack-square.

Sat. 6.—I was desired to take a ride to the celebrated Giant's Causeway.³ It lies eleven English miles from Coleraine. When we came to the edge of the precipice, three or four poor boys were ready to hold our horses and show us the way down. It being dead low water, we could go anywhere and see everything to the best advantage. It is doubtless the effect of subterraneous fire. This manifestly appears from many of the stones which composed the pillars that are now fallen down; these evidently bear the mark of fire, being burnt black on one or the other surface. It appears likewise from the numerous pumice-stones scattered among the pillars: just such pillars and pumices are found in every country which is, or ever was, subject to volcanoes.

In the evening I saw a pleasing sight. A few days ago a young gentlewoman,⁴ without the knowledge of her relations,

¹ He wrote to Alexander Knox (*Remarks*, vol. iv. p. 8).

² The town stands on low ground and possesses one fine street, through which runs the river Bann, spanned by a wooden bridge. Here Dr. Coke spent three days and entertained above one hundred of the society in the preaching-house.

³ The Causeway runs like a large mole, from the foot of the hills into the sea, having a gradual declension. It is upwards of 700 ft. in length, and is composed of pillars with from three to eight sides, each pillar including a number of joints of different length, the convex end of one joint always meeting a concave socket in the next; and its general appearance much resembling a solid honeycomb. (*Life of Mrs. Delany*, 1st series, vol. iii. p. 519.) When Boswell proposed to Johnson 'that they should

make a tour in Ireland, Johnson replied: "It is the last place where I should wish to travel. . . ." "Is not the Giant's Causeway worth seeing?" Johnson: "Worth seeing? Yes, but not worth going to see." (*Life*, Fitzgerald ed., p. 377.)

⁴ Henry Moore, writing to Dr. Hamilton in 1813, quotes this passage as the text for an interesting biography of his wife:

This young gentlewoman, thus mentioned by Mr. Wesley, was Miss Anne Young, at that time twenty-two years of age—and afterwards my beloved partner. And her sister, on whose account she was so affected, was Miss Isabella Young, the present Mrs. Rutherford. This affecting scene took place in one of the apartments immediately under the preaching-room. The preacher who was present informed me that it was too much for Mr. Wesley. After looking on for some moments, he ran into an adjoining apartment and shut the door.

He describes the Protestant town of

entered into the society. She was informed this evening that her sister was speaking to me upon the same account. As soon as we came into the room she ran to her sister, fell upon her neck, wept over her, and could just say, 'Oh sister, sister!' before she sunk down upon her knees to praise God. Her sister could hardly bear it; she was in tears too, and so were all in the room. Such are the firstfruits at Coleraine. May there be a suitable harvest!

Sun. 7.—I breakfasted with Mr. Boyd,¹ the twin-soul, for humility and love, with Mr. Sh——, of Staplehurst. I read prayers for him, and administered the sacrament to such a number of communicants as I suppose never met there before.² A little before the time of preaching the rain ceased, and we had a wonderful congregation in the barrack-yard in the evening. Many of them were present at five in the morning, when I left them full of love and good desires. About nine I preached in the town-hall at Ballymoney, about twelve at another little town, and in the evening at Ballymena.

Tues. 9.—We rode through a small village, wherein was a little society. One desiring me to step into a house there, it

Coleraine, its considerable society looking on, whilst Methodism began its work, either in silent indifference or with hope that these alarming preachers might amend the morals and manners of the lower class. Anne and Isabella Young, the two youngest daughters of a large family, were the first who broke this circle. John Prickard was the preacher. One year later Henry Moore's itinerant life commenced. In Coleraine, which was part of his circuit, he found these young sisters. His sketch of these North Irish gentlewomen is one of the charming pictures of the *Magazine*. He inserts a letter from Wesley written in 1788, when he expected to finish his course within a year. He would fain see, either in London or Bristol, 'my dear Nancy Moore.' 'Meantime, I am, my own Henry, your ever affectionate, J. WESLEY.' He tells a pathetic story of the days of

the French Revolution, when, at Dover, she and her husband, standing on the beach, saw a crowd of boats with refugees, chiefly priests, approaching the shore. Bathed in tears, she said, 'Oh Henry, could we give them all a dinner at the inn?' and with her own hands made them an offering from a fruit-stall, as much as she could carry. But the whole story is an idyll that should not be allowed to lie buried within the covers of an ancient magazine. (*Meth. Mag.* 1813, pp. 443-53. For Mrs. Isabella Rutherford see *Meth. Mag.* 1808, p. 531.)

¹ The rector. Probably there is a misprint here. 'Mr. Sh——,' should be 'Mr. Ch——,' i.e. the Rev. Jacob Chapman of Staplehurst.

² The Rt. Hon. Richard Jackson, M.P., and his wife were present at this sacramental service and paid Wesley much respect.

was filled presently ; and the poor people were all ear, while I gave a short exhortation and spent a few minutes in prayer. In the evening, as the town-hall at Carrickfergus¹ could not contain the congregation, I preached in the market-house on 'Fear God, and keep His commandments ; for this is the whole of man.' The people in general appeared to be more serious, and the society more earnest, than they had been for many years.

Thence we went to Belfast, the largest town in Ulster, said to contain thirty thousand souls. The streets are well laid out ; are broad, straight, and well-built. The poor-house stands on an eminence, fronting the main street, and having a beautiful prospect on every side over the whole country. The old men, the old women, the male and the female children, are all employed according to their strength ; and all their apartments are airy, sweet, and clean, equal to anything of the kind I have seen in England.

I preached in the evening on one side of the new church,² to far the largest congregation I have seen in Ireland ; but I doubt the bulk of them were nearly concerned in my text, 'And Gallio cared for none of these things.'

Thur. 11.—About nine I preached to five or six hundred people in the old church at Newtownclaneboye.³ The sight of these vast buildings and large gardens running to decay, through the extinction of the family that lately owned them (so successful was the scheme of those wretches who purposely educated poor Mr. C——, the last of the family, in such a manner as to insure his not living long, and his dying without issue), always makes me pensive ; but still our comfort is, 'There is a God that judgeth in the earth.'

¹ Here Wesley was met by Jonathan Hern (as we learn from his unpublished Journal) and William Black, who accompanied him round the circuit.

² Of St. Anne's, Donegal Street, which has recently been pulled down to make way for a cathedral. It was the third application of the Gallio text to the Belfast people. During the service a young soldier was playing cards in an

adjoining public-house, and when he had lost all, even to his boots, he went home vexed and mortified. His name was Joseph Burgess. He subsequently became a devoted Methodist preacher, and the father of the Rev. W. P. Burgess, M.A., the first Methodist hymnologist. See his *Memoirs*, pp. 13, 14 ; and below, April 26, 1785.

³ Now Newtownards.

About twelve I preached at Kircubbin¹: thence we went to Portaferry, and found a ready passage to Strangford. I stood on the point of a rock, which projected into a large circular cavity, that contained in the hollow, and round the edge of it, all the multitude who flocked together. I spoke longer than I used to do; and was no more weary when I had done than I was at six in the morning. After service we went to Downpatrick,² where I slept in peace.

Fri. 12.—I walked through the town, I suppose one of the most ancient in Ulster. I was informed it was once abundantly larger than it is now, consisting of the Irish town, then inhabited by none but Roman Catholics; and the English town, encompassed with a wall, and a deep ditch filled with water. At the head of the English town stands the Abbey,³ on a hill which commands all the country. It is a noble ruin, and is far the largest building that I have seen in the kingdom. Adjoining to it is one of the most beautiful groves which I ever beheld with my eyes: it covers the sloping side of the hill, and has vistas cut through it every way. In the middle of it is a circular space, twenty or thirty yards in diameter. I would have preached there, but the rain drove into the house⁴ as many as could crowd together.

Sat. 13.—I took my stand in the middle of the Grove,⁵ the people standing before me on the gradually rising ground, which formed a beautiful theatre: the sun just glimmered through the trees, but did not hinder me at all. It was a

¹ Here Wesley was the guest of Joseph Napier, of St. Andrews, the grandfather of the Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Napier, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. His host fitted up a barn for Wesley to preach in, and accompanied him to some of his appointments. When Sir Joseph Napier presided at the annual Missionary meeting in 1864, he referred to these incidents in his grandfather's life, and read a letter which had been given to him by a friend on his way to the meeting. It is the letter that John Wesley wrote from Sligo to an Irish nobleman on May 18, 1760. (*W.M. Mag.* 1864, p. 553.)

² He was entertained by Mr. Richard-

son, whose wife, mother, and two daughters became Methodists.

³ It was in Wesley's time 240 ft. long. The modern cathedral was built in 1790. It was 'engrafted upon a ruin.' Wesley's surmise was right. Downpatrick is the most ancient town in Ulster. Here are the graves of St. Patrick and St. Columban. The old cathedral was pulled down in 1778. The present one dates from 1829.

⁴ This preaching-house at Downpatrick was erected in 1777 by the Rev. Edward Smyth, and is still in use.

⁵ He stood on a pedestal from which a statue of St. Patrick had fallen.

glorious opportunity. The whole congregation seemed to drink into one spirit.

Sun. 14.—I preached at Dunsfort in the morning. In the evening the congregation in the Grove exceeded even that at Belfast; and I verily believe all of them were almost persuaded to be Christians.

Mon. 15.—I left Downpatrick with much satisfaction, and in the evening preached in the linen hall at Lisburn to near as large a congregation as that in the Grove; but not near so much affected. Afterwards I went to my old lodging¹ at Derryaghy, one of the pleasantest spots in the kingdom; and I could relish it *now*! How does God bring us down to the gates of death, and bring us up again!

Tues. 16.—I preached at eight to a lively congregation, under the venerable old yew,² supposed to have flourished in the reign of King James, if not of Queen Elizabeth.

Wed. 17.³—At eleven our brethren flocked to Lisburn from all parts, whom I strongly exhorted, in the apostle's words, to 'walk worthy of the Lord.' At the lovefeast which followed we were greatly comforted, many of the country people declaring with all simplicity, and yet with great propriety both of sentiment and expression, what God had done for their souls.

Thur. 18.—I preached at Ballinderry (in my way to Lurgan),⁴ where many flocked together, though at a very short warning. We had four or five times as many in the evening at Lurgan;

¹ Mrs. Gayer's house, near the church, where he had been so dangerously ill. See above, p. 69.

² It was standing in the early years of the present century, though looking very small.

³ He wrote to Duncan McAllum. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

⁴ It was in this year that a small house was fitted as a chapel in Lurgan, and opened for worship by Wesley. Hitherto, from the first entrance of Methodism, apparently from Bluestone, Isaac Bullock's house was the home of the society, of which he was one of the first members—a tragic figure in the military and Methodist history of the times. As a

soldier he had been engaged in the capture of several islands in the West Indies, and was one of sixty—'the forlorn hope'—who, in 1762, first entered the breach at the storming of Havannah. It is said that only six of the party escaped, among them Isaac Bullock, who lived to a good old age. Mr. John Malcolmson, to whom we are indebted for this and other facts in the story of early Methodism in this part of Ulster, adds, 'He was a uniform Christian, and love was the ruling principle in his heart.' (*W.M. Mag.* 1827, pp. 800, 801, where also will be found the story of the artistic woollen-drafter; and *W.H.S.* vol. ii. p. 136.)

but some of them wild as colts untamed. However, they all listened to that great truth, 'Narrow is the way that leadeth unto life.'

Fri. 19.—I preached about noon to a serious company at Derryanvil,¹ and then went on to Cockhill. I preached here at the bottom of the garden; the table was placed under a tree, and most of the people sat on the grass before it; and everything seemed to concur with the exhortation, 'Acquaint thyself now with Him, and be at peace.'

Sat. 20.—I travelled through a delightful country to Charlemont, where Captain Tottenham² was the commanding officer. We lodged with him in the castle,³ which stands on an eminence, and commands the country on all sides. A tent was set up in the castle-yard, where all the soldiers were drawn up at eleven, with abundance of people from many miles round, who were all attention. In the evening their number was considerably enlarged; but still all heard as for life.

Sun. 21.—I preached at nine in the avenue at Armagh,⁴ to a large and serious congregation. It was increased fourfold at six in the evening; but many were there who behaved as if they had been in a bear-garden.

Mon. 22.—I took a walk to the Primate's, and went through the house and all the improvements.⁵ The house is neat and handsome, but not magnificent; and is elegantly but not splendidly furnished. The domain is beautifully laid out in a meadow-

¹ Wesley was now in a district which, as he himself said, was a little corner of the land surrounded with bogs, and out of all road, nevertheless a favoured spot, where Methodism struck deep roots and produced fine types of Christian character.

² Not improbably a relative of one of Wesley's early Oxford friends, whose name frequently occurs in the first Oxford Diary.

³ See Schomberg's capture of this fastness (Macaulay's *History of England*, ch. xv. p. 169, new ed. in two vols., 1877).

⁴ Mr. M'Geough's Avenue, where, since April 1767, he had several times preached. William Black, who was present on this occasion, says:

Wesley preached from Luke xx. 36, 'For neither can they die any more; for they are

equal unto the angels, for they are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection'; and when he came to speak on the second clause he repeated it several times—'For they are equal unto the angels'—and, his soul being so filled with rapture that he could not proceed, he burst into tears, saying, 'Let us pray.' (Crookshank's *Meth. in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 323.)

⁵ Four times Wesley describes the improvements made by Dr. Robinson (see above, vol. v. p. 511). The palace is a plain structure. Whitefield visited the then Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Boulter, dining with him on Nov. 28, 1738. (Tyerman's *Whitefield*, vol. i. p. 147.) See also Dr. Coke's Journal, *Meth. Mag.* 1798, pp. 554-5, for his visit to the palace and to Dr. Leslie.

ground, sprinkled with trees ; on one side of which is a long hill covered with a shrubbery, cut into serpentine walks. On each side of the shrubbery is a straight walk, commanding a beautiful prospect. Since this Primate came, the town wears another face. He has repaired and beautified the cathedral, built a row of neat houses for the choral vicars, erected a public library and an infirmary, procured the Free School to be rebuilt of the size of a little college, and a new-built horse-barrack, together with a considerable number of convenient and handsome houses ; so that Armagh is at length rising out of its ruins into a large and populous city. So much good may any man of a large fortune do, if he lays it out to the best advantage.¹

Tues. 23.—I went on to Tanderagee,² one of the pleasantest towns in Ireland. As it was a fair, calm evening, I had designed to preach in the avenue to the castle³ ; but, being desired to preach in the courtyard, I took my place under a tall, spreading tree, in the midst of a numerous congregation, who were still as night. There could not be devised a more pleasing scene : the clear sky, the setting sun, the surrounding woods, the plain, unaffected people, were just suitable to the subject, ‘ My yoke is easy, and My burden is light.’

Wed. 24.—For exactly two months we have had only two days without rain. In the evening I preached in the same lovely place. I dined, supped, and lodged at Dr. Leslie’s, the rector ; a well-bred, sensible, and I believe a pious man. We had family prayers before supper, which he read with admirable propriety and devotion ; and I know not that I have spent a more agreeable evening since I came into the kingdom.

Thur. 25.—I walked round Dr. Leslie’s domain. A pleasanter spot I never saw. It lies on the top of a fruitful hill, at a small distance from the town, and commands the whole view of a lovely country, east, west, north, and south ; and it is laid out with the finest taste imaginable. The ground I took for a park I found was an orchard, tufted with fruit-trees and flowering-shrubs, and

¹ His Grace’s predecessor, the famous Dr. Boulter, spent an enormous sum in charities. See Abbey’s *English Church and its Bishops*, vol. ii. p. 320.

² Where he was again the guest of the

Rev. Dr. Leslie, the rector of the parish. See above, p. 68.

³ The seat of the Duke of Manchester. Dr. Coke also preached in the park at a later date.

surrounded with a close, shady walk. I spent another hour with the amiable family this morning; and it was an hour I shall not soon forget. But it will never return! For one, if not more, of that lovely company are since removed to Abraham's bosom. In the evening I preached to a large congregation at Newry; and on *Saturday*¹ morning returned to Dublin.

I had now just finished Xenophon's *Κυροπαδεία*,² some parts of which I think are exceeding dull, particularly his numerous speeches, and above all the tedious dialogue between Cyrus and Cambyzes. But what a beautiful picture does he draw of Cyrus! What an understanding! and what tempers! Did ever a heathen come up to this? Not since the world began. Few, exceeding few, even of the best-instructed Christians have attained so unblameable a character.

Sun. 28.³—I am this day seventy-five years old, and I do not find myself, blessed be God, any weaker than I was at five-and-twenty. This also hath God wrought!

All this week I visited as many as I could, and endeavoured to confirm their love to each other; and I have not known the society for many years so united as it is now.

JULY 4, *Sat.*⁴—A remarkable piece was put into my hands—the *Life of Mr. Marsay*⁵; and I saw no reason to alter the judgement which I had formed of him forty years ago. He was a man of uncommon understanding, and greatly devoted to God. But he was a consummate enthusiast. Not the Word of God, but his own imaginations, which he took for divine inspirations, were the sole rule both of his words and actions. Hence arose his marvellous instability, taking such huge strides backwards and forwards; hence his frequent darkness of soul: for when he departed from God's Word, God departed from him. Upon the whole, I do not know that ever I read a more dangerous

¹ On June 26 Bradburn writes (*Memoirs*, p. 62): 'Went to the Man-o'-war to meet Mr. Wesley. Slept there.' See above, p. 70.

² *Cyropaedeia*—a fascinating picture of an ideal State based on the traditions respecting the elder Cyrus.

³ 'At 9 o'clock this morning Mr. Wesley married me to my lovely Betsy'

(Bradburn's *Memoirs*, p. 62). See Blanshard's *Life of Samuel Bradburn*, ch. v.

⁴ He wrote from Dublin to Mr. Gidley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 513).

⁵ This is the work alluded to on July 10, 1775, and there entitled *Count Marsay*. See Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, vol. ii. p. 391; Overton's *Life of Law*, p. 93.

writer ; one who so wonderfully blends together truth and falsehood, solid piety and wild enthusiasm.

Tues. 7.—Our little Conference¹ began, at which about twenty preachers were present. On *Wednesday* we heard one of our friends at large upon the duty of leaving the Church ; but, after a full discussion of the point, we all remained firm in our judgement—that it is our duty not to leave the Church, wherein God has blessed us and does bless us still.²

Sun. 12.—After I had several times explained the nature of it, we solemnly renewed our covenant with God. It was a time never to be forgotten ; God poured down upon the assembly ‘the spirit of grace and supplication,’ especially in singing that verse of the concluding hymn—

To us the covenant blood apply,
Which takes our sins away ;
And register our names on high,
And keep us to that day.³

This afternoon Mr. Delap, one of our preachers, walking through the city, met a crowd of people running from a mad dog who had bit several persons. He walked on, took up a large stone, struck the dog on the head and knocked him down ; he then leaped upon him and dispatched him, while the people crowded round and gave him abundance of thanks.

On *Monday, Tuesday*,⁴ and *Wednesday* I visited many of those who had left the society ; but I found them so deeply prejudiced that, till their hearts are changed, I could not advise them to return to it.

¹ This was the first Irish Conference of which the *Minutes* were published. The friend referred to by Wesley was the Rev. Edward Smyth, who some time before had been expelled from a church in the North of Ireland for preaching the truth, and was now in connexion with the Methodists. For an account of the discussion, at which William Myles, at that time a preacher in Ireland, was present, see *A Chronological History of the People called Methodists*, p. 141, 4th ed. The conclusions at which the Conference arrived were afterwards adopted by the

English Conference and published in the *Minutes*. See Green’s *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 332a.

² On July 11 he wrote to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 9).

³ *Meth. H.-B.* (1904), No. 745 ; from C. Wesley’s *Short Scripture Hymns*, 1762 ; Osborn’s *Poetical Works of J. and C. Wesley*, vol. x. p. 46.

⁴ On July 14 he wrote from Dublin to Duncan McAllum a brief but sympathetic letter, concerning which Tyerman tells a missionary story (*Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 273).

Thur. 16.—I went with a few friends to Lord Charlemont's,¹ two or three miles from Dublin. It is one of the pleasantest places I have ever seen: the water, trees, and lawns are so elegantly intermixed with each other, having a serpentine walk running through a thick wood on one side, and an open prospect both of land and sea on the other. In the thickest part of the wood is the Hermitage, a small room, dark and gloomy enough. The Gothic temple, at the head of a fine piece of water, which is encompassed with stately trees, is delightful indeed. But the most elegant of all the buildings is not finished: the shell of it is surprisingly beautiful, and the rooms well contrived both for use and ornament. But what is all this unless God is here? Unless He is known, loved, and enjoyed? Not only vanity, unable to give happiness, but vexation of spirit.

Sun. 19.—In the evening I went on board the *Prince of Orange*; but, the wind failing, we soon struck upon a sandbank. We got clear of it about five in the morning, and set sail. All the day before there had been a strong north-east wind; this had raised the sea to an uncommon degree, which affected me full as much as a storm. However, lying down at four in the afternoon, I fell asleep, and slept most of the time till four in the morning. About six we landed on Liverpool quay, and all my sickness was over.

Tues. 21.—We had, as usual, a very numerous and very serious congregation.

Wed. 22.—I went on to Bolton. The new house here is the most beautiful in the country. It was well filled in the evening, and I believe many of the audience tasted largely of the powers of the world to come while I enlarged upon our Lord's words, 'Neither can they die any more; for they are equal to angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.'

Fri. 24.—I preached at Bury and Rochdale, and the next evening at Halifax.

Sun. 26.—The house was tolerably well filled at eight.

¹ Francis William, second Earl, created 1763. He was a cultured peer known to Dr. Johnson and his circle. His beautiful Dublin house, built for him by his friend Chambers, is now a public

office, and his country house, where he erected an Italian temple, a religious establishment. He is repeatedly mentioned in Forster's *Life of Goldsmith*. Wesley visited Merino again in July 1787.

Understanding there was great need of it, I preached on 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' I spoke with all plainness, and yet did not hear that any one was offended.¹

At one I preached on those words in the Gospel for the day, 'Reckon ye yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.' Such a time I have not known for some years. The house was extremely crowded, but I believe there was not only no inattentive but no unaffected hearer. In the evening I preached at Bradford, to such a congregation as I have not seen since I left London.

AUG. 1, *Sat.*—I was desired to take a view of Mr. Busfield's improvements near Bingley.² His house stands on the top of a hill clothed with wood, opposite to another which is covered with tall oaks. Between the hills runs the river. On the top, at the bottom, through the midst, and along the side of his woods, he has made partly straight, partly serpentine, walks; some of which command a lovely prospect.³ He is continually

¹ Wesley does not explain, and no one understood the allusion until the late Mr. C. A. Federer, to whom the late *Proceedings* of the *W.H.S.* are so greatly indebted, published a pamphlet—No. 5 of the *Yorkshire pamphlet* series—which sets the matter in full and clear light. In a secluded valley near Errington Park a gang of coiners clipped the King's money and coined the clippings. They were known in Halifax, but not until 1775 were the ringleaders brought to justice. Even after their execution the coining trade persisted in the valley of the Calder. This was the evil against which Wesley set his face. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 188.

² In the circuit account-book of the Haworth Round there are entries which belong to this period. 'July 2, 1778, Mr. Wesley, &c., £2 5s.' On this Mr. Laycock remarks (*Methodist Heroes in the Great Haworth Round*, p. 338): 'As Mr. Wesley did not that year come into the circuit until Aug. 1, I think this must have been to cover expenses incurred in

1777, when he twice visited Otley, and probably preached at Bingley and Keighley on Tuesday, June 10, a day unrecorded in the Journal.'

³ It is difficult now to realize the hills and dales and rivers of Yorkshire as Wesley saw them. Even the 'quaint towns and substantial houses of the Stuart period,' referred to by Laycock, have passed away. The latter sheltered the families of farmers whose ancestors went as far back as those of their landlords, some of whom lived in stately houses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The house referred to by Wesley was Myrtle Grove, the home of Mr. Johnson Atkinson Busfield. It had been a large farmhouse, known as Spring Head. Mr. Busfield probably heard Wesley preach in 1776, and became a sincere admirer. He was a kind-hearted, gentlemanly man, sympathetic with the poor and with the sometimes noisy prayer-meetings of the Methodists, as stories told by Mr. Laycock show. *Methodist Heroes*, p. 337.

making new improvements ; but will not that thought frequently intrude :

Must I then leave thee, Paradise? Then leave
These happy shades and mansions fit for gods? ¹

Sun. 2.²—At one I preached at the foot of Birstall hill to the largest congregation that ever was seen there. It was supposed that there were twelve or fourteen thousand. But there were some thousands more at Leeds ; I think it was the largest congregation that I have seen for many years, except that at Gwennap, in Cornwall.

Tues. 4.—Our Conference began³ ; so large a number of

¹ Altered from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, xi. 269. Cf. above, vol. iv. p. 349.

² He wrote to Miss P. Newman, of Cheltenham (*Meth. in Cheltenham*, p. 10).

³ Wesley's note on this, the thirty-fifth Conference, is brief. The *Minutes* are interesting because they include the reception of William Myles on trial and the first appearance of Thomas Coke's name. Beyond the appointments of preachers and the usual financial details, only three topics of general interest are included in the *Minutes*, namely, the visitation of jails ; trustees who 'may abuse their power after my death' ; and a discussion, quite in the Wesley method, of the question, 'Why do so many of our preachers fall into nervous disorders?' Myles, who probably was not present, does not realize the importance of this Leeds Conference. Benson, however, says that it was 'the best he was ever at.' He describes Wesley's 'sweet spirit,' his 'excellent sermons,' his 'extraordinary congregations,' and adds that he 'dealt closely and plainly with the preachers, setting two aside for misdemeanours.' Thomas Taylor, in his *Diary*, is much more informing :

Aug. 5.—To-day we permitted all sorts to come into the Conference, so that we had a large company. The forenoon was occupied in speaking upon preaching-houses. In the afternoon, the sending of missionaries to Africa was considered. The call seems

doubtful. Afterwards the committee met, and we were an hour and a half in speaking what might have been done in five minutes. We are vastly tedious, and have many long speeches to little purpose.

Aug. 6.—This day has been employed chiefly in stationing the preachers.

Aug. 7.—We were engaged in Conference till after one o'clock ; and then the sacrament began, at which, I think, two thousand were present.

Thirty-five years later, in the same Leeds chapel, Thomas Thompson, M.P., presiding at the first Missionary meeting, recalled the annual Conference of 1778, at which he was present. He said that the deepest impression was made by the short speech of a young man, far gone in consumption, who promptly offered himself as a missionary for Africa or any other country. This, Tyerman believed, was Duncan McAllum. If so, he must already have written to Wesley, who in reply sent the letter referred to above, July 14. But the evidence of a manuscript *Life* of Benson points rather to John Prickard as being the hero of this offer. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. iii. p. 236 ; *E.M.P.* vol. iv. p. 184 ; and *W. M. Mag.* 1913, p. 802. It was in this same year that John Baxter, a Methodist shipwright at Chatham, left his friends that he might speak for God in Antigua and carry on the work of Nathaniel and Francis Gilbert. (*Meth. Mag.* 1814, pp. 507-19 ; Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. pp. 272-3.)

preachers never met at a Conference before. I preached, morning and evening, till *Thursday* night. Then my voice began to fail ; so I desired two of our preachers to supply my place the next day. On *Saturday* the Conference ended.

Sun. 9.—I preached at eight in the market-place at Dewsbury to some thousands of serious people ; as Mr. Powley¹ would not permit me to preach in the church, because it would give offence !

After visiting Bradford and Halifax, I struck across to Manchester and Stockport ; and went on by moderate journeys to London.² Having soon finished my business there, on *Monday* the 17th Dr. Coke, my brother, and I took coach for Bristol³ ; and early on *Thursday* the 20th I set out for Cornwall. I preached at Taunton that evening ; *Friday* the 21st at Exeter ; and on *Saturday* reached the Dock.

Sun. 23.—At seven I preached in our room, and at one on the quay, at Plymouth. The common people behaved well ; but I was shocked at the stupidity and ill-breeding of several officers, who kept walking and talking together all the time with the most perfect unconcern. We had no such Gallios in the evening at the Dock, though the congregation was four times as large. Surely this is an understanding people : may their love be equal to their knowledge !

Mon. 24.—In the way to Medrose, Mr. Furz⁴ gave me a strange relation, which was afterwards confirmed by eye and ear witnesses : In July 1748, Martin Hoskins, of Sithney, being in a violent passion, was struck raving mad, and obliged to be chained down to the floor. Charles Sk—— went to see him. He cried out, ‘ Who art thou ? Hast thou faith ? No ; thou art afraid.’ Charles felt an inexpressible shock, and was raving mad himself. He continued so for several days, till some agreed to

¹ For twenty-nine years vicar of Dewsbury, a man of superior talents and distinguished piety (*Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. ii. p. 21).

² On the 16th he wrote to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 10).

³ En route, at Newbury, Charles Wesley writes to his wife :

Soon after five this morning my brother

and Dr. Coke took me up, and brought me hither. . . . On Wednesday my youthful brother sets out for Cornwall. He seems as active and zealous as ever. (C. Wesley's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 269.)

⁴ His autobiography was published in the *Arm. Mag.* 1782. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. v. ; or *E.M.P.* vol. v. ; and a letter from him to Wesley (*Arm. Mag.* 1789, p. 332).

keep a day of fasting and prayer. His lunacy then ended as suddenly as it began. But what was peculiarly remarkable was, while he was ill, Martin was quite well; as soon as he was well, Martin was as ill as ever.

Thence I went on to Redruth, Helston, and Penzance. On *Thursday* the 27th, in the evening, I preached in the market-place at St. Just. Very few of our old society are now left; the far greater part of them are in Abraham's bosom. But the new generation are of the same spirit; serious, earnest, devoted to God, and particularly remarkable for simplicity and Christian sincerity.

Fri. 28.—The stewards of the societies met at St. Ives—a company of pious, sensible men. I rejoiced to find that peace and love prevailed through the whole circuit. Those who styled themselves My Lady's preachers, who screamed, and railed, and threatened to swallow us up, are vanished away. I cannot learn that they have made one convert! a plain proof that God did not send them.¹

One was mentioning to-day a wonderful oration which Mr. Rowland H[ill] had lately made. I thought Mr. Toplady had not left behind him his fellow; but see!—

. . . Primo avulso, non deficit alter
Aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.²

Sat. 29.—I found the venerable old man³ at Cubert pale, thin, and scarce half alive. However, he made shift to go in a chaise to the preaching, and, deaf as he was, to hear almost every word. He had such a night's rest as he had not had for many months, and in the morning seemed hardly the same

¹ See, however, *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. ii. p. 417. It is amusing to read in this account: 'The gospel was first introduced in St. Ives by the ministers and students belonging to Lady Huntingdon, who herself visited the town in 1775.' It is inconceivable that the editor of this great biography did not know the facts respecting the introduction of the gospel into St. Ives by Methodists.

² Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 143-4: 'The first

plucked off, a second bough of gold is not lacking, and the twig blooms with like metal.' See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 88, and Green's *Anti-Meth. Publications*, Nos. 515 to 521.

³ For Mr. Hosken see above, pp. 77 and 169. He was doubtless the Mr. Hosken referred to in the autobiography of John Haime (*Wesley's Veterans*, vol. i. p. 54 and footnote, or *E.M.P.* vol. i. p. 306).

person. It may be God will give him a little longer life,¹ for the good of many.

Sun. 30.—About five I preached in the amphitheatre at Gwennap, it was believed, to four-and-twenty thousand.² Afterwards I spent a solemn hour with the society,³ and slept in peace.

Mon. 31.—About eleven I preached to a large and serious congregation near the town-hall in Bodmin; and about six in the evening at Launceston, a town as little troubled with religion as most in Cornwall.

SEPT. 1, *Tues.*—I went to Tiverton. I was musing here on what I heard a good man say long since: ‘Once in seven years I burn all my sermons; for it is a shame if I cannot write better sermons now than I could seven years ago.’ Whatever others can do, I really cannot. I cannot write a better sermon on the Good Steward than I did seven years ago; I cannot write a better on the Great Assize, than I did twenty years ago; I cannot write a better on the Use of Money than I did nearly thirty years ago; nay, I know not that I can write a better on the Circumcision of the Heart than I did five-and-forty years ago. Perhaps, indeed, I may have read five or six hundred books more than I had then, and may know a little more history, or natural philosophy, than I did; but I am not sensible that this has made any essential addition to my knowledge in divinity. Forty years ago I knew and preached every Christian doctrine which I preach now.

Thur. 3.—About noon I preached at Cathanger,⁴ about eight miles from Taunton. It was an exceeding large house, built (as the inscription over the gate testifies) in the year 1555, by Serjeant Walsh, who had then eight thousand pounds a year, perhaps more than equal to twenty thousand now. But the once famous family is now forgotten; the estate is mouldered almost into nothing; and three-quarters of the magnificent buildings lie level with the dust. I preached in the great hall

¹ He died March 6, 1780.

² See above, vol. v. p. 387.

³ Probably at Little Carharrack (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 194).

⁴ Twice visited by Wesley. A place of great antiquity, belonging, in Edward

the Confessor's time, to Wadel, a noble Saxon. For description of manor-house, still standing (1910), see *W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 136. Over the entrance of the porch is cut in stone, JOHN WALSH ANNO DNI, 1559, SERJANT AT LAW.

like that of Lincoln College, to a very serious congregation. In the evening I preached at South Petherton, once a place of renown, and the capital of a Saxon kingdom, as is vouched by a palace of King Ina still remaining,¹ and a very large and ancient church. I suppose the last blow given to it was by Judge Jeffreys, who, after Monmouth's rebellion, hanged so many of the inhabitants, and drove so many away, that it is never likely to lift up its head again.²

Fri. 4.—I spent some time in the evening, and an hour in the morning, with the lovely children at Publow. Such another company of them I never saw, since Miss Bosanquet removed from Leytonstone.

Sat. 5.—I returned to Bristol.

*Sun. 6.*³—At eight I preached near the Drawbridge⁴; at two near Kingswood school, under the tree which I planted for the use of the next generation; and at five, near King Square, to a very numerous and exceeding serious congregation.⁵

Mon. 7.—In my way to Bath I read a pamphlet which surprised me exceedingly. For many years I had heard the King severely blamed for giving all places of trust and profit to Scotchmen; and this was so positively and continually affirmed that I had no doubt of it. To put the matter beyond all possible dispute, the writer appeals to the Court Calendar of the present year, which contains the names of all those that hold places under the King. And hereby it appears that, of four hundred and fifty odd places, just eight are possessed by Scotchmen; and of the one hundred and fifty-one places in the Royal Household, four are possessed by Scots, and no more.

Ought not this to be echoed through the three kingdoms,

¹ Wesley saw a fine old manor-house known as 'King Ina's palace'—much of it fifteenth-century work. Cf. Collinson's *Somerset*, vol. iii. p. 107, quoted in *W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 136. For King Ine (so spelt by Green) and the establishment of Glastonbury monastery on the site of an older British foundation see J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People*, vol. i. p. 67.

² The place has recovered from the 'Bloody Assize.' The church is best

remembered as the scene of Coke's early ministry.

³ 'I rode with my brother in his chaise to Kingswood, and had a feast indeed with some of the colliers.' See C. Wesley's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 271.

⁴ The old Drawbridge was removed in 1892, the river (Frome) covered over, and a fixed bridge (St. Augustine's) constructed.

⁵ On Sept. 6 he wrote to Mr. Richard Locke. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

to show the regard to truth these wretches have who are constantly endeavouring to inflame the nation against their Sovereign, as well as their fellow subjects?

Tues. 8.¹—In the evening I stood on one side of the market-place at Frome and declared to a very numerous congregation, 'His commandments are not grievous.' They stood as quiet as those at Bristol, a very few excepted; most of whom were, by the courtesy of England, called gentlemen. How much inferior to the keelmen and colliers!

Wednesday and *Thursday* I made a little excursion into Dorsetshire, and on *Saturday* returned to Bristol.

Sun. 13.—We had a comfortable opportunity at the room in the morning, as well as at the Square in the afternoon, where the congregation was considerably larger than the Sunday before; but on *Sunday* the 20th it was larger still. Now let the winter come; we have made our full use of the Michaelmas summer.

On *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday*, on meeting the classes, I carefully examined whether there was any truth in the assertion that above a hundred in our society were concerned in unlawful distilling. The result was that I found two persons, and no more, that were concerned therein.²

I now procured a copy of part of Mr. Fletcher's late letter to Mr. Ireland,³ which I think it my duty to publish, as a full answer to the lying accounts which have been published concerning that bad man: 'Mr. Voltaire, finding himself ill, sent for Dr. Fronchin, first physician to the Duke of Orleans, one of his converts to infidelity, and said to him, "Sir, I desire you will save my life. I will give you half my fortune if you will lengthen out my days only six months. If not, I shall go to the devil, and carry you with me."''

Thur. 24.—I read prayers and preached in Midsomer Norton church. Thence I went to Bradford, on a sultry hot day, such

¹ He wrote to Miss Warren. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

² Charles Wesley, writing from Bristol to his wife, about this time, says: 'I dined with my brother and his preachers at Mr. Hopkins's, whose son and four

daughters adorn the gospel. He himself, in Mr. Lediard's judgement, is the honestest man in Bristol.' See C. Wesley's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 270.

³ See Benson's *Life of Fletcher*, 2nd ed., p. 237.

as were several days this month, and preached on the seed that fell among thorns. God strongly applied His word.¹

Tues. 29.—I preached at Almondsbury² to a large number of plain people, who seemed just ripe for the gospel. We observed *Friday*, OCTOBER 2, as a day of fasting and prayer for our King and nation. We met, as usual, at five, at nine, at one, and in the evening. At each time, I believe, some found that God was with us, but more especially in the concluding service.

Sat. 3.—Visiting one at the poorhouse at Bristol, I was much moved to see such a company of poor, maimed, halt, and blind, who seemed to have no one caring for their souls. So I appointed to be there the next day, and at two o'clock had all that could get out of bed, young and old, in the great hall. My heart was greatly enlarged toward them, and many blessed God for the consolation.

Monday I went with my brother to the Devizes, and preached in a large, commodious room. This and the following evening we preached at Sarum.³

Wed. 7.—We went on to Winchester. I had thoughts of preaching abroad, if haply anything might awaken a careless, self-conceited people. But the rain would not permit, and it made the road so heavy that we could not reach Portsmouth Common till near six.

Thur. 8.—One of our friends, whom I have known several years, Mrs. Sarah M[aitlan]d,⁴ and on whose veracity I could depend, was mentioning some uncommon circumstances. I desired her to relate them at large, which she readily did as follows:

Six or seven years ago a servant of my husband's died of the small-pox. A few days after, as I was walking into the town, I met him in his common every-day clothes running towards me. In about a minute he disappeared.

¹ On Sept. 27 he wrote to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 11), and to Samuel Tooth (see new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² When John Valton was in the Bristol circuit he received much kindness from Mr. and Mrs. Purnell, who then lived at the Fort. They also had a country-house

at Almondsbury, seven miles north of Bristol. Valton afterwards married the widow. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. vi. p. 101, or *E.M.P.* vol. vi. p. 120.

³ On Oct. 6 he wrote to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 60).

⁴ See *Works*, vol. xii. p. 257.

Mr. Heth, a surgeon and apothecary, died in March 1756. On the 14th of April following I was walking with two other women in the High Street, about daybreak, and we all three saw him, dressed as he usually was, in a scarlet surtout, a bushy wig, and a very small hat. He was standing and leaning against a post, with his chin resting on his hands. As we came towards him (for we were not frightened at all), he walked towards us, and went by us. We looked steadily after him, and saw him till he turned into the market-house.

Not long after this Mr. Sm— died. Ten or twelve days after, as I was walking near his house, about eleven o'clock in a bright, sunshiny day, I saw him standing at his chamber window, and looking full upon me; but it was with the most horrid countenance that I ever saw. As I walked on I could not keep my eyes off him till he withdrew from the window, though I was so terrified with his ghastly look that I was ready to drop down.

Fri. 9.—I returned to London, and *Sunday* the 11th buried the remains of Eleanor Lee.¹ I believe she received the great promise of God, entire sanctification, fifteen or sixteen years ago, and that she never lost it for an hour. I conversed intimately with her ever since, and never saw her do any action, little or great, nor heard her speak any word, which I could reprove. Thou wast indeed 'a mother in Israel'!

*Tues. 13.*²—I took a little tour into Oxfordshire, and preached in the evening at Wallingford.

Wed. 14.—I went on to Oxford, and, having an hour to spare, walked to Christ Church, for which I cannot but still retain a peculiar affection. What lovely mansions are these! What is wanting to make the inhabitants of them happy? That without which no rational creature can be happy—the experimental knowledge of God. In the evening I preached at Finstock, to a congregation gathered from many miles round. How gladly could I spend a few weeks in this delightful solitude! But I must not rest yet. As long as God gives me strength to labour, I am to use it.

¹ In Stevenson's Lists of the Foundery Societies, Sarah (married), and Mary Lee (single) appear; the only 'Eleanor' is Eleanor Doe.

² On Oct. 12 he wrote to Mr. Bailey (see new ed. *Wesley Letters*), and on the

13th to Mr. William Church, who had entered the itinerancy a year previously. He was the grandfather of the Rev. Henry L. Church (*Tyerman's Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 277).

Thur. 15.—I preached at Witney. Since Nancy B[olton] has been detained here, the work of God has greatly revived. Mysterious providence! that one capable of being so extremely useful should be thus shut up in a corner!

Fri. 16.—I was desired to preach at Thame on my return to London. I came thither a little after ten. The mob had been so troublesome there that it was a doubt with the preachers whether the place should be given up. However, I thought it might not be amiss, before this was done, to make one trial myself. But I found it impracticable to preach abroad, the wind being so exceeding sharp. I went therefore into a large building, formerly used by the Presbyterians. It was quickly filled, and more than filled, many being obliged to stand without. Yet there was no breath of noise; the whole congregation seemed to be 'all but their attention dead.' We had prayed before that God would give us a quiet time, and He granted us our request.

Immediately after, a strange scene occurred. I was desired to visit one who had been eminently pious, but had now been confined to her bed for several months, and was utterly unable to raise herself up. She desired us to pray that the chain might be broken. A few of us prayed in faith. Presently she rose up, dressed herself, came down stairs, and I believe had not any further complaint. In the evening I preached at High Wycombe, and on *Saturday*¹ returned to London.

Mon. 19.—About noon I reached Mr. Fary's, near Little Brickhill. I designed to preach in the house; but the number of people obliged me to preach abroad, in spite of the keen east winds.

Tues. 20.—I preached about noon at Hanslope, and in the evening at [Maids] Moreton, near Buckingham.

Wed. 21.—I preached about noon at Silston (properly Silverstone), and then walked with a company of our friends to Whittlebury.² This is the flower of all our societies in the circuit, both for zeal and simplicity.

¹ On Oct. 17 he wrote to Samuel Bradburn (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 277); and the next day to Miss Bishop (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 35).

² In the *Memoir* of Mrs. Hannah Cordeux there is a reference to this visit. In her diary she says: 'Mr. Wesley coming to visit us, put some of

Thur. 22.—I preached at Towcester; on *Friday* at Northampton; and on *Saturday* returned to London.

Mon. 26.—I set out in the diligence to Godmanchester, hoping to be there by six in the evening. But we did not come till past eight; so, most of the people being gone, I only gave a short exhortation. At five in the morning we had a large congregation, but a much larger in the evening.

Wed. 28.¹—About noon I preached at St. Neots,² and afterwards visited a lovely young woman, who appeared to be in the last stage of a consumption, and was feebly gasping after God. She seemed to be just ripe for the gospel, which she drank in with all her soul. God speedily brought her to the blood of sprinkling, and a few days after she died in peace.

I preached in the evening at Bedford, and the next day, *Thursday* the 29th, at Luton. We had a miserable preaching-house here,³ but Mr. Cole has now fitted up a very neat and commodious room, which was thoroughly filled with well-behaved and deeply attentive hearers. How long did we seem to be ploughing upon the sand here! But it seems there will be some fruit at last.

Fri. 30.—I preached at noon to fifty or sixty dull creatures at poor, desolate Hertford; and they heard with something like seriousness. In the afternoon I went on to London.⁴

Sunday, NOVEMBER 1, was the day appointed for opening the new chapel in the City Road. It is perfectly neat, but not fine; and contains far more people than the Foundery: I believe, together with the morning chapel, as many as the

us into band. I was appointed with four more to meet on Wednesday evening.⁵ This is an incidental picture of the practical society work which, over and above his preaching, Wesley did in all the places he visited. This apparently small service proved to be of incalculable value in the later history of London Methodism. See above, vol. v. p. 22, and below, p. 340; also *W.M. Mag.* 1825, p. 298.

¹ He wrote to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 12).

² Under this sermon Sarah Rutter was deeply convinced of sin. See an account written by her in the *Arm. Mag.* 1792, p. 238.

³ An upper room in the market-place, about the centre of the town (*W.M. Mag.* 1901, p. 922). See also above, vol. v. p. 443.

⁴ On Oct. 31 he wrote to Christopher Hopper (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 317), and on Nov. 1 to Mrs. Penelope Cousins (*Tyerman's Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 275).

Tabernacle. Many were afraid that the multitudes, crowding from all parts, would have occasioned much disturbance. But they were happily disappointed; there was none at all. All was quietness, decency, and order. I preached on part of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple; and both in the morning and afternoon (when I preached on the hundred forty and four thousand standing with the Lamb on Mount Zion), God was eminently present in the midst of the congregation.¹

Mon. 2.—I went to Chatham, and preached in the evening to a lively, loving congregation.²

Tues. 3.—I went by water to Sheerness. Our room being far too small for the people that attended, I sent to the governor to desire (what had been allowed me before)³ the use of the chapel. He refused me (uncivilly enough), affecting to doubt whether I was in orders! So I preached to as many as it would contain in our own room.

Wed. 4.—I took a view of the old church at Minster,⁴ once a spacious and elegant building. It stands pleasantly on the top of a hill, and commands all the country round. We went from thence to Queenborough, which contains about fifty houses,

¹ The new chapel in City Road was the first built by Wesley in London. He had many other preaching-houses, of which the old Huguenot chapels at West Street and Spitalfields were the principal; but they all were leased. City Road was the only one actually built by him. A newspaper cutting preserved in the Richmond College interleaved Journal refers to Wesley's preaching on the opening of his new chapel on 'Sunday se'nnight.'

The first quarter of an hour of his sermon was addressed to his numerous female auditory on the absurdity of the enormous dressing of their heads; and his religious labours have so much converted the women who attended at that place of worship that widows, wives, and young ladies appeared on Sunday without curls, without flying caps, and without feathers; and our correspondent further says the female sex never made a more pleasing appearance.

² Another newspaper cutting in the same copy of the Journal refers to this visit to Chatham.

Monday and Thursday evenings last the Rev. Mr. John Wesley also preached at his chapel near this town. Mr. Wesley, in his discourse on Monday, advised his congregation not to drink smuggled liquors, telling them they might as well rob the King on the highway as deprive him of his lawful duties. His text was 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things which are God's.'

³ See above, vol. v. p. 246.

⁴ Camden writes it 'Mynstre.' The church formerly belonged to the nunnery founded by Queen Sexburga in 673. With the exception of St. Martin's, Canterbury, the church at Minster is considered to be the oldest in England, and is of great architectural interest. For legend see Teignmouth Shore's *Kent*, p. 130.

and sends two members to Parliament. Surely the whole Isle of Sheppey is now but a shadow of what it was once.

Thur. 5.—I returned to Chatham, and on the following morning set out in the stage-coach for London. At the end of Strood I chose to walk up the hill, leaving the coach to follow me. But it was in no great haste; it did not overtake me till I had walked above five miles. I cared not if it had been ten. The more I walk the sounder I sleep.¹

Sun. 15.—Having promised to preach in the evening at St. Antholin's church,² I had desired one to have a coach ready at the door, when the service at the new chapel was ended. But he had forgot; so that, after preaching and meeting the society, I was obliged to walk as fast as I could to the church. The people were so wedged together that it was with difficulty I got in. The church was extremely hot; but this I soon forgot; for it pleased God to send a gracious rain upon His inheritance.

Thur. 26.—I fulfilled the dying request of Ann Thwayte by burying her remains, and preaching her funeral sermon. In all the changes of those about her, she stood steadfast, doing and suffering the will of God. She was a woman of faith and prayer; in life and death adorning the doctrine of God her Saviour.³

Sun. 29.—I was desired to preach a charity sermon in St. Luke's church, Old Street.⁴ I doubt whether it was ever so crowded before; and the fear of God seemed to possess the whole audience. In the afternoon I preached at the new chapel; and at seven, in St. Margaret's, Rood Lane, full as much crowded as St. Luke's. Is then the scandal of the Cross ceased?

DEC. 1, *Tues.*—I went to Rye. Here, as in many other places, those who begin to flee from the wrath to come are continually 'received to doubtful disputations'; puzzled and perplexed with intricate questions concerning absolute and unconditional decrees! Lord, how long wilt Thou suffer this?

¹ On Nov. 13 he wrote from London to Mrs. Barton (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 380).

² See above, vol. ii. pp. 73, 82. The Hon. Jerome De Salis was now the incumbent of St. Antholin's (1774-1810).

³ He wrote to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 12).

⁴ St. Luke's was consecrated Oct. 16, 1733. It was Wesley's parish church. See above, vol. ii. pp. 368, 373.

How long shall these well-meaning zealots destroy the dawning work of grace, and strangle the children in the birth?

Wed. 2.—In the evening I preached at Robertsbridge, and spoke with all possible plainness, both for the sake of three-score children, and of a large congregation of serious, attentive people.

Thur. 3.—Many at Sevenoaks seemed deeply affected while I was applying those words, 'Do ye now believe?' Especially while I was reminding them of the deep work which God wrought among them twelve or fourteen years ago. *Friday*, going on to Shoreham, I found Mr. P[erronet] once more brought back from the gates of death; undoubtedly for the sake of his little flock, who avail themselves of his being spared too, and continually increase not only in number, but in the knowledge and love of God.

Sun. 6.—I buried the remains of Merchant West, snatched away in the midst of his years. From a child he had the fear of God, and was serious and unblameable in his behaviour. When he was a journeyman, he was revered by all who wrought in the shop with him; he was a pattern of diligence in all things, spiritual and temporal. During a long and severe illness his patience was unshaken, till he joyfully resigned his spirit to God.

Mon. 7.—I took a little journey to Canterbury¹ and Dover, and was much comforted among a loving, earnest people.

Fri. 11.—I preached at Lambeth, in the chapel newly prepared by Mr. Edwards,² whose wife has seventy-five boarders.

¹ A difficulty not fully explained had occurred at Canterbury, as we gather from a practical and striking letter written by Miss Damaris Perronet from Shoreham to John Wesley, dated July 6, 1778. The letter is of special interest. It shows that this remarkable woman was intensely interested in the work of Methodism throughout a wide area, and in some of its hardest work. She writes about the 'good prospect at Canterbury,' and about Maidstone Jail as a field for pastoral work. (*Arm. Mag.* 1788, p. 497.)

² A rudely drawn original water-colour of this chapel hangs in the vestry of

Lambeth Chapel. China Terrace Chapel superseded it in 1807-8.

Mr. Edwards built the little old chapel in Lambeth Marsh (just where people, at a later period, flocked to the Lambeth Baths meetings). The dimensions of this chapel were twenty-three ft. wide by twenty-two deep. This soon proved too small, and Mr. Edwards enlarged it at his own expense. During his life no rent was charged. After his death only a moderate rent was charged by his widow, who . . . maintained and educated more than twelve preachers' daughters.

At a still earlier period service was held in Mr. Edwards's dining-room—the first Methodist service held in Lambeth (*Meth. Rec.* Dec. 4, 1913).



MR. EDWARDS'S CHAPEL AT LAMBETH, AT ONE TIME USED ALSO AS A SCHOOL.

Miss Owen, at Publow, takes only twenty, thinking she cannot do her duty to any more.

Fri. 18.—I called upon Colonel Gallatin.¹ But what a change is here! The fine gentleman, the soldier, is clean gone, sunk into a feeble, decrepit old man; not able to rise off his seat, and hardly able to speak.

Sun. 20.—I buried what was mortal of honest Silas Told.² For many years he attended the malefactors in Newgate, without fee or reward; and I suppose no man for this hundred years has been so successful in that melancholy office. God had given him peculiar talents for it; and he had amazing success therein. The greatest part of those whom he attended died in peace, and many of them in the triumph of faith.

Fri. 25 (being *Christmas Day*).—Our service began at four, as usual, in the new chapel. I expected Mr. Richardson³ to read prayers at West Street Chapel, but he did not come; so I read prayers myself, and preached and administered the sacrament to several hundred people. In the afternoon I preached at the new chapel, thoroughly filled in every corner; and in the evening at St. Sepulchre's, one of the largest parish churches in London.⁴ It was warm enough, being sufficiently filled; yet I felt no weakness or weariness, but was stronger after I had preached my fourth sermon than I was after the first.

Thur. 31.—We concluded the old year with a solemn watch-night, and began the new with praise and thanksgiving. We had a violent storm at night.⁵ The roaring of the wind was like loud thunder. It kept me awake half an hour; I then slept in peace.

1779. JAN. 1, *Fri.*—At length we have a house capable of

¹ For a long and interesting sketch of Colonel Gallatin, see *W.M. Mag.* 1900, p. 198; also above, vol. iii. pp. 485, 522.

² See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 279; *W.M. Mag.* 1909, pp. 52 and 135; Steven's *Hist. of Meth.* book v. ch. iv.

³ Curate of Ewhurst, Sussex. He heard Thomas Rankin in 1762, and a few months later came to assist Wesley in

London, and continued so to labour till his death in 1792. See *E.M.P.* vol. v. p. 174; Atmore's *Memorial*; p. 356; and above, vol. v. pp. 47 and 237.

⁴ On Snow Hill, Holborn. Founded about 1100. Much damaged by the Great Fire, and restored by Wren. The incumbent at this time was Thomas Weales, D.D. (1767-84).

⁵ See below, p. 225.

containing the whole society. We met there this evening to renew our covenant with God; and we never met on that solemn occasion without a peculiar blessing.¹

*Tues. 12.*²—I dined and drank tea with four German ministers.³ I could not but admire the wisdom of those that appointed them. They seem to consider not only the essential points, their sense and piety, but even those smaller things, the good breeding, the address, yea, the persons of those they send into foreign countries.

*Sun. 24.*⁴—I visited a young woman in such terrible fits as I scarce ever saw before; and she was hardly out of one when she fell into another; so that it seemed she must soon lose her reason, if not her life. But Dr. Wilson, in one or two days' time, restored her to perfect health.

FEB. 8, Mon.—Finding many serious persons were much discouraged by prophets of evil, confidently foretelling very heavy calamities which were coming upon our nation, I endeavoured to lift up their hands by opening and applying those comfortable words (Ps. xliii. 5, 6): 'Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? And why art thou so disquieted within me? O put thy trust in God; for I will yet give Him thanks, who is the help of my countenance, and my God.'

Wednesday the 10th was a National Fast. So solemn a one I never saw before. From one end of the city to the other there was scarce any one seen in the streets. All places of public worship were crowded in an uncommon degree; and an unusual awe sat on most faces. I preached on the words of God to Abraham interceding for Sodom, 'I will not destroy the city for ten's sake.'⁵

¹ On Jan. 4 he wrote to (name unknown), and on the 11th to the Keighley Society (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 288); on the 14th to Jasper Winscom (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 525), and to Miss Kitty Warren of Haverfordwest: 'The great sin you (the society) are guilty of is poverty. . . . We are here at our wits' end how to pay for the new chapel, as many of our workmen are unpaid still' (New ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² On Jan. 17 he wrote from London

to Mrs. Baker, addressing the letter to Miss Morgan, Bristol (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

³ See above, p. 178, and vol. iv. p. 193.

⁴ On Jan. 25 he wrote from London to Mr. Gidley, and on the 28th to S. Wells (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 512, 513).

⁵ On Feb. 11 he wrote from London to Charles Delamotte (*W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 19). He also wrote to Miss Roe and Mrs. Barton (*Works*, vol. xiii. pp. 61 and 80), and the next day to Miss Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 380).

Mon. 15.—I went to Norwich in the stage-coach, with two very disagreeable companions,¹ called a gentleman and gentlewoman, but equally ignorant, insolent, lewd, and profane.

Wed. 17.—I went to Yarmouth, and preached to a large and serious congregation.

Thur. 18.—I preached at Lowestoft, where is a great awakening, especially among youth and children; several of whom, between twelve and sixteen years of age, are a pattern to all about them.

Fri. 19.—I preached at Loddon, and afterwards talked with a girl sixteen years of age. She was justified two months since, and has not yet lost the sight of God's countenance for a moment, but has been enabled to rejoice evermore, and to pray without ceasing. But being surrounded with relations who neither loved nor feared God, they were pressing upon her continually, till by little and little she sunk back into the world, and had neither the power nor form of religion left.

Sun. 21.²—I returned to Norwich, and took an exact account of the society. I wish all our preachers would be accurate in their accounts, and rather speak under than above the truth. I had heard again and again of the increase of the society. And what is the naked truth? Why, I left in it two hundred and two members; and I find one hundred and seventy-nine! At twelve I took coach, and in the morning reached London.

Sun. 28.—Immediately after preaching at Spitalfields, I hasted away to St. Peter's, Cornhill,³ and declared to a crowded congregation, 'God hath given us His Holy Spirit.' At four I preached in the new chapel for the benefit of the Reformation Society. This also, I trust, will be a means of uniting together the hearts of the children of God of various denominations.

MARCH 1, *Mon.*—I went to Bristol.

Thur. 4.—I went over to Paulton, and preached at noon to

¹ Still more disagreeable companions accompanied him during another coach ride; see below, July 22.

² On Feb. 24 he wrote from London to Mr. Robinson at Langham Row, near Alford: 'It is well you wrote: or probably there would not have been a night to

spare for Langham Row. . . . I did not think any of your daughters had remembered me' (*W.H.S.* vol. vi. p. 91).

³ At the corner of Gracechurch Street. Rebuilt by Wren after the Great Fire. The incumbent at this time was the Rev. John Thomas (1744-97).

the liveliest people in all the circuit. This people are now just of the same spirit as those of Bristol were forty years ago.¹

Thur. 11.—I opened the new chapel at Bath.² It is about half as large as that at London, and built nearly upon the same model. After reading prayers, I preached on 'We preach Christ crucified; to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness.' I believe God sent His word home to many hearts. We concluded the service with the Lord's Supper.

Mon. 15.—I began my tour through England and Scotland; the lovely weather continuing, such as the oldest man alive has not seen before, for January, February, and half of March. In the evening I preached at Stroud, the next morning at Gloucester, designing to preach in Stanley at two, and at Tewkesbury in the evening; but the minister of Gretton (near Stanley) sending me word, I was welcome to the use of his church, I ordered notice to be given, that the service would begin there at six o'clock. Stanley chapel was thoroughly filled at two. It is eighteen years since I was there before³; so that many of those whom I saw here then were now grey-headed; and many were gone to Abraham's bosom. May we follow them as they did Christ!

I was preparing to go to Gretton, when one brought me word from Mr. Roberts⁴ that he had changed his mind; so I preached in Mr. Stephen's orchard to far more than his church would have contained. And it was no inconvenience either to me or them, as it was a mild, still evening.

Wed. 17.—I preached at Tewkesbury about noon, and at Worcester in the evening.

Thur. 18.—Upon inquiry, I found there had been no morning preaching since the Conference! So the people were of course weak and faint. At noon I preached in Bewdley, in an open space, at the head of the town, to a very numerous and quiet congregation. Here Mrs. C[lark]⁵ informed me, 'This day

¹ On March 7 he wrote from Bristol to S. Bardsley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 503).

² Of which he laid the foundation, Dec. 17, 1777. See above, p. 177.

³ See above, vol. iv. p. 440.

⁴ The Rev. Richard Roberts, vicar of

Winchcombe and Gretton from 1778 to 1793. See the Rev. G. Bancroft Judge's *Methodism in Cheltenham*, p. 55, for interesting reminiscences of Wesley's visit to this neighbourhood.

⁵ See below, March 16, 1786.

twelvemonth I found peace with God ; and the same day my son, till then utterly thoughtless, was convinced of sin. Some time after, he died, rejoicing in God, and praising Him with his latest breath.'

Fri. 19.—I preached in Bengeworth church about noon, and about six in Pebworth church.

Sat. 20.—I went on to Birmingham.

Sun. 21.—Just at the time of preaching, at Bromwich Heath,¹ began such a storm as that which ushered in the year. Yet as no house could contain the people, I was constrained to stand in the courtyard.² For a moment I was afraid of the tiles falling on the people ; but they regarded nothing but the word. As I concluded, we had a furious shower of hail. Hitherto could the prince of the power of the air go, but no farther.

After preaching at Wednesbury, Darlaston, Dudley, and Wolverhampton, on *Wednesday* the 24th I went on to Madeley. In the way I finished a celebrated *Essay on Taste*.³ And is this the treatise that gained the premium? It is lively and pretty ; but neither deep nor strong. Scarce any of the terms are accurately defined ; indeed, defining is not this author's talent. He has not by any means a clear apprehension ; and it is through this capital defect that he jumbles together true and false propositions, in every chapter and in every page.

To this *Essay* three extracts are subjoined. The first is much to the purpose. The second is a superficial, empty thing. Is this a specimen of the great M. D'Alembert? But I was most surprised at the third. What! is this extracted from the famous Montesquieu? It has neither strength, nor clearness, nor justness of thought! And is this the writer so admired all over Europe? He is no more to be compared to Lord Forbes or Dr. Beattie than a mouse to an elephant.⁴

Thur. 25.—I preached in the new house which Mr. Fletcher has built in Madeley Wood. The people here exactly resemble

¹ Now West Bromwich.

² Of Mr. Whyley's mansion, where he had preached before. See above, p. 12.

³ By Dr. Alexander Gerard, London, 1759. For a full criticism of this work

see *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 465, and *Arm. Mag.* 1780, p. 662.

⁴ At the request of friends Wesley wrote an article, 'Thoughts upon Baron Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws,' which he published in the *Arm. Mag.* 1781, p. 206.

those at Kingswood ; only they are more simple and teachable. But, for want of discipline, the immense pains which he has taken with them has not done the good which might have been expected.

I preached at Shrewsbury in the evening, and on *Friday* the 26th, about noon, in the assembly-room at Broseley. It was well we were in the shade ; for the sun shone as hot as it usually does at midsummer. We walked from thence to Coalbrookdale, and took a view of the bridge¹ which is shortly to be thrown over the Severn. It is one arch, a hundred feet broad, fifty-two high, and eighteen wide ; all of cast-iron, weighing many hundred tons. I doubt whether the Colossus at Rhodes weighed much more.

Sat. 27.—I preached at Newcastle-under-Lyme ; *Sunday* the 28th at Burslem, morning and afternoon.

Mon. 29.—I went on to our loving brethren at Congleton, and preached on the nature of Christian zeal. A measure of this they have already ; but they want much more. *Tuesday* the 30th, and the next day, I preached at Macclesfield.² The hearts of many were enlarged ; and the society I found was increasing both in number and strength.

APRIL 1, *Thur.*—About one I preached at New Mills, in Derbyshire. A commodious preaching-house, lately built, has proved a blessing to the whole country. They flock together from every quarter, and are thankful both to God and man. In the evening I preached at Stockport, where I received a strange account of poor William Hamilton, who left us to join the Quakers, and is as miserable as he can live, afraid to see any man lest he should kill him. Oh what a poor exchange has this unhappy man made !

Fri. 2.—About one I opened the new chapel at Davyhulme.³

¹ It was completed one year later, when Wesley saw it. The width of the bridge is 34 feet, and the weight of iron 378 tons. It was designed by the third Abraham Darby of the famous Coalbrookdale Company, and cast at their works. After an existence of 135 years it continues in excellent condition, and, as the first bridge ever built of cast-iron, it is still regarded as a wonder-

ful work. (*The Iron and Steel Times*, June 24, 1909.)

² During this visit a gathering was held at the house of Mr. Ryle (of whom see above, p. 14), ex-mayor. Preachers from the neighbourhood met Wesley by invitation. Robert Roe was present. See B. Smith's *Meth. in Macclesfield*, p. 136.

³ See *Meth. Rec.* June 1, 1905.

Sun. 4 (being *Easter Day*), was a solemn festival. In the afternoon I preached at Oldham, to such a congregation as I have not seen since I was in the Cornish amphitheatre. And all, beside a few giddy children, were seriously attentive.

Mon. 5.—I preached at Northwich.¹ I used to go on from hence to Little Leigh; but since Mr. Barker² is gone hence, that place knows us no more. I cannot but wonder at the infatuation of men that really love and fear God, and yet leave great part of, if not all, their substance to men that neither love nor fear Him! Surely if I did little good with my money while I lived, I would, at least, do good with it when I could live no longer.

Tues. 6.—I went to Mr. S[almon]'s at Nantwich,³ a nephew of Mr. Matthew S[almon]; who was, fifty years ago, one of our little company at Oxford, and was then both in person, in natural temper, and in piety, one of the loveliest young men I knew. Mr. Joseph S[almon] was then unborn, and was for many years without God in the world. But he is now as zealous in the works of God as he was once in the works of the devil.

¹ Joseph Benson says in his diary :

On April 5 Mr. Wesley preached on the different degrees of glory to be dispensed to the righteous at the day of judgement; but I could not quite agree with everything he said. . . .

Benson, who was stationed at Manchester, accompanied Wesley to several places in the neighbourhood. (*MS. Life, Conference Office Library.*)

² See above, p. 143.

³ The following is the entry, *Alumni Oxon.* : Salmon, Matthew, s. Charles, of Nantwich, Cheshire, gent., of Brasenose Coll., matric. Feb. 6, 1729–30, aged 16, B.A. 1733. He was a member of the Holy Club, one of the first Oxford Methodists. Like Clayton, Mr. Salmon became alienated from the Methodists. In 1748 he published the *Foreigner's Companion through the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge*. In it he described a service conducted in 1742 by 'Mr. Wesley, the Methodist of Christ Church,' who, he said, 'entertained his audience two hours; and, having in-

sulted and abused all degrees, from the highest to the lowest, was, in a manner, hissed out of the pulpit by the lads.' The victim of this unbrotherly and quite unjust attack was Charles Wesley, and the occasion the preaching before the University of Oxford of the well-known sermon 'Awake, thou that sleepest.' In his *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 71, Charles Wesley shows how untrue, in all particulars, was this description. Strange to say, a nephew of Mr. Salmon and some other branches of his family afterwards became Methodists. Miss Salmon was an intimate friend of Elizabeth Ritchie and Hester Ann Rogers. Joseph Wittingham Salmon, Matthew's nephew, was Wesley's host on this occasion at Nantwich. There is a letter from J. W. S[almon] to John Wesley (*Arm. Mag.* 1788, p. 217), dated Nantwich, July 7, 1777, telling of an inward call (as he believed) to preach; to which Wesley adds the note: 'What a lovely simplicity! What pity that such a spirit as his should fall among thieves!'

While I preached it was a season of strong consolation; but one young gentlewoman refused to be comforted. She followed me into Mr. S[almon]'s all in tears; but would neither touch meat nor drink. After I had spent a little time in prayer she broke out into prayer herself; and she did not cease till God turned her sorrow into joy unspeakable.

After preaching at Alpraham and Chester, on *Wednesday* I went on to Warrington. The proprietor of the new chapel had sent me word that I was welcome to preach in it; but he had now altered his mind, so I preached in our own¹; and I saw not one inattentive hearer.

I preached at Liverpool in the evening, and the next day; at Wigan on *Friday*; on *Saturday* and *Sunday*² at Bolton.

Mon. 12.—I preached at Bury about one; and in the evening at Rochdale. Now was the day of visitation for this town. The people were all on fire. Never was such a flame kindled here before, chiefly by the prayer-meetings scattered through the town.

Tues. 13.—I preached at nine to a crowded audience in the new house at Bacup; at one in the shell of the house at Padiham,³ where there is at length a prospect of peace, after abundance of disturbance, caused by one who neither fears God nor reverences man. In the evening I preached at Colne; but the people were still in such a panic that few durst go into the left-hand gallery.⁴

Wed. 14.—After a delightful ride through the mountains I preached first in Todmorden, and then in Heptonstall church.

¹ See *W.H.S.* vol. viii. p. 60, and vol. ix. p. 90. 'Our own' afterwards became the booking-office of Warrington's first railway station.

² He wrote to Mr. Gidley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 513).

³ Alexander Mather, who was superintendent of the Colne circuit at the time, tells the story of the building of the chapel at Padiham, in the shell of which Wesley preached; and a romantic story it is—the climax to the 'account' of himself, and of his adventures as a Methodist preacher, which Wesley asked him to write. Wesley's comment upon

the narrative is an admirable illustration of the purpose he had in view in all these accounts. He says, 'I observed to Mr. Mather that he had wholly omitted one considerable branch of his experience, touching what is properly termed "the great salvation."' See *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. ii. pp. 109–112, or *E.M.P.* vol. ii. pp. 186–9; also Moore's *Meth. in Burnley and East Lancashire*, pp. 46–8. Mr. Moore gives illustrations of the cottages on the site and of the chapel itself. See also Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 291.

⁴ See above, p. 154.

I afterwards lodged at the Ewood,¹ which I still love for good Mr. Grimshaw's sake.

Thur. 15.—I went to Halifax, where a little thing had lately occasioned great disturbance. An angel blowing a trumpet was placed on the sounding-board over the pulpit. Many were vehemently against this; others as vehemently for it. But a total end was soon put to the contest; for the angel vanished away.² The congregations, morning and evening, were very large; and the work of God seems to increase in depth as well as extent.

Sun. 18.—In the morning I preached in Haworth church; but in the afternoon I could not. Thousands upon thousands were gathered together, so that I was obliged to stand in the churchyard. And I believe all that stood still were able to hear distinctly.

Mon. 19.—I preached in Bingley church to a numerous congregation. I dined with Mr. Busfield in his little paradise³; but it can give no happiness unless God is there. Thence I went to Otley. Here also the work of God increases, particularly with regard to sanctification. And I think every one who has experienced it retains a clear witness of what God has wrought.

Thur. 22.⁴—I was a little surprised at a passage in Dr. Smollett's *History of England*,⁵ vol. xv. pp. 121, 122 :

Imposture and fanaticism still hang upon the skirts of religion. Weak minds were seduced by the delusions of a superstition, styled Methodism, raised upon the affectation of superior sanctity, and pre-

¹ The prefix 'the' was used colloquially. The Ewood was the farm occupied by Grimshaw's son.

² The vanishing of the 'little thing' led to much discussion. John Murlin determined not to preach under the angel's wings. Wesley came. The leaders were summoned, the votes for and against the angel were equal. Then John Hatton, of Lightcliffe, entered and gave a vote for the angel's removal. John Murlin hewed it in pieces, and it was burnt in the chapel yard. A quarrel ensued, and several influential members

left the society. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 292; J. U. Walker, *Meth. in Halifax*, p. 150.

³ See above, p. 205, and *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 31.

⁴ On April 23 Charles Wesley wrote from London to his brother about a proposed return of T. M. (possibly Thomas Maxfield), also of 'poor W.,' whom John Wesley was trying to save. He refers also to his sons' concert, and other matters of interest (*Arm. Mag.* 1789, p. 386).

⁵ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 232.

tensions to divine illumination. Many thousands were infected with this enthusiasm by the endeavours of a few obscure preachers, such as Whitefield, and the two Wesleys, who found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution.

Poor Dr. Smollett! Thus to transmit to all succeeding generations a whole heap of notorious falsehoods!

'Imposture and fanaticism!' Neither one nor the other had any share in the late revival of scriptural religion, which is no other than the love of God and man, gratitude to our Creator, and good-will to our fellow creatures. Is this delusion and superstition? No, it is real wisdom; it is solid virtue. Does this fanaticism 'hang upon the skirts of religion'? Nay, it is the very essence of it. Does the Doctor call this enthusiasm? Why? Because he knows nothing about it. Who told him that these 'obscure preachers' made 'pretensions to divine illumination'? How often has that silly calumny been refuted to the satisfaction of all candid men? However, they 'found means to lay the whole kingdom under contribution.' So does this frontless¹ man, blind and bold, stumble on without the least shadow of truth!

Meantime, what faith can be given to his history? What credit can any man of reason give to any fact upon *his* authority?

In travelling this week I looked over Baron Swedenborg's² *Account of Heaven and Hell*. He was a man of piety, of a strong understanding, and most lively imagination; but he had a violent fever when he was five-and-fifty years old, which quite overturned his understanding. Nor did he ever recover it; but it continued 'majestic, though in ruins.' From that time he was exactly in the state of that gentleman at Argos:

Qui se credebat miros audire tragoedos,
In vacuo laetus sessor plausorque theatro.³

(*Who wondrous tragedies was wont to hear,
Sitting alone in the empty theatre.*)

His words, therefore, from that time were *aegri somnia*, the dreams of a disordered imagination; just as authentic as

¹ See *Century Dictionary*.

² See above, vol. v. p. 354; also below, p. 351 n. His insanity is denied. His last work is said to be one of his

best, and comparatively free from enthusiasm.

³ Horace, *Ep.* ii. 2, 129-30. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 88.

Quevedo's *Visions of Hell*.¹ Of this work in particular I must observe that the doctrine contained therein is not only quite unproved, quite precarious from beginning to end, as depending entirely on the assertion of a single brain-sick man ; but that, in many instances, it is contradictory to Scripture, to reason, and to itself. But, over and above this, it contains many sentiments that are essentially and dangerously wrong. Such is that concerning the Trinity ; for he roundly affirms God to be only one person, who was crucified. So that he revives and openly asserts the long-exploded heresy of the Sabellians and Patripassians ; yea, and that of the Anthropomorphites, affirming that God constantly appears in heaven in the form of a man. And the worst is, he flatly affirms 'None can go to heaven who believes three persons in the Godhead.' Which is more than the most violent Arian or Socinian ever affirmed before.

Add to this, that his ideas of heaven are low, grovelling, just suiting a Mahometan paradise ; and his account of it has a natural tendency to sink our conceptions, both of the glory of heaven and of the inhabitants of it ; whom he describes as far inferior both in holiness and happiness to Gregory Lopez or Monsieur De Renty. And his account of hell leaves nothing terrible in it ; for, first, he quenches the unquenchable fire. He assures us there is no fire there ; only he allows that the governor of it, the devil, sometimes orders the spirits that behave ill to be 'laid on a bed of hot ashes.' And, secondly, he informs you that all the damned enjoy their favourite pleasures. He that delights in filth is to have his filth ; yea, and his harlot too ! Now, how dreadful a tendency must this have in such an age and nation as this ! I wish those pious men, Mr. Clowes² and Clotworthy, would calmly consider these things, before they usher into the world any more of this mad-man's dreams.

¹ Villegas Quevedo was one of the most original of Spanish writers. His *Suenos*, or *Visions*, touch the gravest themes, yet abound with wit and gaiety. They were translated into English by Sir Roger L'Estrange and passed through ten editions.

² John Clowes, M.A., Trin. Coll. Camb., was once a pupil of Wesley's Oxford friend, John Clayton. He afterwards embraced Swedenborg's doctrines, and published translations of a large portion of his writings, and several works in their support.

Mon. 26.—I preached at Huddersfield, where there is a great revival of the work of God. Many have found peace with God ; sometimes sixteen, eighteen, yea, twenty in one day. So that the deadly wound they suffered when their Predestinarian brethren left them is now fully healed ; and they are not only more lively, but more in number, than ever they were before.¹

Tues. 27.—I saw a melancholy sight indeed ! One that ten years ago was clearly perfected in love, but was worried by Mr. —, day and night, threaping² him down he was in a delusion, that at length it drove him stark mad. And so he continues to this day. Observe ! it was not Perfection drove this man mad, but the incessant teasing him with doubtful disputations.

Wed. 28.—I had promised to preach at six in the morning to the poor prisoners at Whitley. Though the ground was covered with snow, so many people flocked together that I was constrained to preach in the court of the prison. The snow continued to fall, and the north wind to whistle round us ; but I trust God warmed many hearts.

I preached at Wakefield in the evening ; *Thursday* the 29th at Rothwell and Leeds ; and on *Friday* noon at Harewood. In the afternoon we walked to Mr. Lascelles's³ house. It is finely situated on a little eminence, commanding a most delightful prospect of hill and dale and wood and water. It is built of a fine white stone, with two grand and beautiful fronts. I was not much struck with anything within. There is too much sameness in all the great houses I have seen in England ; two rows of large, square rooms, with costly beds, glasses, chairs and tables. But here is a profusion of wealth ; every pane of glass, we were informed, cost six-and-twenty shillings. One looking-glass cost five hundred pounds, and one bed, six hundred. The whole floor was just on the plan of Montague House, now the British Museum. The grounds round the house are pleasant indeed, particularly the walks on the river-

¹ See Rev. Joel Mallinson's *Hist. of Meth. in Huddersfield*, p. 38.

² Used by Scott and Carlyle : 'to aver, to maintain persistently' (see

Glossary in Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*).

³ Created Baron Harewood in 1796, and Earl of Harewood in 1812.

side, and through the woods.¹ But what has the owner thereof, save the beholding them with his eyes?

MAY I, *Sat.*—I looked over the first volume of Mr. Bryant's *Ancient Mythology*.² He seems to be a person of immense reading and indefatigable industry. But I have two objections to the whole work: (1) that his discoveries, being built chiefly on etymologies, carry no certainty in them; (2) that were they ever so certain, they are of no consequence. For instance, whether Chiron was a man or a mountain, and whether the Cyclops were giants or watch-towers, are points of no manner of importance, either to me or any man living.

Sun. 2.—Dr. Kershaw, the vicar of Leeds, desired me to assist him at the sacrament. It was a solemn season. We were ten clergymen, and seven or eight hundred communicants. Mr. Atkinson³ desired me to preach in the afternoon. Such a congregation had been seldom seen there; but I preached to a much larger in our own house at five, and I found no want of strength.

Fri. 7.—After having visited the intermediate societies⁴ I came to Darlington, and found some of the liveliest people in the north of England. All but one or two of the society are justified, great part of them partakers of the great salvation, and all of them seem to retain their first simplicity, and to be as teachable as little children.

Sun. 9.—I preached in the market-place, and all the congregation behaved well but a party of the Queen's Dragoons.

¹ Laid out by 'Capability Brown.'

² *A New System, or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology*. Wesley abridged vols. i. and ii. of the original edition. See *Arm. Mag.* 1783, 1784; also *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 232.

³ Myles Atkinson, son of an Oxford Methodist, Christopher Atkinson, who was vicar of Thorparch and Walton in 1749. His son rose to eminence. The famous 'Billy' Dawson was greatly benefited by his ministry and friendship in early life. When he invited Wesley to preach in the parish church, he was vicar of Kippax, lecturer of the parish

church in Leeds, and incumbent of St. Paul's. See Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 372. For an interesting story of his loss of preferment see memoir of Mrs. Sarah Townend of Manchester (formerly of Leeds), *W.M. Mag.* 1834, p. 888. Richard Burdsall, in his *Memoirs* (pp. 119 and 159), narrates two interesting incidents with reference to the Rev. Mr. Atkinson.

⁴ On the 5th, as we learn from Lyth's *Methodism in York*, Wesley preached three sermons and met the bands in York, admitting Miss Mortimer (afterwards Mrs. Pawson) to the select society.

Mon. 10.—I preached at Barnard Castle, and saw a quite different behaviour in the Durham Militia, the handsomest body of soldiers I ever saw, except in Ireland. The next evening they all came, both officers and soldiers, and were a pattern to the whole congregation. In my journey to Brough (where I preached at noon), I read over a volume of Dr. Blair's *Sermons*.¹ He is an elegant but not a deep writer, much resembling, but not equalling, Mr. Seed.² I do not remember that any day in January, February, or March was near so cold as this.

Wed. 12.³—After preaching at Cotherstone and in Teesdale I went a little out of my way to see one of the wonders of nature.⁴ The river Tees rushes down between two rocks, and falls sixty feet perpendicular into a basin of water sixty feet deep. In the evening I preached to the lovely congregation in Weardale, and the next day went on to Newcastle.

Sun. 16.—I preached at Gateshead Fell in the morning, and in the new house near Sheephill at noon. Here the work of God greatly revives; many are lately convinced of sin, and many enabled, from day to day, to rejoice in God their Saviour.

Mon. 17.—About noon I preached at [North] Shields, and in the evening at Sunderland.

Tues. 18.—I read prayers and preached at Monkwearmouth church,⁵ and *Thursday* the 20th returned to Newcastle.

Sun. 23.—In the morning I preached at Ballast Hills; about two at the Fell; about five at the Garth Heads. The congregation was double to that at the Fell, and I trust God gave us a double blessing.

¹ They were published by the intervention of Johnson, who said, 'I love them.'

² See above, vol. v. p. 119.

³ On May 15 he wrote to his sister, Mrs. Martha Hall (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ The reference seems to be to the High Force, near Middleton. The river falls sixty-nine feet, and the roar can be heard for miles around. See mention of this 'force' in Scott's *Rokeby*.

⁵ On Wednesday, May 19, 1779, he preached at Burn Moor Farm, near

Sunderland, in the barn of Mr. Ralph Wylam, from 2 Cor. v. 17. One convert was Martha Wylam, aged eight. Her granddaughter, Miss Emmerson, of Sunderland, in 1906 gave our informant, the Rev. B. A. Hurd Barley, a page of the Bible from which Wesley preached. She also possessed a little silk shawl which her grandmother wore during the service. For many years the stool on which Wesley sat in the little pulpit was preserved by the family. It brought a small income to the Foreign Missionary Society.

Mon. 24.—I preached at five in the Orphan House ; about nine at Plessey ; at noon at the market-house at Morpeth. Many soldiers who were marching through the town came in, and the power of the Lord was present to heal. In the evening I preached in the court-house at Alnwick, and at night was no more tired than in the morning.

Tues. 25.—We walked through the castle. Two of the rooms are more elegant than even those at Harewood House. But it is not a profusion of ornaments (they are exceeding plain and simple), it is not an abundance of gold and silver, but a *je ne sçai quoi*, that strikes every person of taste.

In the evening I preached in the town-hall at Berwick. Many officers as well as soldiers were there, and the whole congregation seemed much affected. Shall we see fruit at Berwick also ?

*Wed. 26.*¹—We had such a congregation at Dunbar as I have not seen there for many years.

Thur. 27.—I went on to Edinburgh.² I was agreeably surprised at the singing in the evening. I have not heard such female voices, so strong and clear, anywhere in England.

Fri. 28.—I went to Glasgow and preached in the house, but the next evening by the river-side.

Sun. 30.—At seven I spoke exceeding strong words in applying the parable of the Sower. In the afternoon I went to the English chapel. But how was I surprised ! Such decency have I seldom seen even at West Street or the new room in Bristol. (1) All, both men and women, were dressed plain : I did not see one high head³ ; (2) no one took notice of any one at coming in, but, after a short ejaculation, sat quite still ; (3) none spoke to any one during the service, nor looked either on one side or the other ; (4) all stood, every man, woman, and child, while the Psalms were sung ; (5) instead of

¹ He wrote to Mrs. Rebecca Gains (or Gair) (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 509).

² It was during this visit that Boswell presented to Wesley the letter of introduction from Dr. Johnson before referred to. Boswell wanted to examine more strictly the question of the Newcastle ghost story (May 25, 1768). It had

been the subject of several conversations between Boswell and Johnson, in conjunction with which Wesley's name always arose. See above, vol. v. p. 266 (*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, p. 372, Fitzgerald ed.).

³ See above, p. 216 n.

an unmeaning voluntary was an anthem, and one of the simplest and sweetest I ever heard ; (6) the prayers, preceding a sound, useful sermon, were seriously and devoutly read ; (7) after service, none bowed or curtseyed or spoke, but went quietly and silently away.

After church, I preached again by the river-side, to a huge multitude of serious people ; I believe full as many more as we had the Sunday before at Newcastle. Surely we shall not lose all our labour here.

Mon. 31.—I returned to Edinburgh ; and, JUNE 1, set out on my northern journey. In the evening I preached at Dundee. The congregation was, as usual, very large and deeply attentive. But that was all. I did not perceive that any one was affected at all. I admire this people ; so decent, so serious, and so perfectly unconcerned.

Wed. 2.—We went on to Arbroath, where was near as large a congregation as at Dundee, but nothing so serious. The poor Glassites¹ here, pleading for a merely notional faith, greatly hinder either the beginning or the progress of any real work of God.

Thur. 3.—I preached at Aberdeen to a people that can feel as well as hear.

Fri. 4.—I set out for Inverness, and about eight preached at Inverurie to a considerable number of plain country people, just like those we see in Yorkshire. My spirit was much refreshed among them, observing several of them in tears. Before we came to Strathbogie² (now new-named Huntly), Mr. Brackenbury was much fatigued.³ So I desired him to go into the chaise, and rode forward to Keith.

Mr. Gordon, the minister, invited us to drink tea at his house. In the evening I went to the market-place. Four children, after they had stood a while to consider, ventured to come near me ;

¹ See Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 183.

² A district consisting of the small vale of the river Bogie. Two old parishes were united in 1727, and were renamed Huntly (not 'ley') in compliment to the Duke of Gordon's eldest son.

³ Robert Carr Brackenbury (for whose early life see above, p. 115) accompanied Wesley on this preaching-tour.

In a letter to Joseph Benson, dated March 2, 1779, he says : ' In the month of May Mr. Wesley has given me leave to accompany him into Scotland ; so that, unless I return with Collins into Lincolnshire the beginning of next month, which I may probably do, I shall not visit these parts again till the latter end of June ' (*MS. Life of Benson*).

then a few men and women crept forward ; till we had upwards of a hundred. At nine on *Sunday* the 6th I suppose they were doubled ; and some of them seemed a little affected. I dined at Mr. Gordon's, who behaved in the most courteous, yea, and affectionate manner. At three I preached in the kirk, one of the largest I have seen in the kingdom, but very ruinous. It was thoroughly filled, and God was there in an uncommon manner. He sent forth His voice, yea, and that a mighty voice ; so that I believe many of the stout-hearted trembled. In the evening I preached once more in the market-place, on those awful words, 'Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.'

Mon. 7.—I came to Grange Green, near Forres, about twelve o'clock. But I found the house had changed its master since I was here before, nine years ago.¹ Mr. Grant (who then lived here in his brother's house) was now Sir Lodovick Grant ; having succeeded to the title and estate of Sir Alexander, dying without issue.² But his mind was not changed with his fortune. He received me with cordial affection, and insisted on my sending for Mrs. Smith and her little girl,³ whom I had left at Forres. We were all here as at home, in one of the most healthy and most pleasant situations in the kingdom ; and I had the satisfaction to observe my daughter sensibly recovering her strength almost every hour. In the evening all the family were called in to prayers ; to whom I first expounded a portion of Scripture. Thus ended this comfortable day. So has God provided for us in a strange land !

¹ See above, vol. v. pp. 75-6.

² These were Grants of the Dalvey family, and are not to be confounded with the Grants of Monymusk, although a member of each family showed kindness to Wesley on his visits to Scotland. Sir Lodovick was the fourth baronet, and his brother, Sir Alexander, whom he succeeded, was the third. Their grandfather, Sir James, was the first baronet, created in 1688, because he so ably filled the office of King's Advocate. Sir Lodovick James Grant, the ninth baronet, is now (1915) Regius Professor of Public

Law in the University of Edinburgh.

³ Wesley had with him on this journey his step-daughter, Mrs. Smith (*née* Jane Vazeille), the wife of his friend William Smith of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and one of her little girls. This fact, strange to say, not one of Wesley's biographers has noted. Wesley left Newcastle a fortnight before he arrived at Sir Lodovick Grant's. And no doubt his daughter (i.e. his wife's daughter) travelled with him in the chaise for the benefit of her health. For the future of Wesley's two step-granddaughters see above, p. 28.

Tues. 8.—I found another hearty welcome from Mr. Dunbar, the minister of Nairn.¹ A little after ten I preached in his kirk, which was full from end to end. I have seldom seen a Scotch congregation so sensibly affected. Indeed it seemed that God smote the rocks, and brake the hearts of stone in pieces.

In the afternoon I reached Inverness, but found a new face of things there. Good Mr. M'Kenzie² had been for some years removed to Abraham's bosom. Mr. Fraser, his colleague, a pious man of the old stamp, was likewise gone to rest. The three present ministers are of another kind ; so that I have no more place in the kirk ; and the wind and rain would not permit me to preach on the Green. However, our house was large, though gloomy enough. Being now informed (which I did not suspect before), that the town was uncommonly given to drunkenness, I used the utmost plainness of speech ; and I believe not without effect. I then spent some time with the society, increased from twelve to between fifty and sixty. Many of these knew in whom they had believed, and many were going on to perfection ; so that all the pains which have been taken to stop the work of God here have hitherto been in vain.

*Wed. 9.*³—We had another rainy day, so that I was again driven into the house ; and again I delivered my own soul, to a larger congregation than before. In the morning we had an affectionate parting, perhaps to meet no more. I am glad, however, that I have made three journeys to Inverness. It has not been lost labour.

Between ten and eleven I began preaching at Nairn. The house was pretty well filled again ; and many more of the gentry were there than were present on Tuesday. It pleased God to give me again liberty of speech in opening and applying those words, 'God is a Spirit ; and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth.'

About two we reached Sir Lodovick Grant's. In the evening we had a very serious congregation. Afterwards I spent an hour very agreeably with the family and two or three neighbouring gentlemen.

¹ See above, vol. v. p. 364.

² Ibid. p. 364, and below, p. 505.

³ He wrote *Thoughts on the Power of Music* (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 470).

Fri. 11.—We did not stop at Keith, but went on to Strathbogie. Here we were in a clean, convenient house, and had everything we wanted. All the family very willingly joined us in prayer. We then slept in peace.

Sat. 12.—About one I preached at Inverurie, to a larger congregation than before, and was again refreshed with the simplicity and earnestness of the plain country people. In the evening I preached at Aberdeen.

Sun. 13.¹—I spoke as closely as I could, both morning and evening, and made a pointed application to the hearts of all that were present. I am convinced that this is the only way whereby we can do any good in Scotland. This very day I heard many excellent truths delivered in the kirk; but, as there was no application, it was likely to do as much good as the singing of a lark. I wonder the pious ministers in Scotland are not sensible of this. They cannot but see that no sinners are convinced of sin, none converted to God, by this way of preaching. How strange is it, then, that neither reason nor experience teaches them to take a better way!

Mon. 14.—I preached again at Arbroath, *Tuesday* the 15th at Dundee, and *Wednesday* the 16th² at Edinburgh.³

Thur. 17.—I examined the society. In five years I found five members had been gained!—ninety-nine being increased to a hundred and four. What, then, have our preachers been doing all this time? (1) They have preached four evenings in the week, and on Sunday morning; the other mornings they have fairly given up. (2) They have taken great care not to speak

¹ On June 13 he wrote from Aberdeen to Thomas Carlill, Witney. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

² Charles Wesley wrote from London to his brother. The letter reveals a curious dispute in which are involved the preachers at City Road Chapel (John Pawson, Thomas Rankin, and Thomas Tennant) and the 'clergy,' including John Richardson, Dr. Coke, and Charles Wesley himself. The complaint made by the former was that Charles Wesley served the chapel on Sunday afternoons as well as in the morning. He (Charles) adds the following: 'My reasons for preaching there

[at the new chapel] twice every Sunday are: (1) because after you I have the best right; (2) because I have so short a time to preach anywhere; (3) because I am fully persuaded I can do more good there than in any other place. They, I know, are of a different judgement, and make no secret of it, declaring everywhere, "That the work is stopping, the society scattering, the congregation at the new chapel dwindled away and quite dead."' (*Arm. Mag.* 1789, p. 441; Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 221.)

³ Wesley met Boswell here. See above, p. 235 (note 2).

too plain, lest they should give offence. (3) When Mr. Brackenbury preached the old Methodist doctrine one of them said, 'You must not preach such doctrine here. The doctrine of Perfection is not calculated for the meridian of Edinburgh.' Waiving, then, all other hindrances, is it any wonder that the work of God has not prospered here?

On *Friday* and *Saturday*¹ I preached with all possible plainness; and some appeared to be much stirred up. On *Sunday* the 20th I preached at eight and at half an hour past twelve; and God gave us a parting blessing. I was in hopes of preaching abroad at Dunbar in the evening, but the rain would not permit.

Mon. 21.—I preached in the court-house at Alnwick; and finding the people were greatly alarmed with the news of the French and Spanish fleets,² I opened and applied 'Say ye to the righteous, it shall be well with him.' I believe many laid hold of the promise, and were not a little comforted.

Tues. 22.—Finding the panic had spread to Newcastle, I strongly enforced those words, 'The Lord sitteth above the water-floods; the Lord reigneth³ a King for ever.'

Wed. 23.—I rested here. Lovely place, and lovely company! But I believe there is another world; therefore I must 'arise and go hence!'

Thur. 24.—I preached at Stockton-upon-Tees at noon and at Yarm in the evening.

Fri. 25.—At two in the afternoon I preached to a lovely congregation at Potto, and to such another at Hutton Rudby. I was afterwards agreeably surprised in examining the select society. Many of them have been members thereof for near twenty years, and not one of them has lost the pure love of God ever since they first received it.

Sat. 26.—After preaching at Stokesley and Guisborough, I went on to our loving, earnest brethren at Whitby; just of the same spirit with those at Darlington, in the opposite point of the circuit.

Sun. 27.—I preached at eight in the room, and at five in

¹ On June 19 he wrote from Edinburgh to Samuel Bradburn (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 315).

² See below, p. 253.

³ 1st ed. 'remaineth.'

the market-place to a huge congregation. They were deeply attentive; but no more affected than the stones they stood upon.

Mon. 28.—I preached in the new preaching-house¹ at Robin Hood's Bay, and then went on to Scarborough. *Tuesday* the 29th I spent agreeably and profitably with my old friends, and in my way to Bridlington, *Wednesday* the 30th, took a view of Flamborough Head. It is a huge rock, rising perpendicular from the sea to an immense height,² which gives shelter to an innumerable multitude of sea-fowl of various kinds. I preached in the evening at Bridlington, and afterwards heard a very uncommon instance of paternal affection. A gentleman of the town had a favourite daughter, whom he set up in a milliner's shop. Some time after she had a concern for her soul, and believed it her duty to enter into the society. Upon this her *good* father forbid her his house, demanding all the money he had laid out; and required her instantly to sell all her goods in order to make the payment!

In this journey I looked over the *History of Whitby*, in which are many curious things. Among others, there is an account of St. Ninian, a monk of Whitby Abbey, long before the Conquest. Here is also an account of the father of the Percy³ family; he came over with William the Conqueror, and took his name from a town in Normandy.⁴ So the pretty tale of piercing the eye of the Scotch King proves to be mere invention!

JULY 1, Thur.—This was the first of eighteen or twenty days full as hot as any I remember in Georgia; and yet the season is remarkably healthy. I preached in Beverley at noon, and at Hull in the evening.

Sat. 3.—I reached Grimsby, and found a little trial. In this, and many other parts of the kingdom, those striplings who call themselves Lady Huntingdon's preachers have greatly hindered the work of God. They have neither sense, courage, nor grace to go and beat up the devil's quarters in any place where Christ

¹ This chapel, enlarged in 1848, is still in use.

² The highest point is 450 ft.; below are caverns.

³ William de Percy.

⁴ In Camden's *Remains*, too, the name is included amongst those 'deduced from places in Normandy and the countries confining.'

has not been named; but wherever we have entered as by storm, and gathered a few souls, often at the peril of our lives, they creep in, and, by doubtful disputations, set every one's sword against his brother. One of these has just crept into Grimsby, and is striving to divide the poor little flock; but I hope his labour will be in vain, and they will still hold 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'

Sun. 4.—I had designed to preach abroad at Louth; but the rain drove us into the house. In the evening I expounded and strongly applied the story of Dives and Lazarus. The whole congregation, except a few poor gentlemen, behaved with decency.

Mon. 5.—I preached about eleven at Langham Row,¹ to a congregation gathered from many miles round, on 'How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!' As a great part of them were athirst for perfect love, they drank in every word. In the afternoon we went to Raithby. It is a small village on the top of a hill. The shell of Mr. Brackenbury's house was just finished, near which he has built a little chapel.² It was quickly filled with deeply serious hearers. I was much comforted among them, and could not but observe, while the landlord and his tenants were standing together, how

Love, like death, makes all distinctions void.³

Tues. 6.—After an absence of near twenty years,⁴ I once more visited poor Coningsby, and preached at eleven in their new preaching-house to a plain, simple people. In the evening I took my usual stand in the market-place at Horncastle. The wild men were more quiet than usual; I suppose, because they

¹ In the marshes of Lincolnshire. Mr. G. Robinson, of this place, wrote to Wesley on July 6, 1775. It is a remarkable letter, and might have been entitled 'A story of the Providence of God Illustrated.' Wesley published it in the *Arm. Mag.* 1787, p. 496. See below, p. 286.

² Robert Carr Brackenbury built Raithby Hall as a new residence for himself in place of Penton House, in

which he was born. The chapel is still in use. See *Meth. Rec.* Dec. 31, 1903.

³ See Prior's *Solomon*, iii. 242. Charles Wesley utilized Prior's words in his Hymn on the Communion of Saints, *Meth. Hymn-Bk.* (1904) 689, v. 7; *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, p. 188; see also Rev. Henry Bett's *Hymns of Methodism in their Literary Relations*, p. 98.

⁴ See above, vol. iv. p. 305.

saw Mr. Brackenbury standing by me, whom they knew to be in Commission for the Peace for this part of the county.

Wed. 7.—I preached at Sturton and Gainsborough; and *Thursday* the 8th at Scotter, where the poor people walk 'in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost.' In the evening I preached at Owston; and on *Friday* the 9th, went on to Epworth. How true is this trite remark,

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos
Ducit, et immemores non sinet esse sui!¹

(*The natal soil, to all how strangely sweet!*
The place where first he breathed, who can forget!)

In the evening I took my usual stand in the market-place; but had far more than the usual congregation.

*Sat. 10.*²—Taking a solitary walk in the churchyard, I felt the truth of 'One generation goeth, and another cometh.' See how the earth drops its inhabitants as the tree drops its leaves!

Sun. 11.—About eight I preached at Misterton,³ and about one at Upperthorpe. But good Alice Shadford⁴ was not there. She was long 'a mother in Israel,' a burning and shining light, an unexceptionable instance of perfect love. After spending near a hundred years on earth, she was some months since transplanted to paradise.

So general an outpouring of God's Spirit we had seldom known as we had at Epworth in the afternoon.

Like mighty wind, or torrent fierce,
It did opposers all o'errun.⁵

Oh that they may no more harden their hearts, lest God should swear, 'They shall not enter into My rest'!

Mon. 12.—I preached at Crowle, and afterwards searched the churchyard, to find the tomb of Mr. Ashbourn.⁶ We could

¹ Ovid, *Ep. ex Pont.* i. 3, 35, 36. *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 88.

² He wrote from Epworth to Samuel Bradburn (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 124), and to Duncan McAllum (*Tyerman's Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 293).

³ To a great crowd in the open air on John vii. 37, 39. Mr. Robert Moss, then a boy, was powerfully impressed by the

sermon. (*W.M. Mag.* 1856, p. 301.)

⁴ A relation of George Shadford's, who for twenty years prayed for his conversion. See *E.M.P.* vol. vi. p. 158.

⁵ Altered from *Meth. Hymn-Bk.* No. 223, v. 2, where, according to Dr. Osborn, it is altered (presumably by J. or C. Wesley) from Dr. H. More (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 219).

⁶ See above, vol. v. p. 378.

find nothing of it there. At length we found a large flat stone in the church; but the inscription was utterly illegible, the letters being filled up with dust. However, we made a shift to pick it out; and then read as follows:

Here lies the Body

OF

MR. SOLOMON ASHBOURN.¹

He died in 1711, and solemnly bequeathed the following verses to his parishioners:

‘Ye stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye.’—Acts vii. 51.

‘I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain: yet surely my judgement is with the Lord, and my work with my God.’—Isa. xlix. 4.

But that generation, which was abandoned to all wickedness, is gone; so are most of their children. And there is reason to hope that the curse entailed on them and their children is gone also; for there is now a more lively work of God here than in any of the neighbouring places.

Tues. 13.—About noon I preached at Swinefleet, under the shade of some tall elms. At six in the evening I preached on the Green at Thorne to a multitude of people. The work of God goes on swiftly here; many are awakened, many converted to God.

Wed. 14.—I preached to an elegant congregation at Doncaster; in the evening to a numerous one at Rotherham.

Thur. 15.—I preached in Paradise Square, in Sheffield, to the largest congregation I ever saw on a week-day.

Fri. 16.—I preached in the evening at Derby to many genteel and many plain people.

¹ Wesley here and above (vol. v. p. 378), quotes from memory, and incorrectly. The following, obtained by the Rev. S. Adcock for *W.H.S.* (vol. iv. pp. 182–3), is exact:

Here lies in the Grave of his Dear Wife
Formerly deceased ye Body of Solomon
Ashbourn M A late Vicar and Patron of this

Vicarage who Died the 13th of January
of our Lord's Incarnation 1711 in the year of
his own age 67. And after His many years
Labours for ye lasting happiness of ye
Whole Parish He being dead yet speaketh
to such Parishioners as are under strong
Delusion and Wickedness.

St. Stephen Acts 7. 51 in the words of the
Prophet in Isai. 49. 4.

Sat. 17.—I preached at noon in Castle Donington; but in the open air, for there was no enduring the house.¹ Yet they persuaded me to preach within at Nottingham in the evening; but the house was as hot as an oven.

Sun. 18.—I made shift to preach in the room at eight; but at five I went to the Cross. We had a London congregation; and all as well behaved as if they had been in Moorfields.

One who had left us to join the Quakers desired to be present at the lovefeast; in the close of which, being able to contain himself no longer, he broke out and declared he must join us again. I went home with him; and, after spending some time in prayer, left him full of love and thankfulness.

Mon. 19.—At five [a.m.] our house was quite filled with people, and with the presence of God. Farewell, ye loving, lovely followers of the Lamb! May ye still adorn the doctrine of God your Saviour!

About nine I preached in the market-place at Loughborough, about noon at Griffydam, and in the evening at Ashby [-de-la-Zouch].

Tues. 20.—I preached in Markfield church about noon; and in the evening at Leicester, where we had an exceeding solemn time while I described the Son of Man coming in His glory.

Wed. 21.—The house was filled at five, and we had another solemn opportunity. About eight, calling at Hinckley, I was desired to preach; as also at Foleshill, ten or twelve miles farther. When I came to Coventry I found notice had been given for my preaching in the park; but the heavy rain prevented. I sent to the mayor desiring the use of the town-hall. He refused; but the same day gave the use of it to a dancing-master.² I then went to the women's market. Many soon

¹ Of which the *W.M. Mag.* (1823, p. 753) writes: 'This (the old) house was built about fifty-one or two years ago upon the same site on which the new one is now (1823) erected, and was opened by Mr. James Kershaw.' In these primitive times of Methodism it was considered the best in the neighbourhood. Probably it was on this occasion

that Mrs. Bowman, afterwards for many years a useful class-leader, heard Wesley preach. (*Meth. Mag.* 1801, p. 205.)

² Cf. below, July 11, 1786. The park, of 465 acres, lay outside the city walls on the south side. It was part of the Duke of Cornwall's estate, leased to the city, and used as a recreation ground, but sold in 1793 by order of Parliament

gathered together, and listened with all seriousness. I preached there again the next morning, *Thursday* the 22nd, and again in the evening. Then I took coach for London. I was nobly attended; behind the coach¹ were ten convicted felons, loudly blaspheming and rattling their chains; by my side sat a man with a loaded blunderbuss, and another upon the coach.

Sun. 25.²—Both the chapels were full enough. On *Monday* I retired to Lewisham to write.

AUG. 3,³ *Tues.*—Our Conference began, which continued and ended in peace and love.⁴

Sun. 8.—I was at West Street in the morning, and at the new chapel in the evening, when I took a solemn leave of the affectionate congregation. This was the last night which I spent at the Foundery. What hath God wrought there in one-and-forty years!

to pay the Regent's debts. Factories, small houses, and allotment gardens now occupy the site. Whitefield preached there in 1751. St. Mary's Hall, originally a Guild Hall, has been used as a Town Hall for 500 years. It remains one of the architectural gems of the city. George Eliot describes it in *Adam Bede*, ch. xliii. The Women's Market, a rude structure open at the sides, stood on what is now called Market Square. It was demolished in 1865 to make room for the new Market Hall.

¹ In the wicker 'basket,' which was without seats, and, resting on the axle-tree, was without springs. (*W.H.S.* vol. vii. pp. 51-2.)

² On July 24 he wrote from London to John Bredin, at Charles Harrison's in Limerick (see new ed. *Wesley Letters*); also to Miss Lingston of Inverness, who married D. McAllum (*Meth. Mag.* 1814, p. 205). On July 29 he wrote from London to Mrs. Woodhouse, Epworth (new ed. *Wesley Letters*). On July 31 he wrote from London to Alexander Knox (see *Remains*, vol. iv. p. 12; on Aug. 4 to Duncan McAllum,

announcing the allotment of two preachers for Inverness and Keith, two for Aberdeen and country places adjoining, and arranging in some detail for interchanges (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

³ On Aug. 5 he wrote from London to Samuel Bradburn, giving him permission to 'give away as many of our *Political Tracts* as you please,' &c. His commendation of John Bredin includes: 'I think he loves the King.' The letter adds: 'You did well in lending the preaching-house to the Army. I would show them all the respect that is in my power.' See new ed. of *Wesley Letters*.

⁴ Mr. William Smith, of Newcastle, attended this Conference, the chief object of his long journey being to propose terms of reconciliation between Mr. and Mrs. Wesley. 'I talked,' says he in a letter to Benson, 'freely to both parties, and did all in my power to lay a foundation for future union; but alas! all my attempts proved unsuccessful. I had to leave matters no better than I found them. It is, indeed, a melancholy affair, and, I am afraid, productive of bad consequences' (*MS. Life of Benson*).

PART THE NINETEENTH

THE JOURNAL

FROM AUGUST 9, 1779, TO SEPTEMBER 3, 1782

Wesley's published Sermons are strong, yet not without the pascination of pulpit glow. As formal statements of theological truth they serve the Methodist Churches as wellnigh perfect doctrinal standards. But they do not account, any more than do the printed sermons of George Whitefield, for the popularity of the preacher. For many years before his 'conversion' Wesley wrote sermons in lucid idiomatic English, and read or recited them in the pulpit. It is remarkable that his adoption of extempore preaching should have dated not from Moorfields but from a central city church, and from a period prior to his evangelical conversion (see above, p. 96). To what extent, or in what proportions, the read sermon and the extemporaneous address were used throughout his long career cannot now be determined. Two facts only are certain: (1) The Diary makes it clear that down to a very late date he carefully composed and wrote sermons; and (2) almost to the last he revelled in the freedom of open-air preaching, an exercise that precluded the use of a manuscript. Independent witnesses describe his preaching as 'colloquial,' a term which cannot be applied to the published sermons. Only one sermon (see above, p. 17) seems to have been printed from a shorthand writer's notes. It does not help us to account for the preacher's popularity. According to the testimony of contemporary hearers and witnesses, his personal appearance, voice, and intense earnestness accounted for much. Moreover, he was what, in modern parlance, would be called an 'up-to-date' preacher. When asked to preach in parish church or town hall, in dissenting meeting-house or Methodist preaching-house, in homely cottage or stately castle hall, or in the open air, he was always ready, and ready with something befitting the occasion. In early days Wesley preached in consecrated buildings only. In Kingswood, the great Nature Temple was thrown open; coincidentally the parish churches were closed. Thirty or forty years later, the sacred doors were slowly reopened. Before the long day drew to an end, the fields, the rapidly uprising Methodist chapels, and the noblest churches in the land welcomed the venerable preacher and the crowds who hung on his words.

THE JOURNAL

From August 9, 1779, to September 3, 1782

1779. AUG. 9, *Mon.*—I set out for Wales, with my brother and his family. In the evening I preached at Oxford; the next at Witney.

Wed. [11].—We went on to Gloucester, where I preached with much satisfaction to a crowded audience.

Thur. 12.—We went on to Monmouth, where the late storm is blown over.¹ I preached at six in the evening, but did not observe one inattentive person then any more than at five in the morning.

Fri. 13.—As I was going down a steep pair of stairs my foot slipped, and I fell down several steps. Falling on the edge of one of them, it broke the case of an almanack which was in my pocket all to pieces; the edge of another stair met my right buckle, and snapped the steel chape² of it in two: but I was not hurt. So doth our good Master give His angels charge over us! In the evening I preached at Brecknock; and, leaving my brother there, on *Saturday* the 14th went forward to Carmarthen.

This evening, and in the morning, *Sunday* the 15th, the new preaching-house contained the congregation; but in the afternoon we had, I think, the largest congregation I ever saw in Wales. I preached on the Gospel for the day, the story of the Pharisee and the Publican; and I believe many were constrained to cry out, for the present, 'God be merciful to me a sinner!'

¹ Two years before (July 9, 1777) disturbance was expected, but did not happen. The 'storm' to which he now refers may have been some more recent but unrecorded internal dispute.

² See Murray's *Eng. Dict.* 'The part

of the buckle by which it is fastened to a strap or belt. . . . Some belts are made with a metal chape, i.e. a stirrup buckle; an ordinary strap buckle is made without, and attached by a chape of leather.'

Mon. 16.—In the evening I preached in the market-place again, to a very serious congregation; many of whom were in tears, and felt the word of God to be sharper than a two-edged sword.

Tues. 17.—Having some steep mountains to climb, I took a pair of post-horses. About four miles from the town one of them began to kick and flounce, without any visible cause, till he got one of his legs over the pole. Mr. Broadbent¹ and I then came out of the chaise and walked forward. While the drivers were setting the chaise right, the horses ran back almost to the town; so that we did not reach Llwynygwair till between two and three o'clock. Mr. Bowen² was not returned from a journey to Glasgow. However, I spent a very comfortable evening with Mrs. Bowen and the rest of the family.

Wed. 18.—I preached about ten in Newport church, and then we went on to Haverfordwest. Here we had a very different congregation, both as to number and spirit; and we found the society striving together for the hope of the gospel.

Thur. 19.—We went over to Trecwn, one of the loveliest places in Great Britain. The house stands in a deep valley, surrounded with tall woods, and them with lofty mountains. But, as Admiral Vaughan was never married, this ancient family will soon come to an end. At two I preached in Newcastle church, and in the evening at Haverford[west].

Fri. 20.—Many of us met at noon and spent a solemn hour in intercession for our King and country.³ In the evening the house was thoroughly filled with people of all denominations. I believe that all felt that God was there, and that He was no respecter of persons.

Sat. 21.—I went to Pembroke. Understanding that a large number of American prisoners were here, in the evening I took my stand over against the place where they were confined, so that they all could hear distinctly. Many of them seemed much affected. Oh that God may set their souls at liberty!

¹ One of the itinerant preachers (Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 68).

² See above, vol. v. p. 483. It has been thought that Mrs. Grace Bowen, Mrs. Charles Wesley's nurse (C. W.'s *Funeral Hymns*, Osborn's *Poetical Works of J. and C. Wesley*, vol. vi. pp. 239-44,

and *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 197), was a member of this family—as indeed she may have been. But it should be remembered that the Bowens of Llwynygwair were of higher degree than the Gwynnes of Garth.

³ On account of the American War.

Sun. 22.—Mr. Rees,¹ a neighbouring clergyman, assisting me, I began at St. Daniel's between nine and ten. The congregation came from many miles round, and many of them were greatly refreshed. While we rode to Haverford[west] after dinner, I think it was full as hot as it uses to be in Georgia, till about five o'clock a violent shower exceedingly cooled the air; but it ceased in half an hour, and we had then such a congregation as was scarce ever seen here before: and, though many of the gentry were there, yet a solemn awe spread over the whole assembly.

Mon. 23.—I came once more to Carmarthen. Finding the people here (as indeed in every place) under a deep consternation through the terrible reports² which flew on every side, I cried aloud in the market-place, 'Say ye unto the righteous, it shall be well with him.' God made it a word in season to them, and many were no longer afraid.

Tues. 24.—Setting out immediately after preaching, about eight I preached at Kidwelly, about nine miles from Carmarthen, to a very civil and unaffected congregation. At eleven, though the sun was intensely hot, I stood at the end of the churchyard in Llanelly,³ and took occasion from a passing-bell strongly to enforce those words, 'It is appointed unto men once to die.' About six I preached at Swansea to a large congregation, without feeling any weariness.

Wed. 25.—I preached at five; and about eight in the town-hall at Neath. In the afternoon I preached in the church near Bridgend,⁴ to a larger congregation than I ever saw there before;

¹ In the *Arm. Mag.* (1785, p. 604) will be found a letter from the Rev. John Rees to John Wesley, dated Llan-granog, Dec. 18, 1772. Mr. Rees, after referring to Wesley's reply to Taylor's Treatise on Original Sin and to his famous neighbour the Rev. D. Rowland, asks his advice with reference to the purchase of books. He particularly wishes to see a pamphlet in which, so he has been told, Wesley says 'a Pagan may be saved, provided he lives up to the advantages he has received.' One would like to see Wesley's reply to this letter. Cf. *Works*, vol. viii. p. 337.

² A French invasion was threatened. There were no regular troops in Ireland to meet invaders. Ireland, at the instigation of American agents, was clamouring for independence, and was full of disloyal associations. Lord North and his Ministry were unpopular. The American War had already added sixty-three millions to the national debt. The Spanish Ambassador had left London, leaving behind a hostile manifesto.

³ A commanding position, with a view of the Market Booths, Llanelly House, and the church.

⁴ See above, vol. v. p. 429.

and at six, in the town-hall at Cowbridge, much crowded, and hot enough. The heat made it a little more difficult to speak ; but, by the mercy of God, I was no more tired when I had done than when I rose in the morning.

Thur. 26.—I preached at five and again at eleven. I think this was the happiest time of all. The poor and the rich seemed to be equally affected. Oh how are the times changed at Cowbridge since the people compassed the house where I was, and poured in stones from every quarter!¹ But my strength was then according to my day ; and (blessed be God !) so it is still.

In the evening I preached in the large hall at Mr. Matthews's² in Llandaff. And will the rich also hear the words of eternal life ? ' With God all things are possible.'

Fri. 27.—I preached at Cardiff about noon and at six in the evening. We then went on to Newport ; and, setting out early in the morning, reached Bristol in the afternoon.

Sun. 29.—I had a very large number of communicants. It was one of the hottest days I have known in England. The thermometer rose to eighty degrees—as high as it usually rises in Jamaica.

Being desired to visit a dying man on Kingsdown, I had no time but at two o'clock. The sun shone without a cloud ; so that I had a warm journey. But I was well repaid ; for the poor sinner found peace. At five I preached to an immense multitude in the square ; and God comforted many drooping souls.

Mon. 30.—I set out for the west, and in the evening preached at Taunton on ' Walk worthy of the Lord.'

Tues. 31.—After preaching at Cullompton about noon, in the evening I preached at Exeter in a convenient room, lately a school ; I suppose formerly a chapel.³ It is both neat and

¹ See above, vol. iii. p. 77.

² The name is sometimes Mathew and in other places Mathews or Matthews ; but the old knights, whose effigies are in the adjacent cathedral, are called Matthew. Llandaff Court was afterwards sold to the Ecclesiastical Com-

missioners, and is now the bishop's palace. See above, vol. iii. pp. 127-28.

³ Formerly the High School, founded in 1343 by the Dean of Exeter, rebuilt in 1445, and again in 1561. It was never a chapel. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 149. On this journey he always preached at

solemn, and is believed to contain four or five hundred people. Many were present again at five in the morning, SEPTEMBER 1, and found it a comfortable opportunity. Here a gentleman, just come from Plymouth, gave us a very remarkable account. 'For two days the combined fleets of France and Spain lay at the mouth of the harbour. They might have entered it with perfect ease. The wind was fair; there was no fleet to oppose them; and the island, which is the great security of the place, being incapable of giving them any hindrance, for there was scarce any garrison, and the few men that were there had no wadding at all, and but two rounds of powder.' But had they not cannon? Yes, in abundance; but only two of them were mounted! Why, then, did they not go in, destroy the dock, and burn, or at least plunder, the town? I believe they could hardly tell themselves. The plain reason was, the bridle of God was in their teeth; and He had said, 'Hitherto shall ye come, and no farther.'

After preaching at Tiverton, Halberton, Taunton, and South Brent in the way, on *Saturday* the 4th I returned to Bristol.

Sun. 5.—Being willing to make the best of the fine weather, I preached at eight on the quay, on 'The Lord sitteth above the water-flood; and the Lord remaineth a King for ever.' At ten I began the service at Kingswood; and in the afternoon preached in the avenue to a multitude of people. But we had five or six times as many at King Square; and great was our rejoicing in the Lord.

Mon. 6.—I preached on David's prayer, 'Lord, turn the counsel of Ahithophel into foolishness.' And how remarkably has he heard this prayer with regard to the French Ahithophels!¹

Cullompton and Exeter on the same day. The first meeting-house in Exeter was in Theatre Lane, behind the Guild-hall (1745—possibly '43); the second a room over Northgate (demolished 1769); the third was 'Ten Cells' in Rack Lane, or Preston Street, or Back Lane. In 1776 Wesley welcomed Mr. Gidley, an officer of excise, to Exeter, and in 1778 (the year before this visit) helped him to secure the Chapel in Musgrave Alley, the old High School here referred to,

and until 1813 known as 'Gidley's Meeting.' From that date the Mint became the head quarters of Methodism in Exeter. See *Reminiscences of Methodism in Exeter*, by John Wesley Thomas, republished from the *W.M. Mag.* 1871. See also the more recent History (1907), by Elijah Chick. For G. Gidley see above, p. 96, and *Works* xii. 512-14.

¹ On Sept. 7 he wrote to W. Ferguson, watchmaker, of Hoxton, respecting book affairs (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 507)

Wed. 8.—I preached at Paulton, where the people are still all alive, and the society is still as one family; consequently it increases both in grace and number. At six I preached at Pensford, and spent a pleasant evening with the lovely family¹ at Publow. Where is there such another? I cannot tell; I doubt not in Great Britain or Ireland.

Sun. 12.—I found it work enough to read prayers, and preach, and administer the sacrament to several hundred people. But it was comfortable work; and I was no more tired at the end than at the beginning.

Mon. 13.—I preached at Bath and Bradford; on *Tuesday* at the end of the new house in Frome.

Wed. 15.—I preached at Motcombe and Shaftesbury; *Thursday* the 16th at Shepton Mallet. Here also, as well as at Paulton (the two most unlikely places in the circuit), a spreading flame is kindled. I preached at Coleford in the evening. Among this plain, simple people the power of God is always present.

Sun. 19.—The rain would not suffer me to preach abroad. On *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday* I examined the society, and found a large number had been called home this year. A few are still tottering over the grave; but death hath lost its sting.

Thur. 23.—I preached in the afternoon near the Fishponds. The people here had been remarkably dead for many years; but since that saint of God, Bathsheba Hall,² with her husband, came

¹ Miss Owen's School.

² In the *Arm. Mag.* 1781, an extract is given in seven successive numbers from the diary of Mrs. Bathsheba Hall. She was born in 1745. For some time 'she lived,' writes Wesley, 'in my house at London.' Or, as a footnote states, 'with the editor of this work.' The explanation presumably is that she formed part of the Foundery family, but whether as housekeeper, servant, or guest we do not know. She then returned to her home in Bristol and married Mr. John Hall, becoming 'more useful than ever.' Her Journal is fitly described as 'exceeding artless and simple, and affords little variety: but it

is the genuine picture of a soul renewed in love, and wholly devoted to God.' The extract begins Dec. 12, 1765, and ends April 24, 1775. There appears to be nothing in it of any historical value. With two or three exceptions, the few persons referred to are indicated by initials only. Once Mary Stokes, Wesley's correspondent, is named, but without any fact narrated, except that Mrs. Hall invited her to come and hear the record of her experience. This is characteristic of most of the Methodist Journals of the period. They are deeply pious effusions—fine examples of that habit of self-examination so diligently cultivated in the bands and select

amongst them, a flame is broke out. The people flock together in troops, and are athirst for all the promises of God.

In the evening one sat behind me in the pulpit at Bristol who was one of our first masters at Kingswood.¹ A little after he left the school he likewise left the society. Riches then flowed in upon him; with which, having no relations, Mr. Spencer designed to do much good—after his death. 'But God said unto him, Thou fool!' Two hours after he died intestate, and left all his money to—be scrambled for!

Reader! if you have not done it already, make your will before you sleep!

Fri. 24.—James Gerrish,² jun., of Road, near Frome, was for several years zealous for God; but he too grew rich, and grew lukewarm, till he was seized with a consumption. At the approach of death he was 'horribly afraid'; he was 'in the lowest darkness, and in the deep.' But 'he cried unto God in his trouble,' and was 'delivered out of his distress.' He was filled with peace and joy unspeakable, and so continued till he went to God. His father desired I would preach his funeral sermon; which I accordingly did this day, at Road. I concluded the busy day with a comfortable watch-night at Kingswood.

*Mon. 27.*³—I preached at Pill. On *Wednesday* I opened the new chapel in Guinea Street.

Thur. 30.—I preached at Almondsbury, on Communion with God, while deep awe sat on the face of all the people.

societies of the period. Their only value to the historian is the picture they afford of the religious experience of the times. The Rev. Henry J. Foster raised a question as to the identity of Mrs. Hall of York and Mrs. Bathsheba Hall of Bristol. The two persons appear to have been confused. In the *Arm. Mag.* Bathsheba Hall belongs only to Bristol, the Foundery, Bath, and Kingswood.

¹ See *Arm. Mag.* 1778, p. 533, for a letter by William Spencer, giving an account of the children at the 'Colliers' School, Kingswood, in 1748. He was a master at Kingswood in 1740, and died

in 1779. (*History of Kingswood School, Register*, p. 235.)

² Tuck's *Methodism in Frome*, p. 37, gives the name 'James Girrish, married baker, Road.'

³ He wrote from Bristol to Robert Carr Brackenbury (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 1). On the 29th he wrote from Bristol to the Rev. Mr. Crayton (? Creighton), offering him a curacy at Madeley, Mr. Fletcher's parish, with a large, convenient house, a pleasant and fruitful garden, a salary of not less than £60 a year, and an occasional interchange with Dr. Coke in Bristol or London. (New ed. *Wesley Letters*.)

OCT 1, *Fri.*—I took a solemn leave of the children at Kingswood. Several of them have been convinced of sin again and again ; but they soon trifled their convictions away.

Sun. 3.—I preached once more in the Square to a multitude of people, and afterwards spent a solemn hour with the society in renewing our covenant with God.

Mon. 4.—I left Bristol, preached at the Devizes at eleven, and in the evening at Sarum.

Tues. 5.—I preached at Whitchurch, where many, even of the rich, attended, and behaved with much seriousness.

Wed. 6.—At eleven I preached in Winchester, where there are four thousand five hundred French prisoners. I was glad to find they have plenty of wholesome food, and are treated, in all respects, with great humanity. In the evening I preached at Portsmouth Common.

Thur. 7.—I took a view of the camp adjoining to the town, and wondered to find it as clean and neat as a gentleman's garden. But there was no chaplain. The English soldiers of this age have nothing to do with God !

Fri. 8.—We took chaise, as usual, at two, and about eleven came to Cobham. Having a little leisure, I thought I could not employ it better than in taking a walk through the gardens. They are said to take up four hundred acres, and are admirably well laid out. They far exceed the celebrated gardens at Stowe ; and that in several respects : (1) In situation ; lying on a much higher hill, and having a finer prospect from the house. (2) In having a natural river, clear as crystal, running beneath and through them. (3) In the buildings therein, which are fewer indeed, but far more elegant ; yea, and far better kept, being nicely clean, which is sadly wanting at Stowe.¹ And, lastly, in the rock-work ; to which nothing of the kind at Stowe is to be compared.

This night I lodged in the new house at London.² How many more nights have I to spend there ?³

¹ For the gardens at Pain's Hill, Cobham, and at Stowe (mentioned below), see *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 36 ; also Thomson's *Seasons : Autumn* (beginning with line 1,040)

² i.e. by the south side of City Road Chapel.

³ On Oct. 9 he wrote from London to Zechariah Yewdall (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 10) ; the next day to Samuel Bradburn,

Mon. 11.—I began my little tour into Northamptonshire. In the evening I preached at Stony Stratford; the next day at Hanslope, and at [Maids] Moreton, a little mile from Buckingham.

Wed. 13.—Having so lately seen Stourhead and Cobham gardens, I was now desired to take a view of the much more celebrated gardens at Stowe. The first thing I observed was the beautiful water which runs through the gardens, to the front of the house. The tufts of trees, placed on each side of this, are wonderfully pleasant; and so are many of the walks and glades through the woods, which are disposed with a fine variety. The large pieces of water interspersed give a fresh beauty to the whole. Yet there are several things which must give disgust to any person of common sense: (1) The buildings, called Temples, are most miserable, many of them both within and without. Sir John Vanbrugh's is an ugly, clumsy lump, hardly fit for a gentleman's stable. (2) The temples of Venus and Bacchus, though large, have nothing elegant in the structure; and the paintings in the former, representing a lewd story, are neither well designed nor executed. Those in the latter are quite faded, and most of the inscriptions vanished away. (3) The statues are full as coarse as the paintings, particularly those of Apollo and the Muses, whom a person, not otherwise informed, might take to be nine cook-maids. (4) Most of the water in the ponds is dirty, and thick as puddle. (5) It is childish affectation to call things here by Greek or Latin names, as Styx, and the Elysian Fields.¹ (6) It was ominous for my lord to entertain himself and his noble company in a grotto built on the bank of Styx; that is, on the brink of hell. (7) The river on which it stands is a black, filthy puddle, exactly resembling a common sewer. (8) One of the stateliest monuments is taken down—the Egyptian

referring to the alarm which prevailed in England as well as Ireland. He thinks, however, it has done more good than harm by stirring up the people to pray:

Our enemies will never be permitted to land in England. And, indeed, God has already given abundant proof of His hearing prayer (1) in their not landing at Plymouth, where they stayed gaping and staring for

eight-and-forty hours, while they might with all ease have destroyed both the dock and the town; (2) in the malignant fever which has broken out in their fleet, and already destroyed several thousands of men. (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 287.)

¹ For the entertainment given to the Princess Amelia at the Elysian Fields see Horace Walpole's *Letters*.

Pyramid ; and no wonder, considering the two inscriptions, which are still legible ; the one—

Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor : neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te praeter invisas cupressos,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur !¹

The other—

Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti :
Tempus abire tibi est : ne potum largius aequo
Rideat, et pulset lasciva decentius aetas.²

Upon the whole, I cannot but prefer Cobham gardens to those at Stowe : for (1) the river at Cobham shames all the ponds at Stowe ; (2) there is nothing at Stowe comparable to the walk near the wheel which runs up the side of a steep hill, quite grotesque and wild ; (3) nothing in Stowe gardens is to be compared to the large temple, the pavilion, the antique temple, the grotto, or the building at the head of the garden, nor to the neatness which runs through the whole.

But there is nothing even at Cobham to be compared (1) to the beautiful cross at the entrance of Stourhead gardens³ ; (2) to the vast body of water ; (3) the rockwork grotto ; (4) the temple of the sun ; (5) the hermitage. Here, too, everything is nicely clean, as well as in full preservation. Add to this, that all the gardens hang on the sides of a semicircular mountain. And there is nothing either at Cobham or Stowe which can balance the advantage of such a situation.

On this and the two following evenings I preached at Whittlebury, Towcester, and Northampton. On *Saturday* I returned to London.

Mon. 18.⁴—I set out for Sussex, and, after visiting the

¹ Correctly quoted from Horace, *Odes*, ii. 14. See above, vol. iv. p. 172, for translation and notes ; also *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 30 ; quoted in sermon xxvii, *Works*, vol. v. p. 371.

² Horace, *Ep.* ii. 2, 214-16 : ' You have sported enough, eaten enough, and drunk enough : it is time for you to be off, lest that age which is more becomingly wanton laugh at you for

having quaffed more largely than was fair, and hustle you off the stage ' (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 88).

³ See above, p. 128.

⁴ On Oct. 19 he wrote from Robertsbridge to Miss Warren of Haverfordwest, whom he warns against ' Jewel,' a professed Rabbi who, he feared, was ' little better than a cheat.' See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

V For the Society: 1. Machine.

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119 We are not yet alive like a others of the
 120 Edo-pra to the great In the same great
 121 Dear God, we are not yet alive like a others of the
 122 Edo-pra to the great In the same great
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societies there, returned to London on *Saturday* the 23rd. I was in hopes, by bringing her with me, to save the life of Miss A., of Ewhurst, far gone in a consumption. But she was too far gone; so that, though that journey helped her for awhile, yet she quickly relapsed, and soon after died in peace.¹

Sun. 24.—I preached a charity sermon in Shadwell church.² I spoke with all possible plainness; and surely some, out of an immense multitude, will receive the truth, and bring forth fruit with patience.

Mon. 25.—I set out for Norwich.

Tues. 26.—I went on to Yarmouth; on *Wednesday* to Lowestoft; on *Friday* to Loddon. *Saturday* the 30th, I came to Norwich again.

NOV. 1, *Mon.*—I crossed over to Lynn and settled the little affairs there; on *Wednesday* the 3rd went on to Colchester; and on *Friday* to London.

Sat. 6.—I began examining the society, which usually employs me eleven or twelve days.³

Sat. 13.—I had the pleasure of an hour's conversation with Mr. G.,⁴ one of the members of the first Congress in America.

¹ On the 20th he wrote the Preface to the 1780 Hymn-book.

² St. Paul's, Shadwell. Formerly Chadwell, from a well dedicated to St. Chad. It was rebuilt in 1821. Vicar: the Rev. Joseph Butler, M.A. (1741-98).

³ In November 1779 he wrote to John Mason; and on the 9th to Mrs. Barton. (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 453, 381); on the same day from London to John Bredin at the new room in Cork, and to Thomas Rutherford (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ The *W.H.S.* (vol. iv. pp. 72, 114) makes it fairly clear that this must have been Joseph Galloway, a lawyer, Speaker of the House of Assembly in Philadelphia (1774), who is characterized by Bancroft (*History of the United States*, p. 131) as 'the treacherous Galloway,' who 'was so thoroughly loyalist that he acted as volunteer spy for the British Government.' In a letter to his niece

Sarah, John Wesley refers to Mr. and Miss Galloway as desirable acquaintance for her. In this same year Galloway published *Letters to a Nobleman on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies*, accusing General Howe of gambling and gross neglect of duty. Later, in reply to Sir William Howe, afterwards Lord Howe, he published *A Letter to Lord Howe on his Naval Conduct*. In all probability, all this was the 'strange tale' referred to in the text. See also *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*; and *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 386, where, in a letter to a friend, Wesley defends Galloway's book against an attack in a monthly review. See especially an interesting article contributed by the Rev. T. E. Bridgen to the *Methodist Times*, Jan. 9, 1913, and republished with additional notes in *W.H.S.* vol. ix. pp. 5-9.

He unfolded a strange tale indeed ! How has poor K[ing] G[eorge] been betrayed on every side ! But this is our comfort: there is One higher than they, and He will command all things to work together for good.

The following week I examined the rest of our society, but did not find such an increase as I expected. Nay, there was a considerable decrease, plainly owing to a senseless jealousy that had crept in between our preachers, which had grieved the Holy Spirit of God, and greatly hindered His work.¹

Mon. 22.—My brother and I set out for Bath on a very extraordinary occasion. Some time since Mr. Smyth, a clergyman whose labours God had greatly blessed in the north of Ireland, brought his wife over to Bath, who had been for some time in a declining state of health. I desired him to preach

¹ The reference, probably, is to the dispute at City Road between the clergymen and the preachers. Charles Wesley claimed the pulpit to the exclusion of the itinerants. See above, p. 239 n. Unfortunately, the dispute was not limited to City Road. It had broken out, as the Journal paragraphs below show, in a dangerous form at Bath, at that time an important station in the Bristol circuit. The preachers in the circuit were John Valton, Alexander M'Nab (a Scotchman from Perth with distinguished gifts as a preacher), and John Bristol. Wesley states quite fairly what occurred at Bath in connexion with the arrival of the Rev. Edward Smyth, whose career in the north of Ireland has already been referred to. Whilst John Wesley was technically in the right, he did not sufficiently consider the inevitable results of the growth of the Connexion, and the slow accumulation of authority in the Conference. On the other hand, Charles Wesley aggravated a situation already sufficiently serious. John Pawson and the London preachers allayed the storm which threatened to divide, and, not improbably, to destroy Methodism. It has been noted as one of

the most remarkable proofs of the influence wielded by Wesley throughout the societies, that no permanently evil consequences resulted from this alarming dispute. Not a little credit, probably, should be given to Dr. Coke and Mr. Collins, who accompanied John and Charles Wesley on this occasion. See, for a full and impartial statement, Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 303. For an autobiographical account of Alexander M'Nab see *Arm. Mag.* 1779, p. 240 ; see also Lady Maxwell's *Life*, p. 70 ; Rutherford's *Life*, p. 94 ; Atmore's *Memorial* ; Whitehead's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 357 ; an important letter from the collection of the late Rev. George Marsden, communicated by the Rev. B. F. Fielding ; and a letter of Charles Wesley, dated B[ristol], Dec. 1 [1779]. The late Rev. H. J. Foster's note should be preserved : 'Tyerman's account of all this is, as usual, unfavourable to Wesley. But he shows well the critical condition of the relations between Wesley and his preachers, and Charles Wesley's unhappy influence.' It should be remembered that the Deed of Declaration defining the powers of the Conference was not yet in existence.

every Sunday evening in our chapel while he remained there ; but, as soon as I was gone, Mr. M'Nab, one of our preachers, vehemently opposed that, affirming it was the common cause of all the lay preachers ; that they were appointed by the Conference, not by me, and would not suffer the clergy to ride over their heads, Mr. Smyth in particular, of whom he said all manner of evil. Others warmly defended him ; hence the society was torn in pieces and thrown into the utmost confusion.

Tues. 23.—I read to the society a paper which I wrote near twenty years ago on a like occasion. Herein I observed that 'the rules of our preachers were fixed by me before any Conference existed,' particularly the twelfth : 'Above all, you are to preach when and where I appoint.' By obstinately opposing which rule, Mr. M'Nab has made all this uproar. In the morning, at a meeting of the preachers, I informed Mr. M'Nab that, as he did not agree to our fundamental rule, I could not receive him as one of our preachers till he was of another mind.

Wed. 24.—I read the same paper to the society at Bristol, as I found the flame had spread thither also. A few at Bath separated from us on this account, but the rest were thoroughly satisfied.¹ So on *Friday* the 26th I took coach again, and on *Saturday* reached London.

In this journey I read Dr. Warner's *History of Ireland*,² from its first settlement to the English Conquest ; and, after calm deliberation, I make no scruple to pronounce it a mere senseless romance. I do not believe one leaf of it is true, from the beginning to the end. I totally reject the authorities on which he builds. I will not take Flagherty's or Keating's word for a farthing. I doubt not Ireland was, before the Christian era, full as barbarous as Scotland or England. Indeed it appears, from their own accounts, that the Irish in general were continually plundering and murdering each other from the earliest ages to that period ; and so they were ever since, by the account of Dr. Warner himself, till they were restrained by the English. How then were they converted by St. Patrick ? Cousin-german to St. George ! To what religion ?

¹ The three Journal paragraphs should be read in connexion with Note 2 on p. 250.

² See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 233.

Not to Christianity. Neither in his age, nor the following, had they the least savour of Christianity, either in their lives or their tempers.

Sun. 28.—I preached a charity sermon at St. Peter's, Cornhill.¹

Mon. 29.—I visited the societies in Kent, and returned on *Saturday*.²

DEC. 5, Sun.—In applying those words, 'What could I have done for My vineyard which I have not done?' I found such an uncommon pouring out of the convincing Spirit as we have not known for many years. In the evening the same Spirit enabled me strongly to exhort a numerous congregation, to 'come boldly to the throne of grace'; and to 'make all their requests known unto God with thanksgiving.'

Tues. 7.—I preached in Redriff³ chapel, a cold, uncomfortable place, to a handful of people, who appeared to be just as much affected as the benches they sat upon.

Thur. 9.—In speaking on those words, 'Set thy house in order, for thou shalt die and not live,' I took occasion to exhort all who had not done it already to settle their temporal affairs without delay. Let not any man who reads these words put it off a day longer!⁴

Mon. 13.—I retired to Lewisham and settled the society-book. Fifty-seven members of the society have died this year⁵; and none of them 'as a fool dieth.' A hundred and

¹ For a note on this church see Fuller's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 29 (Tegg's edition).

² On Nov. 30 he wrote from Dover to the society in Margate, warning them against 'Thomas Coleman,' and on Dec. 4 to an unnamed 'Brother' respecting the admission of a boy to Kingswood School (*W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 89, and new ed. of *Wesley Letters*).

³ Rotherhithe passed into Retherith (it is so spelt in a grant of the time of Edward III), and this in popular speech into Redriff. See *Old and New London*, vol. vi. p. 134; and above, vol. ii. pp. 349 ff. (diary references).

⁴ On Dec. 12 he wrote from London to Abraham Brames of Brompton (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 526).

⁵ Including Elizabeth Fisher, of Leicester Fields. She was one of the unmarried leaders in 1745, and died in Dec. 1779. She was the first person interred in the City Road ground. Her funeral was conducted by John Arthur, and was marked by an extraordinary incident in the life of a man who figured honourably in the story of Great Queen Street Chapel. The grave was at the north-east corner of the ground. In the same week died Susanna Debonair, a French refugee, and a class-leader for more than thirty years. She resided in Bethnal Green, and attended the Foundery services regularly. She was the second person buried in the City Road ground, on the same day as Elizabeth Fisher. (Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, p. 39.)

seventy have left the society. Such are the fruits of senseless prejudice.¹

Sat. 25.—We began the service at the new chapel, as usual at four in the morning. Afterwards I read prayers and preached and administered the Lord's Supper at West Street. In the afternoon I preached at the new chapel again; then met the society; and afterwards, the married men and women. But after this I was no more tired than when I rose in the morning.

Wed. 29.—Mr. Hatton, lately come from America, gave us an account of his strange deliverance. He was collector of the customs for the eastern ports of Maryland, and zealous for King George. Therefore the rebels resolved to dispatch him²; and a party was sent for that purpose under one Simpson, who owed him five hundred pounds. But first he sent him the following note:

SIR,

We are resolved to have you dead or alive. So we advise you to give yourself up, that you may give us no more trouble.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant.

Mr. Hatton not complying with this civil advice, a party of riflemen were sent to take him. He was just going out, when a child told him they were at hand, and had only time to run and get into a hollow which was under the house. The maid clapped to the trap-door, and covered it over with flax. They searched the house from top to bottom, opened all the closets, turned up the beds, and, finding nothing, went away. He was scarce come out, when another party beset the house, and came so quick, that he had but just time to get in again; and the maid, not having flax enough at hand, covered the door with foul linen. When these also had wearied themselves with searching, and went away, he put on his boots and great-coat, took a gun and a rug (it being a sharp frost), and crept into

¹ On Dec. 23 he wrote to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 13).

² 'Any person, being an adherent to the King of Great Britain, should be

deemed guilty of treason, and suffer death' (Resolution of the New York Revolutionary Convention. See Ryerson's *Loyalists of America*, vol. ii. p. 5).

a little marsh near the house. A third party came quickly, swearing he must be about the house, and they would have him if he was alive. Hearing this, he stole away with full speed, and lay down near the sea-shore, between two hillocks, covering himself with sea-weeds. They came so near that he heard one of them swear, 'If I find him, I will hang him on the next tree.' Another answered, 'I will not stay for that; I will shoot him the moment I see him.'

After some time, finding they were gone, he lifted up his head, and heard a shrill whistle from a man fifty or sixty yards off. He soon knew him to be a deserter from the rebel army. He asked Mr. H[atton] what he designed to do; who answered, 'Go in my boat to the English ships, which are four or five and twenty miles off.' But the rebels had found and burnt the boat. So, knowing their life was gone if they stayed till the morning, they got into a small canoe (though liable to upset with a puff of wind), and set off from shore. Having rowed two or three miles they stopped at a little island and made a fire, being almost perished with cold. But they were quickly alarmed by a boat rowing toward the shore. Mr. Hatton, standing up, said, 'We have a musket and a fusee. If you load one, as fast as I discharge the other, I will give a good account of them all.' He then stepped to the shore, and bade the rowers stop, and tell him who they were; declaring he would fire among them if any man struck another stroke. Upon their answering, he found they were friends, being six more deserters from the rebel army. So they gladly came on shore, and brought provisions with them to those who before had neither meat nor drink. After refreshing themselves, they all went in the boat, and cheerfully rowed to the English ships.

Fri. 31.¹—We concluded the year at West Street, with a solemn watch-night. Most of the congregation stayed till the beginning of the year, and cheerfully sang together—

Glory to God, and thanks, and praise,
Who kindly lengthens out our days, &c.²

¹ On Dec. 29 he wrote from London to Joseph Benson, and on the same day to S. Bradburn (new ed. *Wesley Letters*.)

² Altered and abridged from hymns 712 and 713 (edition 1876). See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 220.

1780. JAN. 2, *Sun.*—We had the largest congregation at the renewal of our covenant with God which ever met upon the occasion; and we were thoroughly convinced that God was not departed from us. He never will, unless we first depart from Him.¹

Tues. 18.—Receiving more and more accounts of the increase of Popery, I believed it my duty to write a letter concerning it, which was afterwards inserted in the public papers.² Many were grievously offended; but I cannot help it: I must follow my own conscience.

Sat. 22.—I spent an hour or two very agreeably in Sir Ashton Lever's museum.³ It does not equal the British Museum in size, nor is it constructed on so large a plan, as it contains no manuscripts, no books, no antiquities, nor any remarkable works of art. But I believe, for natural curiosities, it is not excelled by any museum in Europe; and all the beasts, birds, reptiles, and insects are admirably well ranged and preserved,

¹ In January of this year he wrote from London to Mr. — reviewing the history of the Rules of a Helper and the true nature of the Conference (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 139); on Jan. 6 from London to Mr. Carlill; on the 16th to Mr. Abraham Brames and to Mr. L. Harrison; on Jan. 18 to Mr. William Simpson; on Jan. 21 from City Road to *The Public Advertiser* on 'the late Act, passed in favour of Popery'; on Jan. 23 to Robert Carr Brackenbury; on Jan. 28 to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 15); on Jan. 30 from London to Samuel Bardsley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 503); on Feb. 2 to Miss P. Newman (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); and on the 16th to Christopher Hopper (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 317).

² See Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 339. The letter was also published as a broadsheet. Wesley wrote 'to preserve our happy constitution.' Two sentences from the letter may be quoted: 'With persecution I have nothing to do. I persecute no man for his religious principles. Let there be as boundless a freedom in religion as any man

can conceive.' On the other hand, he says: 'I insist upon it that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion . . . who cannot give any security to that government for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour.' The Rev. Arthur O'Leary replied in a pamphlet of a hundred and one pages, and Wesley rejoined. As Tyerman remarks, 'O'Leary was baffled, and, to this day, the arguments in Wesley's letter of Jan. 21, 1780, remain unanswered.' Seven years after Wesley breakfasted with Father O'Leary, and found him a man of an 'easy, genteel carriage, and not wanting in either sense or learning' (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 320). The Act referred to by Wesley in his letter was the Relief Act of 1778.

³ Johnson, mentioning this museum, said it ought to be acquired by the nation. This was done. *The European Magazine*, 1782, gives a description. The collection occupied sixteen rooms at Leicester House, Leicester Square. See Mrs. Delany's *Life and Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. iii. pp. 14 and 349.

so that if you saw many of them elsewhere, you would imagine they were alive! The hippopotamus, in particular, looks as fierce as if he was just coming out of the river; and the old lion appears as formidable now as when he was stalking in the Tower.

Sun. 23.—In the evening I retired to Lewisham, to prepare matter (who would believe it?) for a Monthly Magazine.¹ *Friday*, FEBRUARY 4, being the National Fast,² I preached first at the new chapel, and then at St. Peter's, Cornhill. What a difference in the congregation! Yet out of these stones God can raise up children to Abraham.

Thur. 17.—I preached at Dorking, and could not but reflect in this room I lodged the first time I saw poor Mr. Ireland.³ 'Emphatically poor!' ⁴ Poor beyond expression—though he left fourscore thousand pounds behind him!⁵

Thur. 24.—I met the building committee; according to whose representation our income at last nearly answers our expenses. If so, it will clear itself in a few years.⁶

Mon. 28.—Taking the post-coach, I reached Newbury time enough to preach to a crowded audience. *Tuesday* the 29th and *Wednesday* I preached at Bath, where brotherly love is now restored.

MARCH 2, *Thur.*—I went into Bristol, and enjoyed much peace among a quiet, loving people. On *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday* I examined the society, and had reason to rejoice over them.⁷

¹ But see above, p. 176, and date of the first issue of the *Arm. Mag.*, namely, Jan. 1778. It was issued with an address 'To the Reader,' defining the Arminian position, and explaining the purpose of the new magazine.

² Days of national humiliation and fasting came in quick succession. It is impossible here to describe the occasions for these public solemnities. It must be sufficient to remember that war was raging on all sides. The uprising of Popery after a long period of depression, its establishment in Canada, and the apparent disposition of the Government to legislate in its favour—these things

were all intensifying the public unrest.

³ See *Meth. Rec.* July 9, 1903, .

⁴ A frequent quotation from Cowley *Of Avarice*; e.g. above, vol. iv. p. 398.

⁵ On Feb. 20 he wrote from London to Miss Morgan at Walter King's, Marsh, near Bristol (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁶ On Feb. 26 he wrote from London to Samuel Bradburn (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 124), and to Miss Nancy Bolton (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁷ On March 12 he wrote from Bristol to Mr. Sagar. See *Meth. in Burnley*, p. 35. The family figures honourably in the history of Burnley and Colne Methodism.

Mon. 13.—I set out for the north, and in the evening preached at Stroud, where is a considerable increase of the work of God.

Tues. 14.—I preached in the church at Pitchcombe; but it would by no means contain the congregation. In the evening I preached at Tewkesbury, and on *Wednesday* the 15th at Worcester, to a very serious congregation.

Thur. 16.—About noon I began preaching at Bewdley, in an open space at the head of the town. The wind was high and exceeding sharp; but no one seemed to regard it. In the middle of the sermon came a man beating a drum; but a gentleman of the town soon silenced him.

Fri. 17.—About noon I preached at Bengeworth church, to the largest congregation I ever saw there; and in Pebworth church about six, to a larger congregation than I had seen there before. I found uncommon liberty in applying those words (perhaps a last warning to the great man of the parish, Mr. Martin), ‘Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.’

Sat. 18.—I went on to Birmingham; and, *Sunday* the 19th, preached at eight in the morning, and at half-past one in the afternoon; in the evening, at Wednesbury.

Mon. 20.—I reached Congleton, and preached to a lively congregation on our Lord’s words, ‘Lazarus, come forth!’

Tues. 21.—I preached in the new chapel at Macclesfield¹; *Thursday* the 23rd² at Stockport and Manchester.

On *Good Friday* I preached, at seven, in Manchester; about one, in Oldham; and in Manchester at six.

Sat. 25.³—I went on to Bolton, where the work of God is continually increasing.

On *Easter Day* I set out for Warrington. Mr. Harmer⁴

¹ See Smith’s *Meth. in Macclesfield*, pp. 149–51; also *MS. Life of Benson*, where in his diary he says:

March 22.—Mr. Mayer and I rode to Macclesfield to meet our old father in the gospel, Mr. Wesley, and were glad to find him, though at the age of seventy-eight, look as well, and able to preach as much and strongly, as though he had been no more than forty.

² He wrote to *Freeman’s Journal*. See *Arm. Mag.* 1781, p. 296.

³ He wrote a circular letter from Manchester, approving the erection of a preaching-house at Delph, in Saddleworth; and on the same day to Mr. Robinson at Langham Row, near Alford (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ In 1780 Warrington had two churches—St. Elphin, the parish church, and Holy Trinity, built in 1707 and rebuilt in 1780. Edward Owen was rector of the parish

read prayers both morning and afternoon. We had a large congregation in the morning, as many as the church could well contain in the afternoon, and more than it could contain in the evening. At last there is reason to hope that God will have a steady people even in this wilderness.

The next evening, when a few of the society were met together, the power of God came mightily upon them. Some fell to the ground; some cried aloud for mercy; some rejoiced with joy unspeakable. Two or three found a clear sense of the love of God; one gay young woman, in particular, who was lately much prejudiced against 'this way,' but is now filled with joy unspeakable.

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday I spent at Liverpool, being undetermined whether to proceed or not. At length I yielded to the advice of my friends, and deferred my journey to Ireland.¹ So I preached at Northwich about noon, and

church from 1767 to 1807, and James Stones vicar of Holy Trinity from 1768 to November 1780. Neither of these clergymen had a curate until long after 1780. No trace of 'John' or any other 'Harmer' can be found in the Warrington and county records, printed or in manuscript. The Rev. J. R. Gregory identifies Mr. Harmer with John Harmer, vicar of Marston. See *W.M. Mag.* 1902, p. 603. Harmer had been put forward by the Countess of Huntingdon (see *Life*, vol. i. p. 487). The statement on p. 488, that Mr. Harmer in 1780 was situated at Warrington is obviously drawn from this paragraph in the Journal. After leaving the Countess he joined Wesley. This does not imply that he resigned his living. He was not a popular preacher. See articles in *W.H.S.* vol. vi. p. 121, and vol. viii. p. 83.

¹ The following letter of Christopher Hopper, addressed to Joseph Cownley, will throw some light upon the movements of Wesley at this period. It is dated Colne, April 6, 1780.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—I have had a long letter from M^r Nab. He is a true Highlander. He would make a very good chieftain. He

is too high blood. We would not give him the reins. He may in his haste overturn the sun. He is a stranger to our former discipline. He is but of yesterday. If we are to make a claim of independence, he must not be president of the Congress. But I think the old man must reign his day, and how we are to be governed after I cannot tell. I leave it to One who cannot err.

I have seen and heard the old gentleman at Bolton and Manchester. He is still the same man, full of spirits, and full of business, and perhaps too full of himself. But he is in the Lord's hands. I hope his latter end will be peace and glory.

You have doubtless seen Mr. Wesley's letter to the printer of *The Public Advertiser* in vindication of an Appeal from the Protestant Association to the people of Great Britain. A Romish priest has answered it. The Papists in Ireland are ready to take up arms against us. They are all in a flame. Mr. Wesley received several letters from the preachers and others, who seem of an opinion that it would not be safe for the little man to appear in Paddy's land this year. He has therefore thought it prudent to stay in his own country. I think it is but a little bravado, but I cannot tell; those creatures are not to be trusted; perhaps they would cut our throats if they could. They shall dethrone the Pope before I will give them the right hand. Mr. Wesley has answered the priest again, a very good answer indeed; I wish you saw it. These are strange times! God keep us in a state

in the evening at Alraham,¹ in the midst of all the old Methodists. We had a very different congregation at Nantwich in the evening. But as many as could get into the house, or near the door, behaved very seriously.²

APRIL 1, *Sat.*—I returned to Chester, and found many alive to God, but scarce one that retained His pure love.

Sun. 2.—I reached Warrington about ten. The chapel was well filled with serious hearers, and I believe God confirmed the word of His grace. Hastening back to Chester, I found a numerous congregation waiting, and immediately began, 'This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.'

Mon. 3.—I returned to Manchester, and, *Tuesday* the 4th, strongly applied 'What could I have done more to My vineyard that I have not done?' At present there are many here that 'bring forth good grapes.' But many swiftly increase in goods; and I fear very few sufficiently watch and pray that they may not set their hearts upon them.

Wed. 5.—I preached at Bolton; *Thursday* the 6th, about noon, at Bury; and at Rochdale in the evening. *Friday* the 7th I went to Delph, a little village upon the mountains, where a remarkable work of God is just broke out.³ I was just set

of grace! We are to have Mr. Wesley with us on the 28th inst., and then he sets out for Scotland.

We may yet see wonderful things! The Lord reigneth. Amen! Will you come and see us this summer? I should be glad to hear from Honest Matty! We are happy on these mountains, but we have had a long winter; but it is near over, so our time passeth! and we shall leave a weary world. May we be ready, for Christ's sake. Amen. We salute all our dear friends in town and country. Great grace be upon you all through the blood of the Covenant, is the sincere prayer of your affectionate and disinterested friend,

CHRISTOPHER HOPPER.

¹ In this neighbourhood, as in other parts of the country, the return of the venerable preacher was welcomed with a general holiday. At Alraham a new house had been planned by John Nelson for Mr. Sim. On the foundation-stone Nelson preached. The house was large, but not large enough to accommodate the crowds who flocked to hear Wesley. He

used consequently to preach in an adjoining barn (*W.M. Mag.* 1857, p. 220).

² On March 31 he wrote from Chester to *Freeman's Journal*. See *Arm. Mag.* 1781, p. 352.

³ In October 1779 Joseph Benson preached the first Methodist sermon in this district. See *W.M. Mag.* 1853, p. 785. Delph was one of a number of villages in the ecclesiastical parish of Saddleworth. The township is divided into four meres, or quarters, one of which — Friar-Mere — includes Delph. The vicar of Friar-Mere in the year 1780 was the Rev. John Buckley. He seems to have been known at this date as 'curate-in-charge.' Delph, though in Saddleworth, was then ecclesiastically part of Rochdale, and the curates for Delph were appointed by the vicar of Rochdale. Dr. W. W. Stamp (*W.M. Mag.* 1853, p. 786) names Mr. 'Hegin-

down, when the minister sent me word I was welcome to preach in his church. On hearing this, many people walked thither immediately, near a mile from the town; but in ten minutes he sent me word his mind was changed. We knew not then what to do, till the trustees of the Independent meeting offered us the use of their house. It was quickly filled, and truly God bore witness to His word. In the evening I preached at Huddersfield.

Sat. 8.—About noon I opened the new house at Mirfield, and in the evening preached at Dawgreen.

Sun. 9.—I went on to Birstall, and took my stand at the front of the house, though the north-east wind whistled round about. I preached again between four and five, pointing them to the Great Shepherd and Bishop of their souls.

Mon. 10.—I preached in the prison at Whitley, in the evening at Morley, and on *Tuesday* morning at Cross Hall.¹ The family here are much grown in grace since I saw them last. Most of them now enjoy the great salvation and walk worthy of their vocation, and all around them 'see their good works, and glorify their Father which is in heaven.' In the evening I preached to a very genteel congregation at Wakefield.²

bottom' as the minister who engaged Stones, the curate-in-charge. This cannot have been the case, for the Rev. John Higginbottom was incumbent-curate of Saddleworth from 1721-71, and had nothing to do with Delph. The other details in the magazine article appear to be correct. Stones was engaged for duty somewhere in this complicated parish. He paid more attention to his dogs and gun than was fitting. A plain man remonstrated, urging him to 'mind the study more, and the gun less.' This led to his conversion. An extensive religious awakening followed. Enemies arose. The curate was removed. The little flock of converts was left without a shepherd. Mr. Mellor, an attorney, advised them to consult Joseph Benson, then superintendent of the Manchester circuit. A room was hired in the Millgate, Delph, and a flourishing society estab-

lished. At this juncture Wesley visited Delph.

¹ The residence of Miss Bosanquet. The house stood on the main road from Wakefield to Bradford, opposite the point at which Scotchman's Lane comes into this from Upper Batley. Mr. Robert Roe visited Cross Hall at this time. Miss Bosanquet, whom he heard when she met the band at Mr. Smith's in Leeds, impressed him as a wonder indeed. She greatly exceeded his expectations; 'so much wisdom, dignity, and piety, joined to so much childlike simplicity, I never before saw.' Wesley came whilst he was there. 'His kindness, when he discovered who I was, relieved and comforted me.' See above, vol. v. p. 375; *Arm. Mag.* 1784, p. 470.

² On April 11 he wrote from Wakefield to Mrs. Terry at Newland near Hull (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

Wed. 12.—After preaching at Rothwell, I inquired what was become of that lovely class of little girls, most of them believers, whom I met here a few years since.¹ I found those of them that had pious parents remain to this day, but all of them whose parents did not fear God are gone back into the world. In the evening I preached in the new house at Leeds.²

Thur. 13.—I opened the new house at Hunslet. On *Friday* I preached at Woodhouse.

Sun. 16.—Our house at Leeds was full at eight, yet every one heard distinctly. In the afternoon I preached at the old church, but a considerable part of the people could not hear. Indeed the church is remarkably ill constructed; had it been built with common sense, all that were in it, and even more, might have heard every word.

Mon. 17.—I left Leeds in one of the roughest mornings I have ever seen. We had rain, hail, snow, and wind in abundance. About nine I preached at Bramley, between one and two at Pudsey. Afterwards I walked to Fulneck, the German settlement. Mr. Moore³ showed us the house, chapel, hall, lodging-rooms, the apartments of the widows, the single men, and single women; he showed us likewise the workshops of various kinds, with the shops for grocery, drapery, mercery, hardware, &c. with which, as well as with bread from their bakehouse, they furnish the adjacent country. I see not what but the mighty power of God can hinder them from acquiring millions, as they (1) buy all materials with ready money at the best hand; (2) have above a hundred young men, above fifty young women, many widows, and above a hundred married persons, all of whom are employed from morning to night, without any intermission, in various kinds of manufactures, not for journeymen's wages, but

¹ See above, p. 102.

² The old Boggard House.

³ This must have been John Moore, who is mentioned as a child in the *Memoirs of Hutton*, p. 232. His father, Thomas Moore, is named on p. 231. It is there, however, spelt 'Moor.' His wife (presumably) is Margaret Moore. Among the 'Labourers' Children' is John Moore, the Warden who showed

Fulneck to Wesley. He came to Fulneck as Congregation's Warden in 1776; removed to Bath in 1780; to Bristol 1782, where he died 1790, aged forty-five. For Fulneck, so called after Fulneck in Moravia, see above, vol. iii. p. 292. It was consecrated May 22, 1748, being first called 'Lamb's Hill.' (*Life of Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 250).

for no wages at all, save a little very plain food and raiment; as they have (3) a quick sale for all their goods, and sell them all for ready money. But can they lay up treasure on earth, and at the same time lay up treasure in heaven? ¹

In the evening I preached at Bradford, where I was well pleased to find many, both men and women, who had never suffered any decay since they were perfected in love. *Wednesday* the 19th I went to Otley, but Mr. Ritchie ² was dead before I came. But he had first witnessed a good confession. One telling him, 'You will be better soon,' he replied, 'I cannot be better, for I have God in my heart; I am happy, happy, happy in His love.'

Mr. Wilson, ³ the vicar, after a little hesitation, consented that I should preach his funeral sermon; this I did to-day. The text he had chosen was, 'To you that believe He is precious.' Perhaps such a congregation had hardly been in Otley church before. Surely the right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass! ⁴

Sun. 23.—Mr. Richardson being unwilling that I should preach any more in Haworth church, ⁵ Providence opened another. I preached in Bingley church, ⁶ both morning and afternoon. This is considerably larger than the other. It rained hard in

¹ See Charles Wesley's letter to James Hutton, who had complained of these strictures (*Moravian Messenger*, 1875, p. 423).

² John Ritchie was a native of Edinburgh. He served many years as a surgeon in the navy. Leaving the sea, he settled in Wharfedale, where he followed his profession, and married Beatrice Robinson. Their second child, born at Otley in 1754, they named Elizabeth. While still a girl Elizabeth Ritchie came under the influence of Wesley's ministry in his occasional visits to the little town. For her subsequent career see below, close of Diary, 1791.

³ Richard Burdsall, in his *Memoirs*, gives an interesting account of this clergyman, to whose memory, as the pastor of Miss Ritchie, the Methodist people owe a debt of gratitude. This

was not the Rev. Thomas Wilson who about this period attracted much attention in Yorkshire (*Life of C. of Huntingdon*, vol. i. pp. 300-301).

⁴ On April 20 Wesley wrote at Otley the preface to the fourth edition of *Primitive Physick* (*Works*, vol. xiv. p. 318).

⁵ See above, p. 229, and below, April 23, 1786, April 27, 1788; also Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 573. Laycock, in *Heroes of the Great Haworth Round*, p. 340, publishes a letter from Richardson to Mr. Sagar of Colne, which shows that it was not his desire that Wesley should be excluded from the Haworth pulpit.

⁶ Of which the Rev. Richard Hartley was vicar (*Meth. Rec.* Winter No. 1893, p. 64).

the morning; this hindered many, so that those who did come got in pretty well in the forenoon, but in the afternoon very many were obliged to go away.

After preaching at several other places on *Monday* and *Tuesday*, *Wednesday* the 26th I preached in Heptonstall church, well filled with serious hearers. In the evening I preached near Todmorden, in the heart of the mountains. One would wonder where all the people came from.

Thur. 27.—I preached in Todmorden church, with great enlargement of heart. In the afternoon we went on to Blackburn. It seemed the whole town was moved. But the question was, where to put the congregation. We could not stand abroad because of the sun, so as many as could squeezed into the preaching-house.¹ All the chief men of the town were there. It seems as if the last will be first.

Sun. 30.—We had a lovely congregation at Colne, but a much larger at one and at five. Many of them came ten or twelve miles; but I believe not in vain: God gave them a good reward for their labour.

MAY 1, *Mon.*—We reached Grassington about ten. The multitude of people constrained me to preach abroad. It was fair all the time I was preaching, but afterwards rained much. At Pateley Bridge the vicar offered me the use of his church. Though it was more than twice as large as our preaching-house, it was not near large enough to contain the congregation. How vast is the increase of the work of God! Particularly in the most rugged and uncultivated places! How does He 'send the springs of grace' also 'into the valleys, that run among the hills'!

Tues. 2.—We came to Ripon, and observed a remarkable turn of Providence. The great hindrance of the work of God in this place has suddenly disappeared,² and the poor people, being delivered from their fear, gladly flock together to hear His word.

¹ Some time this year the Old Calendar House, in what was afterwards called Chapel Street, was secured as a preaching-house, but whether before or after this visit of Wesley's is not quite certain. See Jessop's *Methodism in Rossendale*, p. 140; also, for the story of the land in

Clayton Street for a later chapel, p. 141.

² Whether Wesley refers to Dean Wanley, to whom he wrote a letter of protest and warning July 9, 1766, or to some more recent persecutor, we cannot tell. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 570.

The new preaching-house was quickly more than filled. Surely some of them will not be forgetful hearers !

In the afternoon we travelled through a delightful country, the more so when contrasted with the horrid mountains. The immense ruins of Jervaulx Abbey¹ show what a stately pile it was once. Though we were at a lone house, a numerous congregation assembled in the evening, on whom I enforced 'This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent.'

Wed. 3.—Judging it impracticable to pass the mountains in a carriage, I sent my chaise round and took horse. At twelve I preached at Swaledale to a loving people, increasing both in grace and number. Thence we crossed over another range of dreary mountains, and in the evening reached Barnard Castle. Not being yet inured to riding, I now felt something like weariness. But I forgot it in the lively congregation, and in the morning it was gone.

Thur. 4.—About eight I preached to a serious congregation at Cotherstone, and about one at Newbiggin, in Teesdale. We doubted how we should get over the next mountain, the famous Pikelaw, after so long and heavy rains ; but I scarce ever remember us getting over it so well. We found the people in Weardale, as usual, some of the liveliest in the kingdom, knowing nothing, and desiring to know nothing, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

Fri. 5.—Notice having been given, without my knowledge, of my preaching at Nenthead, all the lead-miners that could got together, and I declared to them, 'All things are ready.' After riding over another enormous mountain, I preached at Gamblesby (as I did about thirty years ago) to a large congregation of rich and poor.² The chief man of the town was

¹ The boundary wall of this Cistercian Abbey (dating from 1156), the home of Prior Aymer in *Ivanhoe*, was more than a mile in circuit.

² In Sept. 1749 (see above, vol. iii. pp. 433, 522) Wesley visited Gamblesby, now in the Kirkoswald circuit. It became the mother church of Methodism in this neighbourhood. Many names of

note in Methodist history are associated with the fellside societies of this circuit, the most illustrious of all being Joseph Benson, who was born at Townfoot Farm, Melmerby, and educated in a school associated with a quaint conventicle built among the stormy hills under the Five Mile Act. Benson's master, the Rev. Mr. Dean, is buried in

formerly a local preacher, but now keeps his carriage. Has he increased in holiness as well as in wealth? If not, he has made a poor exchange.

In the evening a large upper room, designed for an assembly, was procured for me at Penrith, but several of the poor people were struck with a panic for fear the room should fall. Finding there was no remedy, I went down into the court below, and preached in great peace to a multitude of well-behaved people. The rain was suspended while I preached, but afterwards returned, and continued most of the night.

Sat. 6.—I went on to Whitehaven, and in the evening exhorted all who knew in whom they had believed to ‘walk worthy of the Lord in all well-pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the knowledge of God.’

Sun. 7.—I preached at eight, at two, and at five, but could not preach abroad because of the rain. We were in hopes of sailing for the Isle of Man the next morning, as a little vessel was waiting for us; but the wind then turned full against us. By this means I had an opportunity given me of meeting the select society. I was pleased to find that none of them have lost the pure love of God since they received it first. I was particularly pleased with a poor negro. She seemed to be fuller of love than any of the rest. And not only her voice had an unusual sweetness, but her words were chosen and uttered with

the graveyard. At Gamblesby a chapel was built, planned by Wesley himself. A drawing only survives. The house of the ‘chief man of the town,’ who grew rich, still remains, but altered on its garden side. It is nearly opposite the bank above a little stream, on which, tradition says, Wesley preached whenever he came to Gamblesby. On one of these occasions Thomas Watson, then a little boy, was present. The child’s hand was held out by his father to touch Mr. Wesley’s gown, with the remark: ‘Thou’lt be pleased to remember that when thou art a man.’ The blacksmith’s shop in Gamblesby marks the site of the school-house in which Joseph Benson is said to have served as a tutor. See two articles in *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1900,

pp. 33-41. In the *Life of Robert Gate*, p. 31, the hymn sung at Wesley’s open-air service on the village green at Gamblesby is preserved—‘the second hymn in Mr. Wesley’s collection, “Come, sinners, to the gospel feast.”’ ‘When Mr. Wesley reached Penrith on this occasion he was very tired, and he asked Mr. William Varty, who had gone to meet him at the Old Crown Inn, how long it would be before service time. Mr. Varty replied, “Ten minutes,” when, to his astonishment, Mr. Wesley leaned back in his chair and fell fast asleep, awaking quite refreshed in time for the service.’ See Thomas’s *Life of Robert Gate*, pp. 31, 32. Like W. E. Gladstone, Wesley could sleep at will—a fact which no doubt accounted in part for the vigour of his old age.

a peculiar propriety. I never heard, either in England or America, such a negro speaker (man or woman) before.

Tues. 9.—Finding no hopes of sailing, after preaching morning and evening, I went to Cockermouth.

Wed. 10.—At eight I preached in the town-hall, but to the poor only; the rich could not rise so soon. In the evening I preached in the town-hall at Carlisle, and, from the number and seriousness of the hearers, I conceived a little hope that even here some good will be done.¹

Thur. 11.²—I reached Newcastle, and on *Friday* the 12th went to Sunderland. Many of our friends prosper in the world. I wish their souls may prosper also.

Sun. 14.—I preached at Gateshead Fell at two o'clock, and hoped to preach at the Garth Heads at five, but the rain drove us into the house. But all was well, for many found God was there.

Mon. 15.—I set out for Scotland, and *Tuesday* the 16th came to Berwick-upon-Tweed. Such a congregation I have not seen there for many years. Perhaps the seed which has so long seemed to be sown in vain may at length produce a good harvest.

Wed. 17.—I went on to Dunbar. I have seldom seen such a congregation here before. Indeed, some of them seemed at first disposed to mirth, but they were soon as serious as death. And truly the power of the Lord was present to heal those that were willing to come to the throne of grace.

Thur. 18.—I read, with great expectation, Dr. Watts's *Essay on Liberty*; but I was much disappointed. It is abstruse and metaphysical. Surely he wrote it either when he was very young or very old.³ In the evening I endeavoured to preach

¹ His itinerary on this date appears to include a visit to Wolsingham, where, 'in the old house at the top of the Causeway (the street now leading to the station), John Wesley, accompanied by a man-servant, stayed with Titus and Hannah Angus. The man-servant borrowed a diamond and wrote on a pane of glass in a window facing the Causeway, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." A granddaughter of Mr. Titus Angus, Wesley's host, remembers the diamond text, which was destroyed by

a thoughtless lad.' See *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1904, p. 38.

² He wrote from Newcastle to Mrs. Crosby (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 356).

³ It was published in 1732, when Watts was fifty-six. The title is sufficient to account for Wesley's disappointment and perplexity. Watts as a philosophical writer is now forgotten; but Watts's *Divine and Moral Songs* and his *Psalms and Hymns* can never be forgotten whilst the English language endures. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 233.

to the hearts of a large congregation at Edinburgh. We have cast much 'bread upon the waters' here. Shall we not 'find it again,' at least 'after many days'?

*Fri. 19.*¹—I preached at Joppa, a settlement of colliers, three miles from Edinburgh. Some months ago, as some of them were cursing and swearing, one of our local preachers, going by, reprov'd them. One of them followed after him and begged he would give them a sermon. He did so several times. Afterwards the travelling preachers went, and a few quickly agreed to meet together. Some of these now know in whom they have believed, and walk worthy of their profession.

Sat. 20.—I took one more walk through Holyrood House,² the mansion of ancient kings. But how melancholy an appearance does it make now! The stately rooms are dirty as stables, the colours of the tapestry are quite faded, several of the pictures are cut and defaced. The roof of the royal chapel is fallen in, and the bones of James the Fifth and the once beautiful Lord Darnley are scattered about like those of sheep or oxen. Such is human greatness! Is not 'a living dog better than a dead lion'?

Sun. 21.—The rain hindered me from preaching at noon upon the Castle Hill. In the evening the house was well filled, and I was enabled to speak strong words. But I am not a preacher for the people of Edinburgh. Hugh Saunderson³ and Michael Fenwick are more to their taste.

Tues. 23.—A gentleman took me to see Roslin Castle, eight miles from Edinburgh. It is now all in ruins; only a small dwelling-house is built on one part of it. The situation of it is exceeding fine, on the side of a steep mountain, hanging over a river, from which another mountain rises, equally steep, and clothed with wood. At a little distance is the chapel, which is

¹ He wrote from Edinburgh to Mrs. Jane Barton (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 381).

² His third visit. The desecration was due to the Stuarts, who closed the church to the public. James II of England so shocked the citizens by ordering mass to be celebrated here that they broke in, and left nothing but bare walls. They even entered the royal sepulchre and

did as Wesley says to the bodies of Magdalene of France, first wife of James V of Scotland, as well as their monarch, Darnley, and other nobles and royal children.

³ See above, pp. 23-4, and vol. v. p. 503. For Michael Fenwick see *Atmore's Memorial*, p. 123, and above, vol. iv. p. 229.

in perfect preservation, both within and without. I should never have thought it had belonged to any one less than a sovereign prince! the inside being far more elegantly wrought with variety of Scripture histories in stonework than I believe can be found again in Scotland; perhaps not in all England.¹ Hence we went to Dunbar.

Wed. 24.—In the afternoon I went through the lovely garden of a gentleman in the town, who has laid out walks hanging over the sea and winding among the rocks. One of them leads to the castle wherein that poor injured woman Mary, Queen of Scots, was confined.² But time has wellnigh devoured it; only a few ruinous walls are now standing.

Thur. 25.—We went on to Berwick.

Fri. 26.—In returning to Alnwick we spent an hour at H.,³ an ancient monastery. Part of it the Duke of Northumberland has repaired, furnished it in a plain manner, and surrounded it with a little garden. An old inscription bears date 1404, when part of it was built by the fourth Earl of Northumberland. How many generations have had their day since that time, and then passed away like a dream! We had a happy season at Alnwick with a large and deeply attentive congregation.

Sat. 27.—At noon I preached in the town hall at Morpeth, and God applied His word to many hearts. In the afternoon I preached to the loving colliers at Plessey, and then went on to Newcastle.

Sun. 28.—Between eight and nine in the morning I preached at Gateshead Fell on fellowship with God, a subject which not a few of them understand by heartfelt experience. The congregation at Sheephill about noon was far too large for any house to contain. Such was the power of God that I almost wondered any could help believing. At five I preached at the Garth Heads⁴ to a still more numerous congregation; but there

¹ The fortress dates from the twelfth century, the chapel from the fifteenth.

² The fortress dates from the ninth century. Wesley's history is not accurate. The castle served Mary as a retreat and rallying-place, rather than as a prison, and when she left it, it was at the head of an army, marching to the fatal battle of Carberry Hill.

³ Hulne Abbey, founded by Eustace St. John, 1147. It was an old Carmelite foundation in a sequestered spot on the Alnwick estate.

⁴ This was a street bounding the Keelmen's Hospital on the north. On May 29 he wrote from Newcastle-on-Tyne to Thomas Rankin, giving his northern itinerary (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

were few among them who remembered my first preaching near that place in the Keelmen's Hospital. For what reason the wise managers of that place forbade my preaching there any more, I am yet still to learn.¹

Wed. 31.—Taking my leave of this affectionate people, I went to Mr. Parker's at Shincliffe, near Durham.² The congregation being far too large to get into the house, I stood near his door. It seemed as if the whole village were ready to receive the truth in the love thereof. Perhaps their earnestness may provoke the people of Durham to jealousy.

In the afternoon we took a view of the Castle at Durham, the residence of the Bishop. The situation is wonderfully fine, surrounded by the river, and commanding all the country; and many of the apartments are large and stately; but the furniture is mean beyond imagination! I know not where I have seen such in a gentleman's house, or a man of five hundred a year, except that of the Lord-Lieutenant in Dublin. In the largest chambers the tapestry is quite faded; beside that, it is coarse and ill-judged. Take but one instance: in Jacob's Vision you see, on the one side, a little paltry ladder and an angel climbing it, in the attitude of a chimney-sweeper; and on the other side Jacob staring at him from under a large silver-laced hat!

JUNE 1, *Thur.*—About ten I preached at Aycliffe, a large village twelve miles from Durham; all the inhabitants whereof seem now as full of good-will as they were once of prejudice.

I preached at Darlington in the evening.³ It is good to

¹ Mr. Smith, of Newcastle, in a letter to his friend Benson, gives some account of this visit:

June 6.—Mr. Wesley left us last week. I never was better pleased with him in my life, nor do I remember ever to have been more profited by his preaching. . . . His congregations were very large.

² Mr. Thomas Parker was a barrister who resided in and near to the city for five years. He was an able preacher, who devoted much of his time to the work. Eighteen months after Wesley's visit the membership was doubled and the chapel filled to overflowing. (*Methodism in*

Durham City, pp. 15, 16, by William Thwaites.) He afterwards removed to Beverley (see below, June 17, 1786). He and Dr. Coke jointly signed the printed circular 'Plan for the Establishment of Missions among the Heathen' in 1784 (see *A New History of Methodism*, vol. ii. p. 288).

³ It is believed Wesley preached at the market cross, standing on the steps. 'An elderly lady, now eighty-five, remembers his preaching there, and describes his countenance as "truly angelic"' (*Meth. in Darlington* (1852), p. 28).

be here ; the liveliness of the people animates all that come near them. On *Friday* evening we had a lovefeast, at which many were greatly comforted by hearing such artless, simple accounts of the mighty works of God.

Sat. 3.—At noon I preached to a large congregation at Northallerton.¹ The sun shone full in my face when I began, but it was soon overcast ; and I believe this day, if never before, God gave a general call to this careless people. In the evening I preached at Thirsk. When I was here last a few young women behaved foolishly ; but all were deeply serious now, and seemed to feel that God was there.

Sun. 4.—The service began about ten at Staveley, near Boroughbridge. Mr. Hartley, the rector,² read prayers. But the church would scarce contain half the congregation, so that I was obliged to stand upon a tombstone, both morning and afternoon. In the evening I preached at Boroughbridge to a numerous congregation ; and all were attentive, except a few soldiers, who seemed to understand nothing of the matter.

Mon. 5.—About noon I preached at Tockwith, and then went on to York. I was surprised to find a general faintness here ; one proof of which was that the morning preaching was given up.

Tuesday the 6th was the Quarterly Meeting, the most numerous I ever saw. At two was the lovefeast, at which several instances of the mighty power of God were repeated ; by which it appears that His work is still increasing in several parts of the circuit.

¹ The widow of Mr. James Shepherd (for many years Governor of York Castle), now (1860) eighty-six years of age, 'remembers Mr. Wesley preaching here (Northallerton) in 1780. She was then a little girl between five and six years of age. The service was held in Jacky Wren's yard, which then included the yard of the present Buck Inn, near the Grammar School. She has a most vivid recollection of the sun shining in his face whilst preaching. The yard was full of people. She sat on her mother's knee. The text was, "If the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" She remembers

also walking by his side, taking hold of a hem of his clerical robe. Jacky Wren was a pious and useful man, by trade a weaver. The preaching for some time was held in his cottage.' (Ward's *Methodism in Thirsk*, p. 36.)

² Richard Burdsall received a letter on one occasion from the Rev. J. Hartley, rector of Staveley, requesting him to go and preach to his parishioners. Had it been in his power he would have lent the church to the Methodist preacher. Burdsall borrowed the school-house for the service, and both the rector and his wife were present. (*Memoirs of Richard Burdsall*, p. 132.)

An arch news-writer published a paragraph to-day, probably designed for wit, concerning the large pension which the famous Wesley received for defending the King.¹ This so increased the congregation in the evening, that scores were obliged to go away. And God applied that word to many hearts 'I will not destroy the city for ten's sake!'

Wed. 7.—I preached at Pocklington and Swinefleet. *Thursday* the 8th² I preached on the Green at Thorne to a listening multitude. Only two or three were much diverted at the thought of seeing the dead, small and great, standing before God!

Fri. 9.—About noon I preached at Crowle; and in the evening at Epworth, on 'I will not let Thee go, except Thou bless me.'

Sat. 10.—In the evening I preached at Owston; and, passing the Trent early in the morning, on *Sunday* the 11th preached at Kirton,³ about eight, to a very large and very serious congregation. Only before me stood one, something like a gentleman, with his hat on even at prayer. I could scarce help telling him a story: In Jamaica, a negro passing by the Governor, pulled off his hat; so did the Governor; at which one expressing his surprise, he said, 'Sir, I should be ashamed if a negro had more good manners than the Governor of Jamaica.'

About two I preached at Gainsborough, and again at five, to a very numerous congregation. We had then a lovefeast,⁴

¹ The paragraph was copied from the *London Courant*. It is published in Lyth's *Meth. in York*, p. 137:

The famous preacher Wesley may now be ranked among the pensioned hirelings of the Court; and has been busily employed in some parts of Yorkshire very lately putting forth his pious political tenets. The established churches in many places have been laid open to him, particularly at Halifax and Bingley, where in his sermons he has repeatedly exhorted his disciples to purchase a 4d. book which he calls *A True Statement or Account of the War in America*.

The reference is to Mr. Galloway's pamphlet, referred to above, Nov. 13, 1779. See especially *W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 5.

² He wrote to his brother Charles,

a letter full of interesting points (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 147).

³ When Samuel Woodcock and Jeremiah Brettell were labouring in Lincolnshire, Mrs. Elizabeth [Smith] Turner, and five or six more God-fearing persons invited the Methodist preachers to visit Kirton. This was the beginning of the regular preaching in this place. It was at this time that Miss Charlotte Pinder, of Kirton (*Meth. Mag.* 1805, p. 555) was converted. See *Meth. Mag.* 1813, p. 529.

⁴ At that lovefeast, held in the Old Hall at Gainsborough, Mr. Robert Moss made his vow.

His first powerful impression was received under a sermon of Mr. Wesley (on John vii.

and one of the most lively which I have known for many years. Many spoke, and with great fervour as well as simplicity ; so that most who heard blessed God for the consolation.

Mon. 12.—About eleven I preached at Newton-upon-Trent, to a large and very genteel congregation. Thence we went to Newark ; but our friends were divided as to the place where I should preach. At length they found a convenient place, covered on three sides, and on the fourth open to the street.¹ It contained two or three thousand people well, who appeared to hear as for life. Only one big man, exceeding drunk, was very noisy and turbulent, till his wife (*fortissima Tyndaridarum*!)² seized him by the collar, gave him two or three hearty boxes on the ear, and dragged him away like a calf. But at length he got out of her hands, crept in among the people, and stood as quiet as a lamb.

Tues. 13.—I accepted of an invitation from a gentleman at Lincoln, in which I had not set my foot for upwards of fifty years.³ At six in the evening I preached in the castle yard, to

37-9), preached to an immense crowd in the open air, at the village of Misterton, near Epworth. The following year the lovefeast was held, at which the boy, seven years old, 'solemnly covenanted, in the presence of God, angels, the Rev. John Wesley, and the church there assembled, that I would be a Methodist as soon as I was old enough.'

See John McLean's *Memoir* of Robert Moss (*W.M. Mag.* 1856, p. 301).

¹ It is said that the building which held so large a congregation consisted of covered shambles, one end opening on the market-place, the other abutting on Middle Gate. The town-hall now stands upon the site, in the large room of which Mr. W. E. Knight, son of one of the oldest Methodist families, conducted (1904) a service on Sunday afternoons (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 239). When Thomas Lee visited Newark twenty years before, the mob had burnt the Methodist pulpit in the market-place, ducked the preacher without mercy in the Trent, and engaged a painter to bedaub him ludicrously (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 327).

² Horace, *Sat. i.* 1, 100. See *W.H.S.*

vol. v. p. 89. Ford translates the words, 'Bravest of the family of Tyndareus.' 'The aptness of the quotation is brought out by the context thus given by Macleane :

'Cease your getting : having more than enough, enjoy what you have got, and remember the fate of Ummidius the miser.' Of him Horace says :

Hunc liberta securi
Divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.
But a bold wench, of right virago strain,
Cleft with an axe the wretched wight in
twain.—*Francis.*

³ His last visit was on Aug. 29, 1749, and then it was only a visit in passing. He appears to have misread the figure 30 in his notes for 50. Why, when he was so frequently in the county preaching in so many of the small towns and villages, and establishing societies, he did not, at an earlier period, attempt something for Lincoln, is one of the anomalies of the story. It is also strange, as Tyerman has remarked (vol. iii. p. 327), that seven years after this there was not a Methodist in Lincoln.

a large and attentive congregation. They were all as quiet as if I had been at Bristol. Will God have a people here also?

*Wed. 14.*¹—I preached again at ten in the morning. In the middle of the sermon a violent storm began; on which Mr. Wood, the keeper, opened the door of the court-house, which contained the whole of the congregation. I have great hope some of these will have their fruit unto holiness, and in the end everlasting life.

Heavy rain drove us into the house at Horncastle in the evening.

Thur. 15.—I preached at Raithby. Two of Mr. Brackenbury's brothers spent the evening with us.

*Fri. 16.*²—We went on to Boston, the largest town in the county, except Lincoln.³ From the top of the steeple (which I suppose is by far the highest tower in the kingdom) we had a view not only of all the town, but of all the adjacent country. Formerly this town was in the fens; but the fens are vanished away. Great part of them is turned into pasture, and part into arable land. At six the house contained the congregation, all of whom behaved in the most decent manner. How different from those wild beasts with whom Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Mather had to do!⁴

Sat. 17.—The house was pretty well filled in the morning, and many were much affected. A gentleman who was there invited me to dinner, and offered me the use of his paddock; but the wind was so exceeding high that I could not preach abroad, as I did when I was here before, just six-and-twenty years ago⁵; and Mr. Thompson, a friendly Anabaptist, offering me the use of his large meeting-house, I willingly accepted the offer. I preached to most of the chief persons in the town, on

¹ He wrote from London to the Rev. Brian Bury Collins (*W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 31).

² He wrote to Mr. Abraham Brames (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 526).

³ His last previous visit to Boston was on Aug. 11, 1761, and his first recorded visit on April 3, 1759. The steeple is ascended by 364 steps, and is 282 feet high, surmounted by an octagonal lan-

tern. It was a famous landmark for mariners when the sea was nearer to the town than it is now.

⁴ For the treatment accorded to Thomas Mitchell and Alexander Mather see *E.M.P.* vol. i. p. 248 (Wrangle is but eight miles from Boston), and vol. ii. p. 172, or *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. i. p. 184, and vol. ii. p. 93.

⁵ See above, vol. iv. p. 304.

1 Cor. xiii. 1-3; and many of them seemed utterly amazed. 'Open their eyes, O Lord, that they sleep not in death!'

Sun. 18.—I gave them a parting discourse at seven; and, after adding a few members to the little society, and exhorting them to cleave close to each other, I left them with a comfortable hope that they would not be scattered any more.

About noon I preached in the market-place at Wainfleet,¹ once a large seaport town, till the harbour was blocked up by sand. The congregation behaved exceeding well. We now passed into Marshland, a fruitful and pleasant part of the county. Such is Langham Row in particular, the abode of honest George Robinson² and his fourteen children. Although it was a lone house, yet such a multitude of people flocked together that I was obliged to preach abroad. It blew a storm, and we had several showers of rain; but no one went away. I do not wonder that this society is the largest, as well as the liveliest, in these parts of Lincolnshire.

Mon. 19.³—I preached at Louth, where the people used to be rough enough; but now were serious and calmly attentive. Such a change in a whole town I have seldom known in the compass of one year.

Tues. 20.—After preaching at Tealby, I went on to Grimsby, where I am still more at home than at any place in the east of Lincolnshire; though scarce any of our first members remain; they are all safe lodged in Abraham's bosom. But here is still a loving people, though a little disturbed by the Calvinists, who seize on every halting soul as their own lawful prey.⁴

¹ On this occasion Wesley was attended by Joseph Bradford and John Peacock. Mrs. Webster—for nearly seventy years a member of society—was his hostess. Her house for more than half a century was the preachers' home. From the infancy of Methodism in Wainfleet she steadily promoted its interests. (*W.M. Mag.* 1835, p. 806.)

² For many years Robinson was circuit steward. His carefully kept circuit-book is now in the possession of a well-known Methodist in Alford. An octagon chapel was built about 1770 near Mr. Robinson's

house, in which Wesley often preached.

³ He wrote from Louth to John Bredin (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ 'Jesus, great Shepherd of the sheep,' from which this phrase is taken, appeared first in C. Wesley's *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1749. It was included in John Wesley's first edition of *A Collection of Hymns*, 1780. In the edition of 1904 the hymn is retained (No. 693). But the second verse, which contains the line quoted in text, is omitted. (Osborn's *Poetical Works of J. and C. Wesley*, vol. v. p. 33.)

Wed. 21.—I preached at Scotter to a lovely, simple-hearted people ; and at Epworth in the evening.

*Thur. 22.*¹—I preached once more at Crowle to a numerous and deeply serious congregation. Every one thought, ‘Can any good come out of Crowle?’ But God’s thoughts were not as our thoughts. There is now such a work of God in this as is in few of the places round about it.²

Sat. 24.—I preached about noon at Belton. There was the dawn of a blessed work here ; but ‘My Lady’s preachers,’ so called, breaking in, set every one’s sword against his brother. Some of them revive a little ; but I doubt whether they will ever recover their first love.

Sun. 25.—Sir William Anderson,³ the rector, having sent an express order to his curate, he did not dare to gainsay. So at ten I began reading prayers to such a congregation as I apprehend hardly ever assembled in this church before. I preached on Luke viii. 18, part of the Second Lesson. Not a breath was heard ; all was still ‘as summer’s noontide air’⁴ ; and I believe our Lord then sowed seed in many hearts, which will bring forth fruit to perfection.

After dinner I preached at Westwoodside. The high wind was a little troublesome ; but the people regarded it not. We concluded the day with one of the most solemn lovefeasts I have known for many years.

Mon. 26.—Finningley church was well filled in the evening, and many seemed much affected.

Tues. 27.—I preached at Doncaster about noon, and to a larger congregation at Rotherham in the evening.

Wed. 28.—I went to Sheffield. But the house⁵ was not ready ; so I preached in the Square.

I can hardly think I am entered this day into the seventy-

¹ He wrote from Epworth to ‘Dear Nancy’ (new ed *Wesley Letters*).

² On June 23 he wrote from ‘London’ to R. C. Brackenbury, who was from home (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 1).

³ Rector of Epworth, 1757–84. He succeeded to the baronetcy in 1765, and was followed in the rectorate and baronetcy by his son, the Rev. Sir

Charles Anderson (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 204). The curate was the Rev. Joshua Gibson, as his gravestone in Epworth churchyard records, ‘Curate of this place forty-six years.’ See below, July 6, 1788.

⁴ See *Paradise Lost*, Bk. ii. 308, 309.

⁵ Norfolk Street Chapel. Wesley preached in Paradise Square. See above, p. 244.

eighth year of my age. By the blessing of God, I am just the same as when I entered the twenty-eighth. This hath God wrought, chiefly by my constant exercise, my rising early, and preaching morning and evening.

Thur. 29.—I was desired to preach at Worksop; but when I came, they had not fixed on any place. At length they chose a lamentable one, full of dirt and dust, but without the least shelter from the scorching sun. This few could bear; so we had only a small company of as stupid people as ever I saw. In the evening I preached in the old house¹ at Sheffield; but the heat was scarce supportable. I took my leave of it at five in the morning, and in the evening preached in the new house, thoroughly filled with rich and poor; to whom I declared, 'We preach Christ crucified'; and He bore witness to His word in a very uncommon manner.

JULY 1, *Sat.*—I preached once more at Rotherham.

Sun. 2.—At eight I preached at Sheffield. There was afterwards such a number of communicants as was never seen at the old church before. I preached again at five; but very many were constrained to go away. We concluded our work by visiting some that were weak in body, but strong in faith, desiring nothing but to do and suffer the will of God.

Monday the 3rd, and *Tuesday* the 4th, I preached at Derby; *Wednesday* the 5th, at a church eight miles from it.² In the afternoon, as I was going through Stapleford, in my way to Nottingham, I was stopped by some who begged me to look into their new preaching-house. Many following me, the house was soon filled; and we spent half an hour together, to our mutual comfort. In the evening I preached at Nottingham.

Wed. 5.—I preached in Loughborough about eleven, and in the evening at Leicester. I know not how it is that I constantly find such liberty of spirit in this place.

Thur. 6.—The room at five, according to custom, was filled from end to end. I have not spent a whole day in Leicester for these fifty-two years; surely I shall before I die. This night we spent in Northampton; then went on to London.

¹ In Mulberry Street. It was purchased and converted into a chapel in 1757. (*W.M. Mag.* 1835, p. 607.)

² Risley answers to this note of place. See Cary's *Road Map*.

Sun. 9.—We had a full congregation at the new chapel, and found God had not forgotten to be gracious. In the following days I read over, with a few of our preachers, the *Large Minutes* of the Conference, and considered all the articles, one by one, to see whether any should be omitted or altered.¹

Sunday the 16th was a day of much refreshment and strong consolation to many, who are persuaded that God will revive His work, and bind up the waste places.

Mon. 17.—My brother and I set out for Bath. I preached at Reading in the evening. On *Tuesday* evening I preached at Ramsbury Park. On *Wednesday* we reached Bath.

A year ago there was such an awakening here as never had been from the beginning; and, in consequence of it, a swift and large increase of the society. Just then Mr. M'Nab,² quarrelling with Mr. Smyth, threw wildfire among the people, and occasioned anger, jealousies, judging each other, backbiting and tale-bearing without end; and, in spite of all the pains which have been taken, the wound is not healed to this day.

Both my brother and I now talked to as many as we could, and endeavoured to calm and soften their spirits; and on *Friday* and *Saturday* I spoke severally to all the members of the society that could attend. On *Friday* evening, both in the preaching and at the meeting of the society, the power of God was again present to heal: as also on *Saturday*, both morning and evening; and a few are added to the society.

Sun. 23.—I preached (after reading prayers) at ten, at half-hour past two, and in the evening. Very many heard; I hope some *felt* what was spoken. We have sown; oh, may God give the increase!

*Mon. 24.*³—I went on to Bristol. While I was at Bath I narrowly observed and considered the celebrated Cartoons,⁴ the three first in particular. What a poor designer was one of

¹ A fifth edition, which varies considerably from previous ones, was published this year. See Green's *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 344, and especially his note on the sixth ed., No. 404.

² See above, p. 262.

³ He wrote from Bristol to Zechariah

Yewdall (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 10), and the day following to the Rev. Brian Bury Collins (*W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 143).

⁴ Raphael's Cartoons were at Hampton Court. At Knole there are replicas. Probably Wesley saw copies at Bath.

the finest painters in the world! (1) Here are two men in a boat, each of them more than half as long as the boat itself. (2) Our Lord, saying to Peter, 'Feed My sheep,' points to three or four sheep standing by Him. (3) While Peter and John heal the lame man, two naked boys stand by them. For what? Oh pity that so fine a painter should be utterly without common sense!

In the evening I saw one of the greatest curiosities in the vegetable creation—the Nightly Cereus.¹ About four in the afternoon the dry stem began to swell; about six it gradually opened; and about eight it was in its full glory. I think the inner part of this flower, which was snow-white, was about five inches diameter; the yellow rays which surrounded it I judged were in diameter nine or ten inches. About twelve it began to droop, being covered with a cold sweat; at four it died away.

The people at Bath were still upon my mind, so on *Thursday* the 27th I went over again; and God was with us of a truth whenever we assembled together. Surely God is healing the breaches of this poor, shattered people.

Sun. 30.—Forty or fifty of our preachers being come, we had a solemn opportunity in the morning. We had the most numerous congregation in the afternoon which has been seen here for many years. And will not the Lord be glorified in our reformation, rather than our destruction? ²

AUG. 1, *Tues.*—Our Conference began.³ We have been always hitherto straitened for time. It was now resolved, 'For the future we allow nine or ten days for each Conference; that everything relative to the carrying on the work of God may be maturely considered.'

Fri. 4.—I preached on a convenient piece of ground at one

¹ Mr. James Britten, of the botanical department of the Natural History Museum, South Kensington, says that the plant, no doubt, was *Cereus grandiflorus*, so named by Linnaeus in 1753. Mr. W. Watson, Assistant Curator at Kew, in his *Cactus Culture for Amateurs*, 1899, p. 60, gives a full description of this strange plant. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 212.

² On July 31 he wrote from Bristol

to Miss P. Newman (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); and on Aug. 1 to the Rev. Brian B. Collins, advising with reference to his admission to full orders (*W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 33).

³ Christopher Hopper in his *Journal* says: 'Our Conference began on Aug. 1, and concluded on the 9th. Our brethren made me President in Mr. Wesley's absence' (*E.M.P.* vol. i. p. 219, or *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. i. p. 152).

end of Redcliff Parade. Great part of the immense congregation had never heard this kind of preaching before; yet they were deeply attentive while I opened and applied those awful words, 'I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God.'¹

Sun. 6.—We had the largest numbers of communicants that had ever met at the new room; and the largest congregation at five that had ever met near King Square.

Wed. 9.—We concluded the Conference in much peace and love.²

Fri. 11.—The sultry heat continuing, I would not coop myself up in the chapel, but preached again near Redcliff Parade, with much comfort and peace.

Mon. 14.—For fear of the violent heat we set out for Cornwall very early in the morning. But we feared where no fear was, for that very day the heat was at an end, and a mild rain began, which, at intervals, followed us almost to the Land's End.

After preaching at South Brent, Taunton, and Cullompton, on *Wednesday* the 16th we came to Exeter. It is still a day of small things here, for want of a convenient preaching-house.

Thur. 17.—I went on to Plymouth. Here I expected little comfort. A large preaching-house was built; but who was to pay for it? I preached in it at six, at five in the morning, and on *Friday* evening; and, from the number and spirit of the hearers, could not but hope that good will be done here also.

Sat. 19.—I snatched the opportunity of a fair evening to preach in the Square at Plymouth Dock.

Sun. 20.—At seven in the morning and at five in the evening I preached at the Dock; in the afternoon in Plymouth house.³ It was crowded sufficiently. After preaching I made a collection for the house, which amounted to above five-and-twenty pounds. When I had done Mr. Jane said, 'This is not all. We must have a weekly collection both here and at the Dock. Let as

¹ On Aug. 5 he wrote from Bristol to Miss Bosanquet: 'Hitherto we have had a blessed Conference. The case of the Church we shall fully consider by and by; and I believe we shall agree that none who leave the Church shall remain with us' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 405).

² On Aug. 10 he wrote to Bishop Lowth (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 142).

³ In Ker Street. It is said that the house was so crowded when Wesley arrived that it was impossible for him to walk to the pulpit, and that he had to be lifted over the seats.

many as can subscribe sixpence a week for one year. I will subscribe five shillings a week. And let this be reserved for the payment of the debt.' It was done; and by this simple method the most pressing debts were soon paid.

Mon. 21.—I preached to a large and quiet congregation in the main street at St. Austell.

Tues. 22.—I preached at Mevagissey; in the evening at Helston.

Wed. 23.—I went on to Penzance. It is now a pleasure to be here, the little flock being united together in love. I preached at a little distance from the preaching-house. A company of soldiers were in town, whom, toward the close of the sermon, the good officer ordered to march through the congregation. But as they readily opened and closed again, it made very little disturbance.¹

Thur. 24.—I preached near the preaching-house at St. Just. God applied His word with power, more especially at the meeting of the society, when all our hearts were as melting wax.

Fri. 25.—I preached in the market-place at St. Ives to most of the inhabitants of the town. Here is no opposer now. Rich and poor see, and very many feel, the truth.

I now looked over a volume of Mr. K[nox]'s *Essays*.² He is a lively writer, of middling understanding. But I cannot admire his style at all. It is prim, affected, and highly frenchified. I object to the beginning so many sentences with participles. This does well in French, but not in English. I cannot admire his judgement in many particulars. To instance in one or two. He depresses Cowley beyond all reason, who was far from being a mean poet. Full as unreasonably does he depress modern eloquence. I believe I have heard speakers at Oxford, to say nothing of Westminster, who were not inferior to either Demosthenes or Cicero.

Sat. 26.—We had our Quarterly Meeting at Redruth, where all was love and harmony.

¹ In August (date unknown) he wrote to Sir Harry Trelawney (Whitehead's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 372, Dublin ed.). See above, vol. iv. p. 327.

² By Vicesimus Knox: *Essays Moral*

and Literary. First published in 1778 in one volume; afterwards enlarged and reprinted. For Cowley, see *Essay* No. 169; on *Modern Eloquence* see No. 160. (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 233.)

Sun. 27.—It was supposed twenty thousand people were assembled at the amphitheatre in Gwennap.¹ And yet all, I was informed, could hear distinctly, in the fair, calm evening.

Mon. 28.—I preached at Wadebridge and Port Isaac; *Tuesday* the 29th at Camelford and Launceston.² Hence we hastened toward Bristol, by way of Wells, where (the weather being intensely hot, so that we could not well bear the room) I preached on the shady side of the market-place, on ‘By grace are ye saved, through faith.’ As I was concluding, a sergeant of militia brought a drum; but he was a little too late. I pronounced the blessing, and quietly walked away. I know not that ever I felt it hotter in Georgia than it was here this afternoon.

SEPT. 3, *Sun.*—I preached three times at Bath,³ and, I believe, not without a blessing.⁴

Wed. 6.—I preached at Paulton. The flame kindled last year still continues to burn here; and (what is strange), though so many have set their hand to the plough, there are none that look back. In all the number I do not find so much as one backslider.

Thur. 7.—I spent an hour with the children, the most difficult part of our work. About noon I preached to a large and serious congregation at Chew Magna; in the evening to a still more

¹ See above, vol. v. p. 387.

² This was one of the few places in which persecution so far triumphed as to drive Methodism out of the town for the time being. Wesley had preached there and formed a society. It was so poor that Nanny Blake, a lowly woman of blessed memory, used to give the preacher her only room, while she passed the night in an old arm-chair in the passage. For the story of her conversion and the bitter persecution, led by the Rev. Mr. Cory, the minister of St. Breoke, and for Wesley’s action at the Bodmin Assizes and the final dispersal of Methodism, see *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1902, p. 96. Methodism was re-introduced at a later period.

³ On Sept. 4 he wrote from Bristol to the leaders at Sheffield denouncing those who purpose ‘to subvert the

Methodist plan by mixing men and women together in the chapel’ (Tyer-
man’s *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 336).

⁴ The little gap between Sunday and Wednesday in this week is partly filled by Mr. Robert Roe, whose ‘experience’ is published in *Arm. Mag.* 1784, p. 524:

The 4th.—I went to hear Mr. Wesley; his sermon seemed as if for me alone. . . . ‘Unless we have the love of God shed abroad in our hearts we cannot be saved. We are both justified and sanctified by faith, and have a direct witness of the Spirit, without which neither can exist. Others judge us by our fruits: a calm, even, gentle, resigned, patient mind in all states and situations.’

Mr. Roe adds:

I went with him to Mr. Castleman’s, and had a good time. At night he said, ‘It is a shame this poor, weak thing should go home to-night; let him have my bed’; but I declined it

serious company at Stoke, where Mr. Griffin¹ is calmly waiting for the call that summons him to Abraham's bosom.

Mon. 11.—As I drew near Bath, I wondered what had drawn such a multitude of people together, till I learnt that one of the Members for the city had given an ox to be roasted whole. But their sport was sadly interrupted by heavy rain, which sent them home faster than they came; many of whom dropped in at our chapel, where I suppose they never had been before.

Tues. 12.—At the invitation of that excellent woman, Mrs. Turner,² I preached about noon in her chapel in Trowbridge. As most of the hearers were Dissenters, I did not expect to do much good. However, I have done my duty: God will look to the event.

Thur. 14.—I read prayers and preached in Clutton church: but it was with great difficulty, because of my hoarseness, which so increased that in four-and-twenty hours I could scarce speak at all. At night I used my never-failing remedy, bruised garlick applied to the soles of the feet. This cured my hoarseness in six hours; in one hour it cured my lumbago, the pain in the small of my back, which I had had ever since I came from Cornwall.³

¹ This gentleman, we have reason to believe, was an ancestor of several families which have been famous for generations in the story of West-country Methodism. For the Griffins, the Harpers, and the Helliars, see *Meth Rec.* Winter No., 1896, p. 79, and *W.M. Mag.*, *passim*; also below, Sept. 10, 1790. The best-known of this illustrious group was the late Benjamin Hellier of Richmond, Headingley, and also an Assistant Tutor of Didsbury College.

² In 1772 Wesley had received a long, warm-hearted letter from Mrs. Joanna Turner, who had a meeting-house in Trowbridge. She was not, as she said, one of his society, nor did she see all things as he did, but she desired to hold up his hands 'with all the power that the Lord shall give me' (*Arm. Mag.* 1798, p. 46). From an elegy on her death, by Miss C— (*Arm. Mag.* 1790, p. 223), we may estimate the honour in which she was held in Trowbridge—'Your

Tabitha, your benefactress.' Her chapel in Trowbridge was known as the Tabernacle, where, on a memorial tablet, are the words: 'Under God the Church is indebted to Joana Turner for the ministry of the Rev. William Jay. She died Dec. 24, 1784, aged 52.' It may be added that Adam Clarke married one of her nieces, and Joseph Butterworth, M.P., another. For an interesting account of Mrs. Turner, and for a Memoir of her, abridged by Wesley but never published, see Rev. T. E. Brigden's article in *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 57.

³ On Sept. 16 he wrote to Samuel Bradburn, changing his appointment from Keighley to Athlone, in the interests of his children, who were in ill-health. 'If there was stormy weather,' he wrote, 'it might endanger their lives' (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 337); on the 18th to R. C. Brackenbury (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 2); and on the 22nd to Mr. Gidley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 514).

Wed. 20.—I preached in the market-place at Pill to the most stupid congregation I have lately seen.

Thur. 21.—I married Mr. Horton¹ and Miss Durbin.² May they be patterns to all around them!

Sun. 24.—I preached in Temple church, the most beautiful³ and the most ancient in Bristol.

OCT. 1,⁴ *Sun.*—I preached, as usual, morning and evening at the room. About two I preached a funeral sermon at Kingswood for that blessed saint, Bathsheba Hall,⁵ a pattern for many years of zealously doing and patiently suffering the will of God. In the evening about seven hundred of us joined in solemnly renewing our covenant with God.

Mon. 2.—After preaching at the Devizes, I went on to Sarum.

Tues. 3.—I walked over to Wilton and preached to a very serious congregation in the new preaching-house. I found at Sarum the fruit of Captain Webb's preaching; some were awakened, and one perfected in love. Yet I was a little surprised

¹ John Horton, drysalter, a member of the Common Council, London, was one of Wesley's executors. Through differences that arose after Wesley's death he left the Methodists; but 'he would rather see his son a Methodist preacher than Archbishop of Canterbury.' See *Meth. Mag.* 1803, p. 211; below, p. 460, and *Diary*, *passim*.

² Henry Durbin, a chemist, Mary Durbin's father, the most influential trustee of the Old Room, and afterwards one of the trustees of Portland Chapel, was a stout old Church-Methodist, and one of the signatories to the inhibition of Henry Moore from the Old Room pulpit. The marriage took place in Bedminster Church. Henry Durbin was a member of the Religious Societies, one of which met in Baldwin Street, another in St. Nicholas Street—this before Wesley first arrived in Bristol. His daughter Mary (Mrs. John Horton) is buried in the graveyard of Wesley's Chapel in City Road, London. Sir

John Durbin, Knight of College Green, Alderman of the city, was a nephew of 'Henry Durbin, Esq. Chymist, Bedminster'—also entered in Matthew's Directory (1793-4), under the head of Physic, as 'Chymist, Redcliff Street.' See *W.H.S.* vol. ii. pp. 40-43, 110; vol. iii. p. 24; vol. vi. p. 101; vol. vii. pp. 16, 17; *W.M. Mag.* 1845, pp. 319 seq.

³ These superlatives have been questioned. St. James and St. Mary Redcliffe, one in antiquity and the other in beauty, surpass this church, whose tower, however, attracted Mary Queen of Scots in 1568, and is mentioned by Camden. Nothing of the temple of the Red Cross Knights remains. William of Worcester calls it 'the most beautiful church of the Temple.'

⁴ He wrote from Bristol to John Valton, two letters of the same date (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. pp. 337, 338).

⁵ See above, p. 254.

at the remark of some of our eldest brethren that they had never heard Perfection preached before.¹

Wed. 4.—The preaching-house at Whitchurch, though much enlarged, could not contain the congregation in the evening. Some genteel people were inclined to smile at first; but their mirth was quickly over. The awe of God fell upon the whole congregation, and many 'rejoiced unto Him with reverence.'

Sat. 7.—I returned from Portsmouth to London.²

Mon. 16.—I went to Tunbridge Wells, and preached to a serious congregation on Rev. xx. 12.

Tues. 17.—I came back to Sevenoaks, and in the afternoon walked over to the Duke of Dorset's seat. The park is the pleasantest I ever saw; the trees are so elegantly disposed. The house, which is at least two hundred years old, is immensely large.³ It consists of two squares, considerably bigger than the two quadrangles in Lincoln College. I believe we were shown above thirty rooms, beside the hall, the chapels, and three galleries. The pictures are innumerable; I think, four times as many as in the Castle at Blenheim. Into one of the galleries opens the King's bed-chamber, ornamented above all the rest. The bed-curtains are cloth-of-gold, and so richly wrought that it requires some strength to draw them. The tables, the chairs, the frames of the looking-glasses, are all plated over with silver. The tapestry, representing the whole history of Nebuchadnezzar, is as fresh as if newly woven. But the bed-curtains are exceedingly dirty, and look more like copper than gold. The silver on the tables, chairs, and glass looks as dull as lead. And, to

¹ The correspondence of Mrs. E. Bushell, in Dyson's *Meth. in the Isle of Wight*, shows that the preaching of Captain Webb did emphasize Christian Perfection.

² On Oct. 12 he wrote from near London to Jeremiah Brettell. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

³ The park is probably one of the finest in the country; it is two miles long and in one part one and a half broad, and contains almost every English tree. Knole House occupies a space of five acres; the buildings form a quadrangle, with numer-

ous towers and two large iron-battled gateways, and comprise three hundred and sixty-five rooms and fifty-two stair-cases; probably also, as elsewhere, other such numerical arrangements. It passed into possession of the Sackvilles in 1603. The bed-chamber was fitted up for the reception of James I at a cost of twenty thousand pounds; the bed alone cost eight thousand pounds. The paintings number three hundred and six, and represent the great masters of every period. Wesley twice revisited the mansion.



1. RAITHY HALL, LINCOLNSHIRE, THE RESIDENCE OF R. C. BRACKENBURY
(see PAGE 115).
2. KNOLE PARK, SEVENOAKS, FROM AN OLD PRINT.

complete all, King Nebuchadnezzar among the beasts, together with his eagle's claws, has a large crown upon his head, and is clothed in scarlet and gold.

Mon. 23.—I visited, for a few days, the societies in Northamptonshire.¹

Mon. 30.—I went to High Wycombe, where the new preaching-house was well filled in the evening.

Tues. 31.—We had such a congregation at noon in Oxford as I never saw there before; and, what I regarded more than their number, was their seriousness. Even the young gentlemen behaved well; nor could I observe one smiling countenance, although I closely applied these words, 'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.'²

Nov. 5, *Sun.*—I preached at the new chapel on Luke ix. 55: 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of'³; and showed,

¹ On Oct. 25 he wrote from Whittlebury to Christopher Hopper (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 318), and on the 28th from London to Samuel Bradburn (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 337).

² On Nov. 3 he wrote from London, probably to Mr. Mason who was superintendent of the Bradford (Wilts) circuit (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 338).

³ This subject was probably suggested to Wesley by the request sent to him by Lord George Gordon to visit him in the Tower. At the time of the Gordon Riots, early in the preceding June, Wesley was absent from London, and did not return for some months. Lord George Gordon (1751-93) was a younger son of the third Duke of Gordon, and a Member of Parliament. The cause of the riots was the passing, in 1778, of the Catholic Relief Act, a measure introduced by Sir George Savile with an intimation that a similar measure for Scotland would be introduced the following year. Although the English Bill passed without a division in either House, the purpose to extend the law to Scotland was sternly resisted by provincial synods of the Presbyterian Church, and furious anti-Popery riots took place in Edinburgh in 1779. In 1780 a Protestant Associa-

tion was formed in London with Lord George Gordon at its head. On June 2 he marched with a procession of twenty thousand bearing an immense petition to Parliament demanding the repeal of the Catholic Relief Act. As they approached, some of the Lords and Commons in their carriages were assaulted, amongst them Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice. Gordon presented the petition, and demanded its instant consideration. Instead of discussing it the House adjourned. There followed 'a disgraceful carnival of anarchy aggravated by religious intolerance. For four days London was in the hands of the mob; chapels, shops, breweries and distilleries were sacked, and prisons opened, while fires raged. The firmness of the King, who, with the courage that never forsook him, took the responsibility of ordering the military to act, at last crushed the rioters. These four days furnish an instructive comment on the savage forces of disorder that seethed below the surface of the eighteenth-century metropolis.' In the trials which followed fifty-nine were rapidly convicted, of whom twenty-one were executed. Lord George Gordon, first thrown into the Tower, was tried before Lord Mansfield for high treason. He was ably

that, supposing the Papists to be heretics, schismatics, wicked men, enemies to us, and to our Church and nation; yet we ought not to persecute, to kill, hurt, or grieve them, but barely to prevent their doing hurt.

In the ensuing week I finished visiting the classes, and had the satisfaction to find that the society is considerably increased, both in number and strength, since the Conference.¹

Mon. 20.—I went on to Chatham, and, finding the society groaning under a large debt, advised them to open a weekly subscription. The same advice I gave to the society at Sheerness. This advice they all cheerfully followed, and with good effect. On *Friday* the 24th we agreed to follow the same example at London; and in one year we paid off one thousand four hundred pounds.²

Mon. 27.—I went to Bedford, and preached in the evening. *Tuesday* the 28th I preached at St. Neots. *Wednesday* the 29th, at ten, I preached in Godmanchester, and about six in the new house at Huntingdon. I have seldom seen a new congregation behave with such seriousness.

Thur. 30.—I came to Luton, and found that child of sorrow and pain, Mrs. Cole,³ was gone to rest. For many years she had not known an hour's ease; but she died in full, joyous peace. And how little does she regret all that is past, now the days of her mourning are ended!⁴

DEC. 4, Mon.—I visited the eastern societies in Kent, and on *Friday* returned to London.⁵

defended by Erskine and was acquitted. 'He subsequently became a Jew; was imprisoned for libels on Marie Antoinette (in 1788) and died, mad, in Newgate in 1793.' See *England under the Hanoverians*, p. 282.

¹ On Nov. 15 he wrote from City Road to his niece (*W.M. Mag.* 1850, p. 1064); on the 17th to Mrs. Woodhouse; and on the 18th to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 16).

² See below, p. 305. The example had been set in Plymouth. See above, p. 291.

³ Formerly of Sundon, but now living at the vicarage in Luton. Upon her inheritance of an estate from her uncle,

Lord Sundon, Wesley feared for her spiritual welfare. See above, vol. iv. p. 94.

⁴ On Dec. 3 he wrote from London to Zechariah Yewdall: 'You mistake one thing: it is I, not the Conference (according to the twelfth rule), that stations the preachers, but I do it at the time of the Conference that I may have the advice of my brethren.' (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 10.)

⁵ On Dec. 9 he wrote from London to Mrs. Barton of Beverley. He prescribes nettle-tea for herself, and 'a proper application to the magistrates' for the society. 'Persecution is more and more out of fashion since King George came to the throne.' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 382.)

Sun. 10.—I began reading and explaining to the society the *Large Minutes* of the Conference. I desire to do all things openly and above-board. I would have all the world, and especially all of our society, see not only all the steps we take, but the reasons why we take them.¹

Sat. 16.—Having a second message from Lord George Gordon, earnestly desiring to see me, I wrote a line to Lord Stormont, who, on *Monday* the 18th,² sent me a warrant to see him. On *Tuesday* the 19th I spent an hour with him at his apartment in the Tower. Our conversation turned upon Popery and religion. He seemed to be well acquainted with the Bible, and had abundance of other books, enough to furnish a study. I was agreeably surprised to find he did not complain of any person or thing, and cannot but hope his confinement will take a right turn and prove a lasting blessing to him.³

Fri. 22.—At the desire of some of my friends, I accompanied them to the British Museum.⁴ What an immense field is here for curiosity to range in! One large room is filled from top to bottom with things brought from Otaheite; two or three more with things dug out of the ruins of Herculaneum! Seven huge apartments are filled with curious books, five with manuscripts, two with fossils of all sorts, and the rest with various animals. But what account will a man give to the Judge of quick and dead for a life spent in collecting all these?⁵

Sun. 24.—Desiring to make the most of this solemn day, I preached early in the morning at the new chapel; at ten and

¹ On Dec. 14 he wrote from London to Jeremiah Brettell. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

² He wrote to Miss Bosanquet (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 406).

³ In 1789 Wesley commissioned Rev. Peard Dickenson, afterwards his assistant at City Road, to visit Lord George Gordon (who was then confined in Newgate, in the cell formerly occupied by Dr. Dodd), 'in order to hear what his real opinions were with respect to revealed religion.' For the account of the interview, in the course of which Lord George 'expressed much respect for Mr. Wesley's character and the good he had

done in the nation,' see *Life of Peard Dickenson*, pp. 64-6.

⁴ Mr. Frederic Harrison, in his *Autobiographical Recollections*, vol. ii. p. 260, says that Newton Hall, Fetter Lane, in which for so many years the Comtist services were held, 'in the last century belonged to the Royal Society,' and that therein 'was stored the first nucleus of the collection which ultimately grew into the British Museum.'

⁵ On the 23rd he wrote from London to Alexander Knox (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 16). On the 26th he wrote to Joseph Benson (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 428).

four I preached at West Street, and in the evening met the society at each end of the town.

Fri. 29.¹—I saw the indictment of the Grand Jury against Lord George Gordon. I stood aghast! What a shocking insult upon truth and common sense! But it is the usual *form*. The more is the shame. Why will not the Parliament remove this scandal from our nation?

Sat. 30.—Waking between one and two in the morning, I observed a bright light shine upon the chapel. I easily concluded there was a fire near, probably in the adjoining timber-yard.² If so, I knew it would soon lay us in ashes. I first called all the family to prayer; then, going out, we found the fire about a hundred yards off, and had broke out while the wind was south. But a sailor cried out, 'Avast! Avast! the wind is turned in a moment!' So it did, to the west, while we were at prayer, and so drove the flame from us. We then thankfully returned, and I rested well the residue of the night.

Sun. 31.³—We renewed our covenant with God. We had the largest company that I ever remember, perhaps two hundred more than we had last year. And we had the greatest blessing. Several received either a sense of the pardoning love of God or power to love Him with all their heart.

1781. JAN. 1, *Mon.*—We began, as usual, the service at four, praising Him who, *maugre*⁴ all our enemies, had brought us safe to the beginning of another year.⁵

Sun. 7.—Much of the power of God rested on the congregation while I was declaring how 'the Son of God was manifested to destroy the works of the devil.'

Sun. 14.—I preached at St. John's, Wapping. Although the church was extremely crowded, yet there was not the least noise or disorder while I besought them all, by the mercies of

¹ He wrote from London to the editors of *Freeman's Journal*; see also *Arm. Mag.* 1781, p. 295.

² Mr. Tooth's, in Worship Street (Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, p. 78).

³ He wrote from London to John Valton (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ The word '*maugre*' means 'in spite of.' An early modern English word, probably an English mispronunciation of the O.F. *malgré*. (C. Wesley's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 167.)

⁵ On Jan. 2 he wrote to Miss Bolton (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 484).

God, to present themselves a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God.¹

Thur. 18.—Hearing Mr. Holme² was extremely weak, I went down to Birling and found him very near worn out, just tottering over the grave. However, he would creep with me to the church, which was well filled, though the night was exceeding dark. I preached on ‘Repent, and believe the gospel.’ The congregation appeared to be quite stunned. In the morning I returned to London.

Tues. 23.—I went to Dorking, and buried the remains of Mrs. Attersal,³ a lovely woman, snatched away in the bloom of youth. I trust it will be a blessing to many, and to her husband in particular.

Thur. 25.⁴—I spent an agreeable hour at a concert of my nephews.⁵ But I was a little out of my element among

¹ On the 16th he wrote from London to Samuel Bradburn (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² The Rev. Edward Holme, of Birling, Kent, was one of Wesley's clerical friends. He devoted the chief portion of his property to founding free schools at Leybourne, East Malling, and Southborough for poor children. The management was invested in trustees, selected, for the most part, from amongst Wesley's personal friends, one of whom was Mr. Joseph Beardmore, who married Mary Owen of Publow. They materially assisted Wesley in the erection of the New Chapel, of which Mr. Beardmore was a trustee and treasurer. When Wesley visited Mr. Holme the good clergyman preferred to wait upon him at the table himself.

³ See *Meth. Rec.* July 9, 1903. There is no record in the registers of the Parish Church or the Congregational Church. The Parish Register probably gives her marriage, Oct. 28, 1777: ‘Joseph Attersole to Sarah Palding, by licence, by Samuel Goodinge, vicar.’ But see above, vol. v. p. 490.

⁴ He wrote from City Road to ‘A Friend, concerning a passage in a

Monthly Review,’ vindicating Mr. Gallo-way's book from aspersions cast upon it by Sir William Howe. (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 386; see also Green's *Bibliography*, No. 352.)

⁵ For an interesting account of Charles Wesley's two musical sons and the concerts they gave in Chesterfield Street see Telford's *Life of Charles Wesley*, pp. 260–6. The concert referred to in the text was one of a series of private subscription concerts, of which twelve were given each year, by Samuel and Charles, begun in 1779 at No. 1 Chesterfield Street, Charles Wesley's home. A lady who was present on this occasion records that John Wesley went in full canonicals and she in rich silk and ruffles (Stevenson's *Wesley Family*, p. 460). The most interesting incident is described by Mr. Telford: ‘General Oglethorpe, now more than eighty years old, came, on Jan. 25, to hear the sons of his old secretary. Here he met John Wesley, and kissed his hand in token of respect.’ Whether the Earl of Mornington, father of the Duke of Wellington, was present on this occasion we do not know, but for some years he breakfasted once a week at Chesterfield Street, and practised with

lords and ladies. I love plain music and plain company best.¹

FEB. 12, *Mon.*—I went to Norwich. The house was extremely crowded in the evening, and the whole congregation appeared to be wounded; consequently, many attended in the morning.

Tues. 13.—I was desired to preach that evening on 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure.' Even the Calvinists were satisfied for the present, and readily acknowledged that we did not ascribe our salvation to our own works, but to the grace of God.

Wed. 14.—To awaken, if possible, the careless ones at Loddon, at two in the afternoon I opened and enforced those awful words, 'Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.' In the evening I applied those gracious words, 'All things are ready; come unto the marriage.'

After spending *Thursday* and *Friday* with the affectionate people at Lowestoft, on *Saturday* I returned to Norwich. Here I found about fifty missing out of the two hundred and sixteen whom I left in the society a year ago. Such fickleness I have not found anywhere else in the kingdom; no, nor even in Ireland.

Sun. 18.—The chapel was full enough, both in the afternoon and the evening. I declared to them the whole counsel of God, and on *Monday* returned to London.²

Wednesday the 21st being the National Fast, I preached in the new chapel in the morning and at West Street in the afternoon. At this, as well as the two last public fasts, all places of public worship were crowded; all shops were shut up, all was quiet in the streets, and seriousness seemed to spread through the whole city. And one may hope even this outward acknowledgement of God is in a measure acceptable to Him.

the young musicians on various instruments. See also Charles Wesley's Account of his sons, and Daines Barrington's. (C. Wesley's Journal, vol. ii. pp. 140-66; also Clarke's *Wesley Family*, vol. ii. pp. 371-5.)

¹ On Feb. 10 he wrote from London

to Zechariah Yewdall (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 11), and the same day to S. Bardsley (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 349).

² On the 20th he wrote from London to Thomas Rutherford (new ed. *Wesley Letters*) and the same day to Miss Bolton (*W.M. Mag.* 1912, p. 940).

Sun. 25.—My brother, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Buckingham¹ being ill, I went through the service at Spitalfields alone. The congregation was much larger than usual, but my strength was as my day, both here, the new chapel, and afterwards at St. Antholin's church. The service lasted till near nine, but I was no more tired than at nine in the morning.

MARCH 2, *Fri.*—We had our General Quarterly Meeting, and found the money subscribed this year for the payment of the public debt was between fourteen and fifteen hundred pounds.

Sun. 4.—At eight in the evening I took coach for Bristol with Mr. Rankin and two other friends. We drove with two horses as far as Reading. Two more were then added, with a postilion, who, knowing little of his business, instead of going forward, turned quite round on a sloping ground, so that we expected the coach to overturn every moment. So it must have done, but that the coachman instantly leaped off, and with some other men held it up till we got out at the opposite door. The coach was then soon set right, and we went on without let or hindrance.

After spending two or three days at Bath, on *Thursday* the 8th I went forward to Bristol. On *Monday* the 12th and the following days² I visited the society, but was surprised to find no greater increase, considering what preachers they had had.

Sun. 18.—I preached morning and evening at the room; in the afternoon at Temple church. The congregation here is remarkably well-behaved; indeed, so are the parishioners in general. And no wonder, since they have had such a succession of rectors as few parishes in England have had. The present incumbent truly fears God. So did his predecessor, Mr. Catcott, who was indeed as eminent for piety as most clergymen in England.³ He succeeded his father, a man of the

¹ See above, vol. v. p. 187.

² He wrote from Bristol to Miss Morgan. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

³ Among the preferments in 1744 were Alex. Catcott, M.A., Master of the Grammar School at Bristol, to the rectory of St. Stephen's in that city; and

Thomas Jones, usher of the Grammar School, Bristol, to the Church of the Temple. This paragraph in the text is inexact. Wesley was content to speak without book, and, indeed, part of his information is, confessedly, supposition. The facts are given correctly in *W.H.S.*,

same spirit, who I suppose succeeded Mr. Arthur Bedford,¹ a person greatly esteemed fifty or sixty years ago for piety as well as learning.

Mon. 19.—For several years the severe weather has begun the very day I set out from Bristol. But the mild weather now continued seven or eight days longer. This evening I preached at Stroud; *Tuesday* the 20th at Stroud, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Worcester.

Wed. 21.—At noon I preached in Bewdley, and at Worcester in the evening.

Thur. 22.—I preached in Bengeworth church, and had some conversation with that amiable man, Mr. B[eale].² I preached in the evening at Pebworth church on those words in the Lesson, 'Godliness with contentment is great gain.'

*Sat. 24.*³—I was invited to preach at Quinton,⁴ five miles from Birmingham. I preached there at noon, in the open air, to a serious and attentive congregation. Some of them appeared to be very deeply affected. Who knows but it may continue? In

vol. iii. pp. 157, 158. The incumbent of Temple Church was a vicar only. The elder Calcott never held the living. The following verified list was supplied to the Rev. H. J. Foster by the Rev. A. B. Beavan of Leamington :

April 4, 1693, Arthur Bedford.

April 25, 1713, William Cary.

Nov. 16, 1723, Samuel Curtis, vice Cary, transferred to St. Philip's. [Cary there threatened to exclude C. Wesley from the sacrament, following up Mr. Becher's action at Temple. C. W., *Journal*, Sept. 7, 1740.]

Feb. 10, 1739, Henry Becher.

Jan 11, 1744, Thomas Jones.

May 17, 1755, John Price.

Jan. 28, 1766, Alexander Calcott.

Aug. 21, 1779, Joseph Easterbrook.

¹ See above, vol. ii. p. 82; also a letter from him to the Bishop of Gloucester, dated Bristol, Aug. 2, 1703, on Thomas Perks, a mathematician, astronomer, &c., in *Arm. Mag.* 1782, pp. 425-9.

² See above, pp. 161 and 182.

³ On March 24 he wrote from Birmingham (where he was lodging with his correspondent's brother) to Jeremiah

Brettell, then stationed at Plymouth Dock. He is glad that 'our brethren at the Dock are not hasty in the choice of a place for building.' He insists on a piece of ground well situated, and advises the brethren 'to give as much for it as it is worth, and no more.' See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

⁴ This is not to be confused with the Quinton of which Samuel Taylor was vicar (see above, vol. iii. p. 97, vol. v. p. 448), which is nine miles east of Evesham. The Quinton to which Wesley was now invited by Mr. Ambrose Foley is separated from the former by twenty-five miles as the crow flies. It is in the north-east of Worcestershire, five miles west from the centre of Birmingham, on the road between that city and Kidderminster. It is named again on March 26, 1785, March 21, 1786, March 19, 1790. Quinton is also named March 23, 1784, but we cannot be sure which of the two is intended. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 92; and for Mr. Foley's letter, *ibid.* p. 93.



1. TEMPLE GATE, BRISTOL.

2 AND 3. EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR OF TEMPLE CHURCH, BRISTOL (see PAGES 295 AND 374)

the evening I had another comfortable opportunity with our friends at Birmingham.

Sun. 25.¹—I preached at Birmingham, Dudley, and Wednesday.

Mon. 26.—I preached at noon in Mr. Barker's large parlour, at Congreve, near Penkridge. Many stood in the next room, and many in the garden, near the windows: and I believe all could hear. I brought strange things to the ears of those that had been used to softer doctrines, and I believe not in vain. They seemed to receive the truth in the love thereof.

In the evening I preached at Newcastle-under-Lyme. Mr. Scott and two or three of his preachers were present.² They have lately begun to preach both here and at Burslem. If they would go and break up fresh ground we should rejoice, but we cannot commend them for breaking in upon our labours after we have borne the burden and heat of the day.

Tues. 27.—I went a little out of my way in order to open the new preaching-house at Shrewsbury.³ I did not so much wonder at the largeness as at the seriousness of the congregation. So still and deeply attentive a congregation I did not expect to see here. How apt are we to forget that important truth that 'all things are possible with God'!

Wed. 28.—I returned to Burslem.⁴ How is the whole face

¹ He wrote to Mr. Knapp (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 69).

² It has been suggested that the reference here is to the Rev. Thomas Scott, of Aston Sandford, Bucks, the commentator. It seems more probable that Captain Scott, son of Richard Scott, of Betton, Salop, is intended. For an account of his conversion under Romaine's ministry, and his subsequent career, see *Life of Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 317, and vol. ii. p. 70.

³ See above, vol. iii. p. 84. To this it may be added that when Wesley's preachers came in 1761 John Appleton rented and fitted up a larger room, the ancient Shearmen's Hall in High Street, which was demolished in 1890. The new preaching-house of the text was situated in Hills Lane and was erected entirely

at his expense. See *Arm. Mag.* 1790, p. 636, *W.H.S.* (with illustrations), vol. iv. p. 217, based upon Phillip's *Early Methodism in Shropshire*.

⁴ Certain authorities, following Dr. Adam Clarke (*J. B. B. Clarke's Life of Adam Clarke*, vol. iii. pp. 250-253), say that it was on the occasion of this visit Wesley found a young man named Enoch Wood, possessed of great natural skill in modelling from the life. Wesley gave him five hourly sittings at different times. For the story of the final sitting see Stevenson's *Memorials of the Wesley Family*, p. 349. The marble statue of John Wesley in the entrance-hall of Richmond College was chiselled from the bronze bust cast from Enoch Wood's original mould. The lithographic engraving from this bust was finished by

of this country changed in about twenty years! Since the potteries were introduced, inhabitants have continually flowed in from every side. Hence the wilderness is literally become a fruitful field. Houses, villages, towns have sprung up.¹ And the country is not more improved than the people. The word of God has had free course among them. Sinners are daily awakened and converted to God, and believers grow in the knowledge of Christ. In the evening the house was filled with people, and with the presence of God. This constrained me to extend the service a good deal longer than I am accustomed to do. Likewise, at the meeting of the society, many were filled with strong consolation.

After preaching at Congleton, Macclesfield, and Stockport in my way, on *Friday* the 30th I opened the new chapel at Manchester,² about the size of that in London. The whole congregation behaved with the utmost seriousness. I trust much good will be done in this place.³

APRIL 1, *Sun.*—I began reading prayers at ten o'clock. Our country friends flocked in from all sides. At the communion was such a sight as I am persuaded was never seen at Manchester before: eleven or twelve hundred communicants at once, and all of them fearing God.⁴

Tues. 3.—I took a solemn leave of our affectionate friends here, and went on to Bolton.⁵ The society here are true, original

Enoch Wood himself in advanced life. It is generally believed that this is the most correct portrait of Wesley at the age of eighty. See Samuel Dunn's article in the *Christian Miscellany*, 1848, p. 230; also *The Wood Family of Burslem*, by Frank Falkner (1912), pp. 46-59. On the other hand, it is argued that the date of the modelling must have been March 1784. See a long and critical article by Richard Green (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 17). The Diary is not available for March 1781. In March 1784 the visit to the Potteries is fully recorded, but without reference to Enoch Wood or this bust.

¹ See above (vol. iv. p. 370) for Wesley's description of Burslem on his first visit. When Mr. Gladstone laid the

foundation-stone of the Wedgwood Institute at Burslem in 1862, he quoted these two paragraphs from Wesley's Journal as indicating the improvement in the condition of the place within the twenty-one years. See an article on Burslem Methodism, *Meth. Rec.* Jan. 3, 1901.

² The Oldham Street chapel. The site is now occupied by the Central Hall. See *Meth. Rec.* April 11, 1901.

³ On March 31 he wrote from Manchester to Lancelot Harrison (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 203).

⁴ On April 2 he wrote from Manchester to Joseph Benson (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 428).

⁵ For the story of the sand used for the building of Ridgway Gates Chapel see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 351.

Methodists. They are not conformed to the world, either in its maxims, its spirit, or its fashions, but are simple followers of the Lamb ; consequently they increase both in grace and number.

Wed. 4.—I went over to Wigan, and preached a funeral sermon for Betty Brown, one of the first members of this society ; one of whom, John Layland, gave me the following artless account of her :

She met with us in a class about twenty years, even to the Sunday before her death, which was on Friday, March 2. Going to market that day in good health, she returned (as she often did) without her husband, ate her supper, and went to bed. About midnight, he came, and found her body ; but the spirit was fled ! Her love for God, for His cause, and for her brethren and sisters, was truly remarkable. So was her pity for backsliders. At home and abroad she was continually intent on one thing. We cannot forget her tears and prayers, which we doubt not the Lord hath heard.

A little before her death, sitting with my sisters, she seemed in deep thought, and broke out, ' I will go to God ! ' One of them being surprised, said, ' Pray, Betty, what do you mean ? ' She only replied, ' I will go to God.' So that, if I think right, she was the beloved of God, the delight of His children, a dread to wicked men, and a torment to devils.

*Thur. 5.*¹—I went to Chester. The house was well filled with deeply attentive hearers. I perceived God had exceedingly blessed the labours of Jonathan Hern and William Boothby.² The congregations were much larger than they used to be. The society was increased ; and they were not only agreed among themselves, but in peace with all round about them.

Fri. 6.—I went to Alpraham, and preached the funeral sermon of good old sister Cawley. She has been indeed a mother in Israel ; a pattern of all good works.³

*Sat. 7.*⁴—At noon I preached at Preston-on-the-Hill, and in the evening at Warrington.

¹ He wrote from near Chester to Miss Clarkson (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 16).

² Boothby had been an itinerant only four years. The appointment shows the esteem in which Wesley held him. (Rev. F. F. Bretherton's *Meth. in Chester*, p. 126.)

³ She was the great-grandmother of the

late W. W. E. Whitehouse, honoured in Birmingham Methodism (see *Meth. Rec.*, March 28, 1901), whose son, Mr. Philip Whitehouse, is a leading official in the Birmingham Wesley circuit. For Richard Cawley see *W.M. Mag.* 1912, p. 746.

⁴ He wrote from Chester to Samuel Bradburn. See new ed. *Wesley Letters*.

Sun. 8.—The service was at the usual hours. I came just in time to put a stop to a bad custom, which was creeping in here ; a few men, who had fine voices, sang a psalm which no one knew, in a tune fit for an opera, wherein three, four, or five persons sung different words at the same time ! What an insult upon common sense ! What a burlesque upon public worship ! No custom can excuse such a mixture of profaneness and absurdity.

Mon. 9.—Desiring to be in Ireland as soon as possible, I hastened to Liverpool,¹ and found a ship ready to sail ; but the wind was contrary, till on *Thursday* morning the captain came in haste, and told us the wind was come quite fair. So Mr. Floyd, Snowden, Joseph Bradford, and I, with two of our sisters, went on board. But scarce were we out at sea, when the wind turned quite foul, and rose higher and higher. In an hour I was so affected as I had not been for forty years before. For two days I could not swallow the quantity of a pea of anything solid, and very little of any liquid. I was bruised and sore from head to foot, and ill able to turn me on the bed. All *Friday*, the storm increasing, the sea of consequence was rougher and rougher. Early on *Saturday* morning the hatches were closed, which, together with the violent motion, made our horses so turbulent that I was afraid we must have killed them, lest they should damage the ship. Mrs. S[nowden] now crept to me, threw her arms over me, and said, 'Oh sir, we will die together !' We had by this time three feet water in the hold, though it was an exceeding light vessel. Meantime we were furiously driving on a lee-shore ; and when the captain cried, 'Helm a-lee,' she would not obey the helm. I called our brethren to prayers ; and we found free access to the throne of grace. Soon after we got, I know not how, into Holyhead harbour, after being sufficiently buffeted by the winds and waves for two days and two nights.²

¹ On April 10 he wrote from Liverpool to Miss Roe (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 81).

² April 15 was Easter Sunday. Wesley had just landed after a vain attempt to reach Ireland, contrary winds having driven him and his five companions back to Holyhead. On the same day his sister,

Mrs. Hall, was dining with Dr. Johnson, and discussing resurrections, apparitions, and voices of the dead. Boswell thought she resembled her brother, both in figure and manner—'lean, lank, preaching Mrs. Hall was exquisite' (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, p. 413).

The more I considered, the more I was convinced it was not the will of God I should go to Ireland at this time. So we went into the stage-coach without delay, and the next evening came to Chester.¹

I now considered in what place I could spend a few days to the greatest advantage. I soon thought of the Isle of Man, and those parts of Wales which I could not well see in my ordinary course. I judged it would be best to begin with the latter. So, after a day or two's rest, on *Wednesday* the 18th I set out for Brecon, purposing to take Whitchurch (where I had not been for many years)² and Shrewsbury in my way. At noon I preached in Whitchurch, to a numerous and very serious audience; in the evening at Shrewsbury; where, seeing the earnestness of the people, I agreed to stay another day.

Here I read over Sir Richard Hill's letter to Mr. Madan on his *Defence of Polygamy*.³ I think it is home to the point; and wish always to write (if I must write controversy) in just such a spirit.

Not knowing the best way from hence to Brecon, I thought well to go round by Worcester. I took Broseley in my way, and thereby had a view of the iron bridge over the Severn,⁴ I suppose the first and the only one in Europe. It will not soon be imitated.

In the evening I preached at Broseley, and on *Saturday* the 21st went on to Worcester. I found one of our preachers, Joseph Cole, there, but unable to preach through his ague. So that I could not have come more opportunely.

Sun. 22.—I preached at seven in our own room. At three the service began at St. Andrew's.⁵ As no notice had been given of my preaching there, only as we walked along the street, it was supposed the congregation would be small; but it was far

¹ On April 15 he wrote from Chester to Miss Loxdale (new ed. of *Wesley Letters*). But see below, p. 341.

² His last recorded visit was on July 25, 1771.

³ Lady Huntingdon wrote to Madan, begging he would suppress it, and added that she could send him a paper signed by above three thousand names with the

same request. He replied that if there were six thousand names, they should not prevent the publication of his book. Sir Richard Hill sought also in vain to dissuade him. Benson replied to Madan in the *Arm. Mag.* 1783.

⁴ See above, p. 226.

⁵ *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 179, and below, p. 486.

otherwise. High and low, rich and poor, flocked together from all parts of the city ; and truly God spoke in His word ; so that I believe most of them were almost persuaded to be Christians. Were it only for this hour alone, the pains of coming to Worcester would have been well bestowed.

Mon. 23.—Being informed it was fifty miles to Brecknock, we set out early ; but, on trial, we found they were computed miles.¹ However, taking fresh horses at the Hay, I just reached it in time, finding a large company waiting.

Wed. 25.—I set out for Carmarthen. But Joseph Bradford was so ill² that, after going six miles, I left him at a friend's house,³ and went only myself. I came in good time to Carmarthen, and enforced those solemn words on a serious congregation, 'Now He commandeth all men everywhere to repent.'

Thur. 26.—I went on to Pembroke, and in the evening preached in the town-hall.

Fri. 27.—I preached at Jeffreston, seven miles from Pembroke, to a large congregation of honest colliers. In the evening I preached in Pembroke town-hall again, to an elegant congregation ; and afterwards met the society, reduced to a fourth part of its ancient number. But, as they are now all in peace and love with each other, I trust they will increase again.

Sat. 28.—We had in the evening the most solemn opportunity which I have had since we came into Wales ; and the society seemed all alive, and resolved to be altogether Christians.

Sun. 29.—At seven I preached in the room on 'Lazarus, come forth,' and about ten began at St. Daniel's. The church was filled as usual, and the Second Lesson gave me a suitable text, 'Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.' I applied the words as closely as possible, and I doubt not some were more than almost persuaded. In the evening I preached at Haverfordwest to the liveliest congregation I have seen in Wales.

¹ The measured distance is $59\frac{3}{4}$ miles. See *W.H.S.* vol. vii. pp. 2-8.

² He was laid up, it is said, for three months.

³ Squire Walter Williams, of Bailie Maescar, a farmhouse a little out of the

high road between Brecon and Devynock. He was general steward of the Brecon society in 1780, and his wife, who joined in 1753, was a church member for more than seventy-two years. See *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1896, p. 85.

Mon. 30.—I met about fifty children ; such a company as I have not seen for many years. Miss Warren loves them, and they love her. She has taken true pains with them, and her labour has not been in vain. Several of them are much awakened, and the behaviour of all is so composed that they are a pattern to the whole congregation.

MAY 1, Tues.—I rode to St. David's, seventeen measured miles¹ from Haverford[west]. I was surprised to find all the land, for the last nine or ten miles, so fruitful and well cultivated. What a difference is there between the westernmost parts of England and the westernmost parts of Wales ! The former (the west of Cornwall) so barren and wild, the latter so fruitful and well improved. But the town itself is a melancholy spectacle. I saw but one tolerable good house in it ; the rest were miserable huts indeed. I do not remember so mean a town even in Ireland. The cathedral has been a large and stately fabric, far superior to any other in Wales.² But a great part of it is fallen down already, and the rest is hastening into ruin : one blessed fruit (among many) of bishops residing at a distance from their see. Here are the tombs and effigies of many ancient worthies, Owen Tudor in particular ; but the zealous Cromwellians broke off their noses, hands, and feet, and defaced them as much as possible. But what had the Tudors done to them ? Why, they were progenitors of kings.

Thur. 3.—About ten I preached at Spittal, a large village about six miles from Haverford[west].³ Thence we went to Trecwn, and spent a few hours in that lovely retirement, buried from all the world in the depth of woods and mountains.

Fri. 4.—About eleven I preached in Newport church, and again at four in the evening. *Saturday* the 5th I returned to Haverford[west].

Sun. 6.—I preached in St. Thomas's church, on 'We preach Christ crucified.' It was a stumbling-block to some of the

¹ The local measurement is sixteen miles and seventeen hills. It was once called the Vale of Roses ; but, had Wesley proceeded to St. David's Head, he would have found it bleak as Land's End.

² It is three hundred and seven feet in length. The side-aisles of the chancel

and St. Mary's chapel are roofless. The bishop had at one time not less than seven palaces.

³ For a notable conversion at this service, see *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1903, p. 33.

hearers. So the Scripture is fulfilled. But I had amends when I met the society in the evening.

Mon. 7.—About ten I preached near the market-place in Narberth, a large town ten miles east from Haverford[west]. Abundance of people flocked together; and they were all still as night. In the evening I preached to an equally attentive congregation at Carmarthen.

Tues. 8.—I had a large congregation at Llanelly and at Swansea. Some months since there were abundance of hearers at Neath; but, on a sudden, one lying tongue set the society on fire, till almost half of them were scattered away. But as all, offended or not offended, were at the town-hall, I took the opportunity of strongly enforcing the Apostle's words, 'Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all malice.' I believe God sealed His word on many hearts, and we shall have better days at Neath. About three I preached in the church near Bridgend, and at six in the town-hall at Cowbridge.

Thur. 10.—I preached in our room¹ about ten, on 'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.' May God deliver us from this evil disease, which eats out all the heart of religion! In the evening I preached in the town-hall at Cardiff, but the congregation was almost wholly new. The far greater part of the old society, Ann Jenkins, Thomas Glascot, Arthur Price,² Jane Haswell, Nancy Newell, and a long train, are gone hence, and are no more seen. And how few are followers of them, as they were of Christ!

Mon. 14.—Before I reached Monmouth, one met and informed me that Mr. C., a Justice of the Peace, one of the greatest men in the town, desired I would take a bed at his house. Of consequence, all the rabble of the town were as quiet as lambs,³

¹ The room near the old bridge became a smithy after Wesley's death. The fore part has been recently pulled down and a garage put in its place, bringing it up to the street.

² In the records of Cardiff is the entry: '1745. James, son of Ann Jenkins, widow, apprentice to Thomas Thomas, farrier.' On Dec. 6, 1739, Wesley wrote

to Mr. Nathaniel Price of Cardiff, giving a long account of Kingswood School. Descendants of Glascot and Price are still in the district.

³ The allusions here, and on August 12, 1779, are doubtless to the treatment Alexander Mather met with in the spring of 1771. See *E.M.P.* vol. ii. p. 184; or *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. ii. p. 107.

and we had a comfortable opportunity both night and morning. Surely this is the Lord's doing!

Tues. 15.—We went through miserable roads to Worcester.

Wed. 16.—About ten I preached in the large meeting at Kidderminster,¹ to a numerous congregation. With much difficulty we reached Salop in the evening, and found the people waiting. There has been no tumult since the new house was built.² So far God has helped us.

*Thur. 17.*³—I preached at Whitchurch and Nantwich; *Friday* the 18th, at eleven, in the chapel near Northwich; and in the evening at Manchester.

Sun. 20.—I found much enlargement in applying to a numerous congregation the lovely account given by St. James of 'pure religion and undefiled.' In the afternoon I preached a funeral sermon for Mary Charlton, an Israelite indeed. From the hour that she first knew the pardoning love of God, she never lost sight of it for a moment. Eleven years ago she believed that God had cleansed her from all sin, and she showed that she had not believed in vain by her holy and unblameable conversation.

*Mon. 21.*⁴—I went over to Warrington and preached in the evening. Fearing many of the congregation rested in a false peace, I endeavoured to undeceive them by closely applying those words, 'Ye shall know them by their fruits.'

Tues. 22.—About eleven I preached at Chowbent, and in the evening at Bolton; where the people seemed to be on the wing, just ready to take their flight to heaven.

Wed. 23.—Having appointed to preach at Blackburn, I was desired to take Kabb⁵ in my way. But such a road sure no carriage ever went before; I was glad to quit it and use my

¹ Probably the church over which the Rev. Benjamin Fawcett was pastor, a pupil of Doddridge, and for thirty-five years in Kidderminster.

² See above, p. 309.

³ On the 17th he wrote from Manchester to John Bredin, referring to the storm that drove him back to Holyhead (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); on the 21st to Miss Bishop (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 36).

⁴ He wrote to Joseph Benson and to Mrs. Benson (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 429, 432).

⁵ The identification of this place has been exhaustively discussed in the *W.H.S.* vol. iv. pp. 247-8, and vol. vi. pp. 14-16. Rev. Henry J. Foster concludes thus: Nab [Farm] seems to hold the field, if not very convincingly. The name is left in this edition without correction.

own feet. About twelve I found a large number of plain, artless people, just fit for the gospel; so I applied our Lord's words, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink.' In the evening I preached in the new house at Blackburn.¹

Thur. 24.—I went on to Preston, where the old prejudice seems to be quite forgotten. The little society has fitted up a large and convenient house, where I preached to a candid audience. Every one seemed to be considerably affected: I hope in some the impression will continue.

Fri. 25.—We went on to Ambleside, and on *Saturday* to Whitehaven.²

Sun. 27.—I preached, morning and evening in the house, in the afternoon in the market-place; but abundance of people went away, not being able to bear the intense heat of the sun.³

Wed. 30.—I embarked on board the packet-boat for the Isle of Man. We had a dead calm for many hours; however, we landed at Douglas⁴ on *Friday* morning. Both the preachers⁵ met me here, and gave me a comfortable account of the still-increasing work of God.

Before dinner we took a walk in a garden⁶ near the town, wherein any of the inhabitants of it may walk. It is wonder-

¹ Known as the Old Calendar House; now an ironmonger's shop in Chapel Street. See above, p. 275.

² He wrote to Zechariah Yewdall (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 11).

³ His remarks upon Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*, dated Pembroke, April 28, 1781, were finished at Whitehaven a month later. On the 28th he wrote from Whitehaven, where he was waiting for a passage to the Isle of Man, to his sister, Mrs. Martha Hall:

DEAR MATTY,

There is hardly a father in England that can furnish three persons, who, after so many years, are so young as my brother, and you, and me.

Then he quotes Mr. Halyburton, whom he read in Georgia—'line out our lives to His glory.' (New ed. *Wesley Letters*.)

⁴ Wesley being in the Isle of Man in the summer of 1781, was requested by a pious female to send them 'two

suitable preachers'; 'men,' added she, 'who can endure hardships and privations.' 'Well, sister,' was the reply, 'I will send you two men who, if you give them anything to eat, will thank you; and, if you give them nothing to eat, will thank you.' He sent them Daniel Jackson and Jonathan Brown. (*W.M. Mag.* 1826, p. 506).

⁵ John Crook and Thomas Bradshaw.

⁶ Hill's Garden, now occupied by Hill Street, was a favourite promenade extending nearly to the sea. It was closed to the public in 1790. The Nunnery Gardens, still so called, are well known, but are now private. A nunnery supposed to have been founded by St. Bridget about 567 formerly stood in the grounds. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 82 for interesting details of this visit; corrected, however, with fuller information in notes, p. 255.

fully pleasant; yet not so pleasant as the gardens of the Nunnery (so it is still called), which are not far from it. These are delightfully laid out, and yield to few places of the size in England.

At six I preached in the market-place to a large congregation; all of whom, except a few children, and two or three giddy young women, were seriously attentive.

JUNE 2, *Sat.*—I rode to Castletown, through a pleasant and (now) well-cultivated country. At six I preached in the market-place, to most of the inhabitants of the town, on 'One thing is needful.' I believe the word carried conviction into the hearts of nearly all that heard it. Afterwards I walked to the house of one of our English friends, about two miles from the town. All the day I observed, wherever I was, one circumstance that surprised me. In England we generally hear the birds singing morning and evening; but here thrushes, and various other kinds of birds, were singing all day long. They did not intermit, even during the noon-day heat, where they had a few trees to shade them.

Sun. 3 (being *Whit Sunday*).—I preached in the market-place again about nine, to a still larger congregation than before, on 'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.' How few of the genteel hearers could say so! About four in the afternoon I preached at Barrule,¹ on the mountains, to a larger congregation than that in the morning. The rain began soon after I began preaching, but ceased in a few minutes. I preached on 'They were all filled with the Holy Ghost,' and showed in what sense this belongs to us and to our children.

Between six and seven I preached on the seashore at Peel, to the largest congregation I have seen in the island; even the society nearly filled the house. I soon found what spirit they were of. Hardly in England (unless perhaps at Bolton) have I found so plain, so earnest, so simple a people.

Mon. 4.—We had such a congregation at five as might have been expected on a Sunday evening. We then rode through

¹ Barrule is 1,842 ft. high, commands an extensive view, and is surrounded by attractive scenery. An annual service

was long held in commemoration of Wesley's visit.

and over the mountains to Barregarrow ; where I enforced, on an artless, loving congregation, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink.' A few miles from thence, we came to Bishop's Court,¹ where good Bishop Wilson resided near threescore years. There is something venerable, though not magnificent, in the ancient palace ; and it is undoubtedly situated in one of the pleasantest spots of the whole island.

At six in the evening I preached at Ballaugh ; but the preaching-house would not contain one half of the congregation, of which the vicar, Mr. Gelling,² with his wife, sister, and daughter, were a part. He invited me to take a breakfast with him in the morning, *Tuesday* the 5th, which I willingly did. He read family prayers before breakfast, in a very serious manner. After spending a little time very agreeably, I went on to Kirk Andreas. Here also I was obliged to preach in the open air, the rain being suspended till I had done. In the afternoon we rode, through a pleasant and fruitful country, to Ramsey, about as large as Peel, and more regularly built. The rain was again suspended while I preached to wellnigh all the town,³ but I saw no inattentive hearers.

Wed. 6.—We had many of them again at five, and they were all attention. This was the place where the preachers had little hope of doing good. I trust they will be happily disappointed.

This morning we rode through the most woody, and far the pleasantest, part of the island—a range of fruitful land, lying at the foot of the mountains, from Ramsey, through Sulby, to Kirk Michael. Here we stopped to look at the plain tombstones of those two good men, Bishop Wilson and Bishop Hildesley, whose remains are deposited, side by side, at the east end of the church.⁴ We had scarce reached Peel before

¹ For Bishop's Court see Hall Caine's *Deemster*. The present palace is a large castellated edifice half hidden by trees. It stands on the site of one built in the thirteenth century.

² The Rev. Daniel Gelling, rector 1778-1801. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 83.

³ The preacher took his stand on the steps of the old Cross Hall, since rebuilt on the same site.

⁴ For the romantic story of the Manx Bible, translated, in part, by Bishop Wilson (who died in 1755, aged ninety-three, after an episcopate of nearly sixty years), and completed by his successor Bishop Hildesley, see W. Canton's *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vol. i. pp. 106-109. Bishop Hildesley desired to be buried side by side with his predecessor. The old Kirk

the rain increased; but here the preaching-house contained all that could come. Afterwards, Mr. Crook¹ desired me to meet the singers.² I was agreeably surprised. I have not heard better singing either at Bristol or London. Many, both men and women, have admirable voices; and they sing with good judgement. Who would have expected this in the Isle of Man?

Thur. 7.—I met our little body of preachers.³ They were two-and-twenty in all. I never saw in England so many stout, well-looking preachers together. If their spirit be answerable to their look, I know not what can stand before them. In the afternoon I rode over to Dalby,⁴ and preached to a very large and very serious congregation.

Fri. 8.—Having now visited the island round, east, south, north, and west, I was thoroughly convinced that we have no such circuit as this, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland. It is shut up from the world; and, having little trade, is visited by scarce any strangers. Here are no Papists, no Dissenters of any kind, no Calvinists, no disputers. Here is no opposition, either from the Governor (a mild, humane man), from the Bishop⁵ (a good man), or from the bulk of the clergy. One or two of them did oppose for a time; but they seem now to understand better. So that we have now rather too little than too much reproach; the scandal of the cross being, for the present, ceased. The natives are a plain, artless, simple people; unpolished, that is, unpolluted: few of them are rich or genteel; the far greater part moderately poor; and most of the strangers that

Michael has been replaced by a new church; but part of the old chancel, containing Bishop Wilson's tablet, still stands. See *Life of Bishop Wilson*. For Sulby Glen see Hall Caine's *Manxman*.

¹ See above, p. 150, *Meth. Mag.* 1808, pp. 3, &c. (biography by James Macdonald); Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. pp. 228–31, where will be found an 'episcopal bull' fulminated against Crook by the Bishop of Sodor and Man, a letter by Crook describing the persecution, and Wesley's letter to him; *W.H.S.* vol. v. pp. 80 and 255; also

articles in *Meth. Rec.* Winter Nos. 1890, 1896, and 1901.

² The membership rolls, in Wesley's handwriting, or endorsed with his autograph, testify to the care he bestowed upon the singers everywhere.

³ One of these was Thomas Quark, parish clerk of Kirk Laowan, who entertained Wesley on both the occasions when he preached at this village.

⁴ For other services not mentioned by Wesley see *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 83.

⁵ George Mason (1780–84).

settle among them are men that have seen affliction. The local preachers are men of faith and love, knit together in one mind and one judgement. They speak either Manx or English, and follow a regular plan, which the assistant gives them monthly.

The isle is supposed to have thirty thousand inhabitants.¹ Allowing half of them to be adults, and our societies to contain one or two and twenty hundred members, what a fair proportion is this! What has been seen like this, in any part either of Great Britain or Ireland?

Sat. 9.—We would willingly have set sail, but the strong north-east wind prevented us.² *Monday* the 11th, it being moderate, we put to sea. But it soon died away into a calm; so I had time to read over and consider Dr. Johnson's *Tour through Scotland*. I had heard that he was severe upon the whole nation; but I could find nothing of it. He simply mentions (but without any bitterness) what he approved or disapproved; and many of the reflections are extremely judicious; some of them very affecting.

Tues. 12.—The calm continuing, I read over Mr. Pennant's *Tour through Scotland*. How amazingly different from Dr. Johnson's! He is doubtless a man both of sense and learning. Why has he then bad English in almost every page? No man should be above writing correctly.³

Having several passengers on board, I offered to give them a sermon; which they willingly accepted. And all behaved with the utmost decency, while I showed 'His commandments are not grievous.' Soon after, a little breeze sprung up, which, early in the morning, brought us to Whitehaven.

Thur. 14.—I had a design to preach at noon in the town-hall at Cockermouth; but, Mr. Lothian offering me his meeting-house, which was far more convenient, I willingly accepted his offer. By this means I had a much more numerous audience, most of whom behaved well.

¹ This estimate is considerably too high.

² He wrote from Douglas to Miss Loxdale (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 126).

³ 'He is the best traveller I ever read,'

said Johnson of Pennant; but Boswell had a poor opinion of the *Tour through Scotland*, and greatly preferred Johnson's *Tour*. The 'bad English' was not discovered by either of them.

At seven I preached at Mr. Whyte's, in Tallentire, a little village four miles from Cockermouth. Many assembled here who had hardly seen or heard a Methodist before. I believe some of them did not hear in vain. After this I saw Mr. Whyte no more. God soon called him into a better world.

Fri. 15.—In the evening I preached in the town-hall at Carlisle; and on *Saturday* the 16th¹ reached Newcastle.

Sun. 17.—In the morning I preached at the Ballast Hills, in the afternoon at Gateshead, and at five at the Garth Heads. To-day I heard a remark at All Saints' church, which I never read or heard before, in confirmation of that assertion of Abraham, 'If they hear not Moses and the Prophets': 'The thing has been tried. One did rise from the dead, in the sight of a multitude of people. The namesake of this Lazarus rose from the dead. The very Pharisees could not deny it. Yet who of them that believed not Moses and the Prophets was thereby persuaded to repent?'

Wed. 20.—I went over to Sunderland, and preached evening and morning to a lovely congregation.

Thur. 21.—I read prayers and preached in Monkwearmouth church; and, *Friday* the 22nd, returned to Newcastle.

Sat. 23.—I went over to Hexham, and preached in the market-place to a numerous congregation on 'I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God.' None were rude or uncivil in any respect, and very few were inattentive.

Sun. 24.—I preached in the morning at Gateshead Fell; about noon at a village called Greenside, ten miles west of Newcastle, to the largest congregation I have seen in the north, many of whom were Roman Catholics. In the evening I preached once more at the Garth Heads (some thought to the largest congregation that had ever been there), on those words in the Service, 'Comfort ye, comfort ye My people, saith your God.'

After preaching at many places in the way, on *Wednesday* the 27th² I preached at York. Many of our friends met me here, so that in the evening the house would ill contain the congregation. And I know not when I have found such a spirit

¹ He wrote to Samuel Bradburn. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 355.

² He wrote to his brother Charles. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 148).

among them; they seemed to be all hungering and thirsting after righteousness.

Thur. 28.—I preached at eleven in the main street at Selby to a large and quiet congregation; and in the evening at Thorne. This day I entered my seventy-ninth year; and, by the grace of God, I feel no more of the infirmities of old age than I did at twenty-nine.

Fri. 29.—I preached at Crowle and at Epworth. I have now preached thrice a day for seven days following; but it is just the same as if it had been but one.

Sat. 30.—I went over to Owston, and found the whole town was moved. One of the chief men of the town had been just buried, and his wife a few days before. In a course of nature they might have lived many years, being only middle-aged. He had known the love of God, but had choked the good seed by hastening to be rich. But Providence disappointed all his schemes; and it was thought he died of a broken heart. I took that opportunity of enforcing 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest.'

JULY 1, *Sun.*—I preached, as usual, at Misterton, at Uppertorpe, and at Epworth.

Mon. 2.—I preached at Scotter about eight; at Brigg at noon; and in the evening in the old churchyard at Grimsby, to almost all the people of the town, on 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.' The late proof of it is in the glorious death of Robert Wilkinson¹; and the behaviour of his widow,

So firm, yet soft, so strong, yet so resigned,²

I believe, will hardly be forgotten by any that were witnesses of it.

¹ The inscription on his gravestone celebrates the single aim and restless zeal of this good man, who began his ministry in 1769. When the minister repeated the words in the burial service, not to be 'sorry as men without hope,' Mrs. Wilkinson could not refrain from exclaiming, 'Sorry! No; glory be to

God!' All who heard her were very deeply affected. See Atmore's *Memorial*, pp. 502-6; *E.M.P.* vol. vi. p. 218, or *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. v. p. 229, &c.; and Rev. G. Lester's *Meth. in Grimsby*, p. 35.

² From Pope's epitaph on Mrs. Corbet (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 155).

Tues. 3.—I preached at [Cleethorpes],¹ three miles from Grimsby. Here likewise there has been an outpouring of the Spirit. I was reminded here of what I saw at Cardiff, almost forty years ago. I could not go into any of the little houses but presently it was filled with people; and I was constrained to pray with them in every house, or they would not be satisfied. Several of these are clearly renewed in love, and give a plain, scriptural account of their experience; and there is scarce a house in the village wherein there is not one or more earnestly athirst for salvation.

*Wed. 4.*²—I called upon an honest man, and, I hope, took him out of the hands of an egregious quack, who was pouring in medicines upon him for what he called 'wind in the nerves'! In the evening I preached at Louth, now as quiet as Grimsby. When shall we learn 'to despair of none'?

Thur. 5.—I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Brackenbury again, though still exceeding weak. His chapel was thoroughly filled in the evening, I trust with sincere hearers.

Fri. 6.—I crossed over to Langham Row, where the high wind would not suffer me to preach abroad. But the house tolerably contained the congregation, most of whom attended again at five in the morning.

To-day I finished the second volume of Dr. Robertson's³ *History of America*. His language is always clear and strong, and frequently elegant; and I suppose his history is preferable

¹ With some hesitation we have followed the Postal Guide in the spelling of this name. It is right, however, to say that the available authorities are in doubt as to the proper identification of the place, owing to the fact that there is a Claythorpe near Alford, but it is too distant to answer to Wesley's three miles. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 247; *E.M.P.* vol. i. p. 70; Green's list of corrections in *W.H.S. Itinerary*, vol. vi. p. xv.

² He wrote from Louth to Thomas Rutherford (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

³ William Robertson (1721-93), a popular pulpit orator, King's Chaplain, Principal of Edinburgh University,

Historiographer Royal for Scotland. He published a *History of Scotland* in the reigns of Mary and James VI; a *History of the Reign of Charles the Fifth*; and a *History of America*. Professor Spalding, in his *History of English Literature*, thus characterizes his work:

Robertson is an excellent story-teller, perspicuous, lively and interesting. His opinions are formed with good judgement and always temperately expressed, and his disquisitions, such as his view of the progress of society in the Middle Ages, are singularly able and instructive. His research was industrious and accurate to a degree which makes him still to be a valuable historical authority.

to any history of America which has appeared in the English tongue. But I cannot admire, first, his intolerable prolixity in this history, as well as his *History of Charles the Fifth*. He promises eight books of the *History of America*, and fills four of them with critical dissertations. True, the dissertations are sensible, but they have lost their way; they are not history; and they are swelled beyond all proportion; doubtless for the benefit of the author and the bookseller, rather than the reader. I cannot admire, secondly, a Christian divine writing a history with so very little of Christianity in it. Nay, he seems studiously to avoid saying anything which might imply that he believes the Bible. I can still less admire, thirdly, his speaking so honourably of a professed infidel¹; yea, and referring to his masterpiece of infidelity, *Sketches of the History of Man*, as artful, as unfair, as disingenuous a book as even Toland's *Nazarenus*. Least of all can I admire, fourthly, his copying after Dr. Hawkesworth (who once professed better things), in totally excluding the Creator from governing the world. Was it not enough, never to mention the providence of God, where there was the fairest occasion, without saying expressly, 'The fortune of Certiz,' or 'chance,' did thus or thus? So far as fortune or chance governs the world, God has no place in it.

The poor American, though not pretending to be a Christian, knew better than this. When the Indian was asked, 'Why do you think the beloved ones take care of *you*?' he answered, 'When I was in the battle, the bullet went on this side, and on that side; and this man died, and that man died; and I am alive! So I know, the beloved ones take care of *me*.'²

It is true, the doctrine of a particular providence (and any but a particular providence is no providence at all) is absolutely out of fashion in England; and a prudent author might write this to gain the favour of his gentle readers. Yet I will not say this is real prudence, because he may lose hereby more than he gains; as the majority, even of Britons, to this day retain some sort of respect for the Bible.

¹ Lord Kames was the author of the book referred to (see *W.H.S.* vol. iv.

p. 234; and cf. above, p. 22).

² See above, vol. i. pp. 248, 250.

If it was worth while to mention a little thing, after things of so much greater importance, I would add, I was surprised that so sensible a writer, in enumerating so many reasons why it is so much colder in the southern hemisphere than it is in the northern—why it is colder, for instance, at forty degrees south than at fifty north latitude—should forget the main, the primary reason, namely, the greater distance of the sun! For is it not well known that the sun (to speak with the vulgar) is longer on the north side the line than the south? that he is longer in the six northern signs than the southern, so that there is a difference (says Gravesande)¹ of nine days? Now, if the northern hemisphere be obverted to the sun longer than the southern, does not this necessarily imply that the northern hemisphere will be warmer than the southern? And is not this the primary reason of its being so?

Sat. 7.—I designed to go from hence to Boston, but a message from Mr. Pugh,² desiring me to preach in his church on Sunday, made me alter my design. So, procuring a guide, I set out for Rauceby. We rode through Tattershall, where there are large remains of a stately castle,³ and there was in the chancel of the old church the finest painted glass (so it was esteemed) in England; but the prudent owner, considering it brought him in nothing by staying there, lately sold it for a round sum of money.

Here I met with such a ferry as I never saw before. The boat was managed by an honest countryman who knew just nothing of the matter, and a young woman equally skilful. However, though the river was fifty yards broad, we got over it in an hour and a half. We then went on through the fens in a marvellous road, sometimes tracked, and sometimes not, till

¹ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 233.

² The Rev. John Pugh was at Oxford with Joseph Benson. He afterwards held the living of Weston, Salop, where, as late as 1818, he was visited by the Rev. Samuel Benson. Both Mr. Pugh and Mr. Dodwell (see next page) attended the Conferences of 1781 and 1782.

³ Built by Ralph, Lord Cromwell; consists of a large square brick tower two hundred feet high, divided into four

stories, and flanked by four octangular, embattled turrets crowned with spires. After the removal of the iron doors of the church, the fine wood of the screen and stalls suffered. The fine glass was removed by Lord Exeter, and part of it used in the chapel at Burleigh. (*Nightingale's Beauties of England and Wales*, vol. ix. p. 710; *Gentleman's Mag.* 1821 part ii. p. 307; and *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 112.)

about six we came to Rauceby, and found the people gathered from all parts. I preached on those words in the Second Lesson, 'There is neither Greek nor Jew,¹ Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free: but Christ is all and in all.'

Sun. 8.—The congregation was still larger. Hence I rode over to Welby,² and preached in Mr. Dodwell's³ church in the afternoon and in the evening to a numerous and serious congregation.

Mon. 9.—I preached at Grantham in the open air (for no house would contain the congregation), and none made the least disturbance, any more than at Newark (where I preached in the evening), or in the Castle-yard at Lincoln, on *Tuesday* the 10th.

Wed. 11.—I preached at Newton-upon-Trent and Gainsborough.

After visiting many other societies,⁴ I crossed over into the West Riding of Yorkshire.⁵

Mon. 23.—I preached at Yeadon to a large congregation. I

¹ 'Jew nor Gentile' (1st ed.).

² Mr. John Watson, his host, lived at the manor-house farm; some of Wesley's preachers afterwards preached in the vicarage kitchen, where also prayer-meetings were held, after the manner of the Methodists.

³ Rev. William Dodwell, M.A. See *Meth. in Grantham*, pp. 291–300. He was incumbent of Welby (near Grantham) parish for nearly half a century, and died in 1824, when he presented, by deed of gift, ten thousand pounds to the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and an equal sum to the British and Foreign Bible Society. (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 356; also below, July 13, 1788, for his kindly action to Wesley at Nottingham.)

⁴ In connexion with this journey, Wesley, nearing Weaverthorpe (near York), asked a villager, 'Are there any Methodists in Weaverthorpe?' 'Yes, John Robson and his sister.' Wesley called at their house, shook hands without dismounting, and passed on. This John Robson was afterwards appointed

class-leader, and for many years was a tower of strength to the Methodism of this district. His sister was a widow. He supported her and her children. See *W. M. Mag.* 1827, pp. 712–13.

⁵ On July 12 he wrote from Sheffield to Miss Hannah Ball (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); on the 14th he wrote from Nottingham to Miss Ann Loxdale (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 128); on the 17th from near Leeds to Miss Bishop, on the training of children, the duty of parents, and the influence of personal example (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 38); and on the same day to his niece, Miss Sarah Wesley, on sleep. 'Sally,' as her uncle always called her, was a young lady about twenty. She counted among her friends in later life many of the most distinguished literary women of the day. The late Dr. George Osborn remembered dining with her in West London, a quaint and interesting old lady. Portions of her diary and some of her letters are before us. She died in 1828, some of her last words being: 'I have peace, but not joy.'

had heard the people there were remarkably dead ; if so, they were now remarkably quickened, for I know not when I have seen a whole congregation so moved.

Tues. 24.—We had fifty or sixty children at five, and as many or more in the evening, and more affectionate ones I never saw. For the present, at least, God has touched their hearts. On *Wednesday*¹ and *Thursday* I preached at Bradford and Halifax ; on *Friday* at Greetland chapel and Huddersfield. After preaching I retired to Longwood House, one of the pleasantest spots in the county.

Sat. 28.—I preached at Longwood House, at Mirfield, and at Dawgreen.

Sun. 29.—I preached at eight before the house. I expected to preach at one, as usual, under the hill at Birstall ; but, after the church service was ended,² the clerk exclaimed with a loud voice, ‘ The Rev. Mr. Wesley is to preach here in the afternoon.’ So I desired Mr. Pawson to preach at one. The church began at half hour past two, and I spoke exceeding plain to such a congregation as I never met there before. In the evening I preached at Bradford to thousands upon thousands on ‘ The wages of sin is death ; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.’

*Mon. 30.*³—I crossed over to Tadcaster at noon, and in the evening to York. Hence I took a little circuit through Malton, Scarborough, Beverley, Hull, and Pocklington, and came to York again.⁴

AUG. 5, Sun.—At the old church in Leeds we had eighteen clergymen and about eleven hundred communicants. I preached there at three. The church was thoroughly filled ; and I believe most could hear, while I explained the ‘ new covenant ’ which God has now made with the Israel of God.

Mon. 6.—I desired Mr. Fletcher, Dr. Coke, and four more of our brethren to meet every evening, that we might consult together on any difficulty that occurred.

¹ On the 25th he wrote, from near Leeds to Robert Hopkins (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 91).

² The vicar was the Rev. Jonas Eastwood.

³ On July 30 he wrote to Francis Wolfe (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 491).

⁴ On Aug. 4 he wrote from near Leeds to his nephew Charles (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

On *Tuesday* our Conference¹ began, at which were present about seventy preachers, whom I had severally invited to come and assist me with their advice in carrying on the great work of God.

Wed. 8.²—I desired Mr. Fletcher to preach. I do not wonder he should be so popular; not only because he preaches with all his might, but because the power of God attends both his preaching and prayer.

On *Monday* and *Tuesday* we finished the remaining business of the Conference, and ended it with solemn prayer and thanksgiving.³

Wed. 15.⁴—I went to Sheffield. In the afternoon I took a view of the chapel lately built by the Duke of Norfolk: one may safely say there is none like it in the three kingdoms; nor, I suppose, in the world. It is a stone building, an octagon,

¹ Wesley had come to Leeds for the thirty-eighth annual Conference. Henry Turner (*W.M. Mag.* 1829, p. 528) quotes a letter from Joseph Pescod to his wife: 'I arrived at Leeds on Saturday evening; and on Sunday morning I had the happiness to hear that venerable servant of God, Mr. Fletcher.' He describes him as looking like an ancient apostle, and gives an outline of his sermon on 2 Pet. i. 4. He received from his hand the bread of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. 'The ordinance was administered in the old church by Mr. Wesley, Mr. Fletcher, and nine other clergymen. Mr. Wesley preached in the afternoon, in the church, from Heb. viii. 10, 12.'

Thomas Taylor, in his manuscript diary, says, 'I feel much concerned respecting several things; but how to have them remedied I cannot tell. Many things are exceedingly wrong, but whom to trust to attempt amendment I know not.' Dr. Coke had brought doctrinal charges against Bradburn and Benson, which were found to be absolutely unjustified (*Etheridge's Life of Coke*, pp. 64-7). Publishing difficulties were dealt with. Preachers were forbidden to print books until they had been corrected by Wesley, and the

profits, if any, were to go into the common stock. Wesley's *Notes on the Old Testament* were to be sold at half price. No more married preachers were to be admitted, except in cases of necessity. The perennial question of worship in church hours and the uprising of dissenting opinion in the Connexion were brought before the Conference by Dr. Hey, a distinguished Leeds physician and magistrate, who, not getting his own way, left the society. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 362; see also *Memoirs of Samuel Bradburn*, p. 82.

² On Aug. 7 (or thereabouts) he wrote from the Conference to 'the Members and Friends of the Methodist Societies' respecting the creation of a Worn-out Preachers and Widows Fund, to which every travelling preacher should, out of his little allowance, subscribe a guinea yearly, friends adding a yearly subscription. At this Conference Wesley began to draw money out of the Preachers' Fund for wives who could not be supported by the circuit. (Myles, *Chron. Hist.* 4th ed. p. 144.)

³ On Aug. 12 he wrote from Leeds to Mr. Brackenbury (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 2).

⁴ He wrote from Sheffield to Miss Loxdale (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 129).

about eighty feet diameter. A cupola, which is at a great height, gives some, but not much, light. A little more is given by four small windows, which are under the galleries. The pulpit is movable. It rolls upon wheels; and is shifted once a quarter, that all the pews may face it in their turns. I presume the first contrivance of the kind in Europe.¹

After preaching in the evening to a crowded audience,³ and exhorting the society to brotherly love, I took chaise with Dr. Coke; and, travelling day and night, the next evening came to London. We observed *Friday* the 17th as a fast day, and concluded it with a solemn watch-night. Having finished my business in town for the present, on *Sunday* the 19th,³ at eight in the evening, I took coach with my new fellow traveller, George Whitfield,⁴ and on *Monday* evening preached at Bath.

Tues. 21.—I went on to Bristol, and, after resting a day, on *Thursday* the 23rd set out for Cornwall.

Finding, after breakfast, that I was within a mile of my old friend, G. S.—⁵, I walked over and spent an hour with him. He is all-original still, like no man in the world, either in sentiments or anything about him. But perhaps if I had his immense fortune I might be as great an oddity as he.

About six in the evening I preached at Taunton to a numerous congregation. I found the letters concerning Popery had much abated prejudice here.

Fri. 24.—I preached at Cullompton about noon, and at Exeter in the evening.

¹ This was an episcopal place of worship connected with the Shrewsbury Hospital, a suite of almshouses for old people of both sexes. The chapel was removed many years ago, to make room for a market.

² In Norfolk Street chapel, which he had opened a year before. See *W.M. Mag.* 1835, p. 606. An interesting incident in connexion with this service is recorded in a MS. memoir of Mrs. Richard Howlden, who as a child heard Wesley preach on this occasion, received his blessing and a silver sixpence, and lived to be the oldest member in Sheffield, dying at the age of ninety-six.

See *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1899, p. 63.

³ On this day he wrote from London to Christina Malenoir of Cork (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ He accompanied Wesley to Holland in 1783, and to Scotland in 1784. In 1789 he was appointed Book Steward, and retained the office until 1803. He died at a great age in 1832, much esteemed for his fine character. A popular Evangelical clergyman of our own day is the grandson of George Whitfield.

⁵ No doubt George Stonehouse, who sold the living of Islington that he might join the Moravians, whom he afterwards left. See above, vol. v. pp. 442 and 522-3.

Sat. 25.—I preached in the Square at Plymouth Dock to a quieter congregation than usual.

Sun. 26.—Between one and two I began in the new house in Plymouth. The large congregation was all attention; and there seemed reason to hope that even here we shall find some fruit of our labour. In the evening I preached again in the Square, on the story of the Pharisee and Publican, to such a congregation, for number and seriousness together, as I never saw there before.

Mon. 27.—I was desired to preach at Trenuth¹ at noon, 'a little way' (they said) out of the road. The 'little way' proved six or seven miles, through a road ready to break our wheels in pieces. However, I just reached St. Austell time enough to preach; and God greatly comforted the hearts of His people.

Tues. 28.—Between nine and ten we had such a storm of rain as I do not remember to have seen in Europe before. It seemed ready to beat in the windows of the chaise, and in three minutes drenched our horsemen from head to foot. We reached Truro, however, at the appointed time. I have not for many years seen a congregation so universally affected. One would have imagined every one that was present had a desire to save his soul.

In the evening I preached in the High Street at Helston. I scarce know a town in the whole county which is so totally changed; not a spark of that bitter enmity to the Methodists in which the people here for many years gloried above their fellows.

Going through Marazion, I was told that a large congregation was waiting; so I stepped out of my chaise and began immediately; and we had a gracious shower. Some were cut to the heart; but more rejoiced with joy unspeakable.

In the evening I preached in the market-place at Penzance. I designed afterwards to meet the society; but the people were so eager to hear all they could that they quickly filled the

¹ R. Green, in his list of corrections (*W.H.S.*), suggests, with a query, Trenode as the place visited by Wesley. But, travelling by Plymouth to St. Austell, and going out of his way to preach at a place then little known, it is possible

that Tywardreath may have been the village in question. It is marked on Cary's map of Cornwall as being 19 miles from Truro, and is given in the Postal Guide as Tywardreath, near the present Par station.

house from end to end. This is another of the towns wherein the whole stream of the people is turned, as it were, from east to west.

We had a happy season, both at St. Just on *Thursday* evening and in the market-place at St. Ives on *Friday*.

SEPT. 1, *Sat.*—I made an end of that curious book, Dr. Parsons's *Remains of Japheth*.¹ The very ingenious author has struck much light into some of the darkest parts of ancient history ; and although I cannot entirely subscribe to every proposition which he advances, yet I apprehend he has sufficiently proved the main of his hypotheses, namely : (1) That, after the flood, Shem and his descendants peopled the greatest parts of Asia. (2) That Ham and his children peopled Africa. (3) That Europe was peopled by the two sons of Japheth, Gomer and Magog ; the southern and south-western by Gomer and his children ; and the north and the north-western by the children of Magog. (4) That the former were called Gomerians, Cimmerians, Cimbrians, and afterwards Celtiae, Galatae, and Gauls ; the latter were called by the general name of Scythians, Scuti, Scots. (5) That the Gomerians spread swiftly through the north of Europe, as far as the Cimbrian Chersonesus (including Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and divers other countries), and then into Ireland, where they multiplied very early into a considerable nation. (6) That, some ages after, another part of them, who had first settled in Spain, sailed to Ireland, under Milea, or Milesius, and, conquering the first inhabitants, took possession of the land. (7) That about the same time the Gomerians came to Ireland, the Magogians, or Scythians, came to Britain, so early that both still spoke the same language and well understood each other. (8) That the Irish, spoke by the Gomerians, and the Welsh, spoke by the Magogians, are one and the same language, expressed by the same seventeen letters, which were long after brought by a Gomerian prince into Greece. (9) That all the languages of Europe, Greek and Latin in particular, are derived from this. (10) That the antediluvian language, spoken by all till after the flood, and

¹ Dr. Parsons, F.R.S. and F.S.A., was an eminent physician. The work reviewed by Wesley consisted of historical

inquiries into the affinities and origin of the European languages. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 234.

then continued in the family of Shem, was Hebrew; and from this (the Hebrew) tongue many of the Eastern languages are derived. The foregoing particulars this fine writer has made highly probable. And these may be admitted, though we do not agree to his vehement panegyric on the Irish language, much less receive all the stories told by the Irish poets or chroniclers as genuine authentic history.

At eleven I preached in Camborne churchtown, and I believe the hearts of all the people were bowed down before the Lord. After the Quarterly Meeting in Redruth I preached in the market-place on the first principle, 'Ye are saved through faith.' It is also the last point; and it connects the first point of religion with the last.

Sun. 2.—About five in the evening I preached at Gwennap. I believe two or three and twenty thousand were present, and I believe God enabled me so to speak that even those who stood farthest off could hear distinctly. I think this is my *ne plus ultra*. I shall scarce see a larger congregation till we meet in the air.

After preaching at Bodmin, Launceston, Tiverton, and Halberton,¹ on *Wednesday* the 5th, about noon, I preached at Taunton. I believe it my duty to relate here what some will esteem a most notable instance of enthusiasm. Be it so or not, I aver the plain fact. In an hour after we left Taunton one of the chaise-horses was on a sudden so lame that he could hardly set his foot to the ground. It being impossible to procure any human help, I knew of no remedy but prayer. Immediately the lameness was gone, and he went just as he did before. In the evening I preached at South Brent, and the next day went on to Bristol.

Fri. 7.—I went over to Kingswood, and made a particular inquiry into the management of the school. I found some of the rules had not been observed at all, particularly that of rising in the morning. Surely Satan has a peculiar spite at this school! What trouble has it cost me for above these thirty years! I can *plan*, but who will *execute*? I know not; God help me!

¹ On Sept. 4 he wrote from Bristol to his niece, Sarah Wesley, and on the 18th to C. Wesley, jun. (*W.M. Mag.* 1844, p. 562; 1846, p. 452).

Sun. 9.¹—In the calm, sunshiny evening, I preached near King Square. I know nothing more solemn than such a congregation, praising God with one heart and one voice. Surely they who talk of the indecency of field-preaching never saw such a sight as this.

Mon. 10.—I preached at Paulton and Shepton Mallet to a lively, increasing people in each place.

Tues. 11.²—I found the same cause of rejoicing at Coleford, and the next evening at Frome.

Thur. 13.—I preached at Road and at Bradford.

Fri. 14.—After an interval of thirty years,³ I preached again in Trowbridge. About two I preached near the church in Freshford, and then spent a day or two at Bath.

On *Monday* the 17th I preached at Chew Magna and [Chew] Stoke; on *Tuesday* at Clutton and Pensford. But Pensford is now a dull, dreary place, the flower of the congregation being gone.⁴

Thur. 20.—I went over to Mangotsfield, a place famous for all manner of wickedness, and the only one in the neighbourhood of Kingswood which we had totally neglected. But, on a sudden, light is sprung up even in this thick darkness. Many inquire what they must do to be saved. Many of these have broke off outward sin, and are earnestly calling for an inward Saviour. I preached in the main street to almost all the inhabitants of the town on 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.'

Fri. 21.—I preached at Thornbury, where I had not been before for near forty years.⁵ It seems as if good might at

¹ He wrote from Bristol to Miss Bolton (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² He wrote from Coleford to Mr E. Bush on marrying against the consent of parents. He quotes his own experience. His mother pressed him to marry. He replied, 'I dare not marry a person because you bid me. . . . I will marry no person if you forbid' (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 364).

³ It was really twenty-seven years, and he forgets the more recent visit on

Sept. 12, 1780, when he preached in Mrs. Turner's chapel.

⁴ Mrs. Owen and her two younger daughters left Publow and removed to London about 1780. Elizabeth Owen, the eldest daughter, married W. Pine, and remained, setting up a school at Pensford. The other daughter, Mary, married Mr. Joseph Beardmore. See below, Friday 28.

⁵ See above, vol. iii. p. 233, and below, Sept. 10, 1789.

length be done here also,¹ as an entire new generation is now come up in the room of the dry, stupid stocks that were there before.²

On *Monday* the 24th and the following days I met the classes at Bristol, and was not a little surprised to find that the society is still decreasing. Certainly we have all need to stir up the gift of God that is in us, and with all possible care to 'strengthen the things that remain.'

Thur. 27.—I preached at Bath and Bradford; and on *Friday* at Trowbridge. How long did we toil here³ and take nothing! At length, it seems, the answer of many prayers is come.

Fri. 28.—About noon I preached at Keynsham, and not without hopes of doing good even here. Since Miss Owen has removed from Publow, Miss Bishop has set up a school here; and it is worthy to be called a Christian school. It is what the school at Publow was!

Sat. 29.—I spent an hour with Mr. Henderson⁴ at Hanham, and particularly inquired into his whole method; and I am persuaded there is not such another house for lunatics in the three kingdoms. He has a peculiar art of governing his patients; not by fear, but by love. The consequence is many of them speedily recover, and love him ever after.

OCT. 4, *Thur.*—I was importuned to preach the condemned sermon at Bristol. I did so, though with little hope of doing

¹ See below, Sept 10, 1789.

² On the 22nd he wrote from near Bristol to John Bredin (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

³ That is, his preachers (not himself), from September 1754 to the 14th inst. In 1781 John Mason preached at the entrance of Shail's Lane, near the house of John Knapp, who was blessed under the Word, and resolved to join the Methodists. He (Knapp) found a scribbling-shop to let, took it, and with others fitted it up for worship. It was used until 1798, and was then superseded by a chapel, which is now a wool-store. Knapp's house was the preacher's home—the first that Adam Clarke entered on leaving Kingswood School. The scribbling-shop stood where Manvers

Street Chapel now stands. For the first permanent class formed by John Mason, 1781, see above, vol. iv. p. 99; notice also articles on Trowbridge Methodism, *Meth. Rec.* March 6, 1902, and May 11, 1905, and *W.H.S.* vol. vi. p. 115.

⁴ Richard Henderson, an Irishman possessed of considerable gifts for the ministry; but his deep thinking, acting upon a melancholy disposition, led him to abandon it, though he retained his piety. Wesley repeated his visit five times. See a long article by Rev. Henry J. Foster, *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 158. He was father of the famous scholar mentioned by Dr. Johnson (*Boswell's Life*, Fitzgerald ed., p. 672), for whose death see below, March 13, 1789.

good, the criminals being eminently impenitent.¹ Yet they were, for the present, melted into tears; and they were not out of God's reach.

*Sun. 7.*²—I took my leave of the congregation in the new Square, in a calm, delightful evening.

Mon. 8.—I preached at the Devizes about eleven; at Sarum [Salisbury] in the evening.

Tues. 9.—I preached at Winchester, where I went with great expectation to see that celebrated painting in the cathedral, the Raising of Lazarus. But I was disappointed. I observed (1) there was such a huddle of figures that, had I not been told, I should not ever have guessed what they meant; (2) the colours in general were far too glaring, such as neither Christ nor His followers ever wore. When will painters have common sense?³

Wed. 10.—I opened the new preaching-house just finished at Newport, in the Isle of Wight.⁴ After preaching, I explained the nature of a Methodist society; of which few had before the least conception.

Fri. 12.—I came to London, and was informed that my wife died on Monday.⁵ This evening she was buried, though I was not informed of it till a day or two after.⁶

¹ Benjamin Loveday and John Burke, who were executed on Oct. 12.

² He wrote from Bristol to Robert Lindsay, Kilkenny—a letter illustrating the financial difficulties of Wesley and his societies (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

³ This painting was placed first in the Great Screen above the altar. It was afterwards removed to the south transept, and later still was sold to America. See *Meth. Rec.* July 6, 1908. This is considered West's best work. The painter of a religious picture is almost bound by the symbolical meaning of colours, and therefore is obliged to introduce such colours as shall express certain ideas.

⁴ In Dyson's *Methodism in the Isle of Wight*, pp. 108–11, a full account of the building of this chapel, with lists of subscriptions, is given. The expenses of Wesley and Coke in travelling from

Winchester for the opening amounted to 7s. 5d. Wesley's name heads the subscription list with £10. Mr. Thomas Cook, a deacon amongst the Baptists, entertained him and received the sacrament at his hands. The choir had prepared an anthem in honour of Wesley's visit—'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him,' &c. As he entered the chapel they commenced singing, but the venerable man looked up and said, 'Stop, friends! Give God the glory!'

⁵ An event which is recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1781, p. 491: 'Died Mrs. M. Wesley, aged 71, wife of Mr. John Wesley, the celebrated Methodist, Oct. 8, 1781.' She was interred in the churchyard of Camberwell.

⁶ On Oct. 13 he wrote from London to Miss Chapman (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 90).

Mon. 15.—I set out for Oxfordshire, and spent five days with much satisfaction among the societies. I found no offences among them at all, but they appeared to walk in love. On *Friday* the 19th I returned to London.

Sun. 21.—About ten at night we set out for Norwich, and came thither about noon on *Monday*. Finding the people loving and peaceable, I spent a day or two with much satisfaction; and on *Wednesday* went on to Yarmouth. There is a prospect of good here also, the two grand hinderers having taken themselves away.¹ At Lowestoft I found much life and much love. On *Friday* I preached at Loddon, and on *Saturday* returned to Norwich.

Sun. 28.—I preached at Ber Street to a large congregation, most of whom had never seen my face before. At half an hour after two and at five I preached to our usual congregation, and the next morning commended them to the grace of God.

Mon. 29.²—I went to Fakenham, and in the evening preached in the room built by Miss Franklin, now Mrs. Parker. I believe most of the town were present.

Tues. 30.—I went to Wells, a considerable seaport twelve miles from Fakenham, where also Miss Franklin had opened a door, by preaching abroad, though at the peril of her life. She was followed by a young woman of the town, with whom I talked largely, and found her very sensible, and much devoted to God. From her I learnt that, till the Methodists came, they had none but female teachers in this country; and that there were six of these within ten or twelve miles,³ all of

¹ Benjamin Worship and John Simpson. See above, vol. v. pp. 153, 245, and below, p. 456.

² He wrote from London to Miss Elizabeth Padbury (see note 2 below, p. 340, and *W.H.S.* vol. vi. p. 45).

³ William Lamb of Haddiscoe, uncle of Charles Atmore, at his awakening (about 1779) heard a Miss Sewell give an exhortation in a small house in the village. Her address greatly helped to remove his prejudices against the Methodists. For Mary Sewell of Thurlton see *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 74, where also is a permit and authorization to

preach given to Sally Mallett by Joseph Harper, the assistant, Oct. 27, 1787, 'by order of Mr. Wesley and the Conference.' By 'female teachers in this country' we are to understand persons who could teach the way of salvation. Such work may be compared with that of Madame Harvey of Hinxworth. In the *W.M. Mag.* 1863, p. 577 (Memoir of Mrs. Anne Hill Taylor), the following brief record is found:

From village to village the influence of Methodism spread, until it reached the family of Mrs. Taylor's parents. Her mother's brother, Josiah Hill, became one

whom were members of the Church of England. I preached about ten in a small, neat preaching-house; and all but two or three were very attentive. Here are a few who appear to be in great earnest. And if so, they will surely increase.

At two in the afternoon I preached at Walsingham, a place famous for many generations. Afterwards I walked over what is left of the famous Abbey,¹ the east end of which is still standing. We then went to the Friary, the cloisters and chapel whereof are almost entire. Had there been a grain of virtue or public spirit in Henry the Eighth, these noble buildings need not have run to ruin.

Wed. 31.—I went to Lynn, and preached in the evening to a very genteel congregation. I spoke more strongly than I am accustomed to do, and hope they were not all sermon-proof.

Nov. 2, Fri.—I returned to London.

*Mon. 5.*²—I began visiting the classes, and found a considerable increase in the society. This I impute chiefly to a small company of young persons, who have kept a prayer-meeting at five every morning. In the following week I visited most of the country societies, and found them increasing rather than decreasing.

of the most eminent preachers in the Methodist ministry. Another brother, John Hill, lived a life of beautiful simplicity to a protracted age. A third, James, for many years adorned his profession by the suavity of a gentleman and the loving zeal of a Christian. A fourth, Harrison, followed in the same steps, and was for many years a local preacher. A sister became the wife of Richard Fisher, a Methodist minister, and mother of Thomas R. Fisher, also a Methodist minister. The parents of Mrs. Taylor opened their house for the entertainment of ministers. Their great farm kitchen was set apart, at times appointed, as the place for worship. The clergyman of the parish became a truly converted man, and preached with such earnestness that his church filled, and much good was the result; nor was this the limit of the blessing which in ever-widening circles resulted from the visits of John Wesley and the teaching of the godly women to whom he refers.

¹ Erasmus mentions 'Our Lady's House' at length in his *Colloquies*. It was

built by Augustinian canons. The Grey Friars erected the Friary. Both Henry VIII and his father visited Walsingham Abbey. Did Wesley know that Cranmer proposed to turn the religious houses into schools and hospitals, and that Latimer made a similar proposal? See Burton's *Anatomy*.

² On Nov. 6 he wrote from London to Mrs. Barton of Beverley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 382); on the 15th from London to Henry Brooke; on the 19th from Towcester to one of the preachers for whom he prescribes, gently upbraiding him for non-observance of the Methodist rule of concluding the service within the hour. On the same day he wrote to Miss Gretton of Grantham. He dates from London. The letter shows that he drove through Grantham in the night. (New ed. *Wesley Letters*.)

Sun. 18.—I preached at St. John's, Wapping,¹ and God was present both to wound and heal.

Mon. 19.—Travelling all night, I breakfasted at Towcester, and preached there in the evening and the following morning.

Tues. 20.—We had a pleasant walk to Whittlebury. This is still the loveliest congregation, as well as the liveliest society, in the circuit.²

Thur. 22.—We had a large congregation at Northampton. On *Friday* I returned to London.³

Mon. 26.—I took a little tour through Sussex; and, *Wednesday* the 28th, I preached at Tunbridge Wells, in the large Presbyterian meeting-house, to a well-dressed audience, and yet deeply serious. On *Thursday* I preached at Sevenoaks.

Fri. 30.—I went on to Shoreham, to see the venerable old man.⁴ He is in his eighty-ninth year, and has nearly lost his sight; but he has not lost his understanding, nor even his memory, and is full of faith and love. On *Saturday*⁵ I returned to London.

DEC. 2, *Sun.*—I preached at St. Swithin's church⁶ in the evening. About eight I took coach, and reached St. Neots in the morning. I preached in the evening to a larger congregation than I ever saw there before.

Tues. 4.—About nine I preached for the first time at Buckden, and in the evening at Huntingdon.

Wed. 5.—I was at Bedford. On *Thursday* the 6th our

¹ See above, p. 302.

² But the society had passed through much tribulation. The house commenced in 1763 (see above, vol. v. p. 22 n.) was through the persistent opposition of the rector (Rev. Henry Beauclerc) and his accessories, not completed until 1783. In a letter to Miss Elizabeth Padbury three weeks earlier, Wesley wrote: 'Nothing can be done in the Court of King's Bench till the latter end of next week . . . and till then I am trying all milder means.' The letter is treasured in the Allegheny College, Pennsylvania, and copied in *W.H.S.* vol. vi. p. 45.

³ On Nov. 24 he wrote from London to Duncan Wright, with outspoken in-

structions given in terse, plain words (new ed. *Wesley Letters*). He also wrote to Fletcher, dating the letter officially from 'London'; it was written, however, in Canterbury. He says:

There is not a person to whom I would have wished Miss Bosanquet joined beside you. . . . From the first day you spend together in Madeley, I hope you will lay down an exactly regular plan of living; something like that of the happy family at Leytonstone. (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 164.)

⁴ Rev. Vincent Perronet, who lived till May 9, 1785. See Wesley's account at that date.

⁵ On Dec. 1 he wrote from London to Mrs. Downes (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 210).

⁶ See above, vol. ii. p. 116.

house at Luton was thoroughly filled ; and I believe the people felt as well as heard those words, ' Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.' On *Saturday*¹ I was in London.

Mon. 10.—I went to Canterbury, and preached in the evening on ' Casting all your care upon Him.' It was a word in season.

Tues. 11.—Finding abundance of people troubled, as though England were on the brink of destruction, I applied those comfortable words, ' I will not destroy the city for ten's sake.'

Wed. 12.—I preached at Chatham,² and the next day returned to London. *Friday* the 21st we observed all over England as a day of fasting and prayer ; and surely God will be entreated for a sinful nation !³

Fri. 28.—By reading in Thurloe's Memoirs the original papers of the treaty at Uxbridge, *agnovi fatum Carthaginis* !⁴ I saw it was then flatly impossible for the King⁵ to escape destruction. For the Parliament were resolved to accept no terms, unless he would (1) give up all his friends to beggary or death ; and (2) require all the three kingdoms to swear to the Solemn League and Covenant. He had no other choice. Who then can blame him for breaking off that treaty ?⁶

¹ On Dec. 9 he wrote from London to Miss Hester Anne Roe, on the ministry of angels (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 81).

² See Memoir of Abraham Brames in *Meth. Mag.* 1816, p. 201, for the beginnings of Methodism in Rochester, Chatham, and Brompton. His ancestors were exiles from Flanders for conscience' sake, suffering the loss of wealth and station. Abraham was a principal instrument in building the first Methodist chapel in Rochester. At midnight, rafting timber for the building, he nearly lost his life. Of this chapel he was steward until 1788. With two friends, Messrs. Lee and Hider, he built the chapel in Brompton which Wesley opened in 1788.

³ On the 15th (?) he wrote from Chester (?) to Miss Loxdale (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 129 ; cf. *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 116).

⁴ ' I recognized the fate of Carthage.' The allusion is to the historical event

recorded in *Livy*, xxvii. 51 :

C. Claudius the consul, on returning to the camp, ordered Hasdrubal's head to be flung down in front of the enemy's outposts. Hannibal, smitten at once by so great public and private grief, is reported to have said that he recognized the fortune of Carthage. (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 89.)

See the political stanza (on American affairs), *Arm. Mag.* 1782, p. 167, in which the couplet occurs :

Let the rebels be lords, and loyalists swing
For loving old England and serving their King.

⁵ Charles I.

⁶ Thurloe, John : *Collection of State Papers : containing Authentic Memorials of the English affairs from 1638 to the Restoration of King Charles II. Published from the originals ; with the Life of Thurloe.* London, 1742 ; 7 vols. John Thurloe was Secretary of State during the Protectorate. Nevertheless, Charles II invited him to take office.

1782. JAN. 1, *Tues.*—I began the service at four in West Street Chapel, and again at ten. In the evening many of us at the new chapel rejoiced in God our Saviour.

Sun. 6.¹—A larger company than ever before met together to renew their covenant with God; and the dread of God, in an eminent degree, fell upon the whole congregation.

Mon. 14.—Being informed that, through the ill conduct of the preachers, things were in much disorder at Colchester, I went down, hoping to 'strengthen the things which remained, that were ready to die.' I found that part of the class-leaders were dead, and the rest had left the society; the bands were totally dissolved; morning preaching was given up; and hardly any, except on Sunday, attended the evening preaching. This evening, however, we had a very large congregation, to whom I proclaimed 'the terrors of the Lord.' I then told them I would immediately restore the morning preaching; and the next morning I suppose a hundred attended. In the day-time I visited as many as I possibly could, in all quarters of the town. I then inquired who were proper and willing to meet in band; and who were fittest for leaders either of bands or classes. The congregation this evening was larger than the last; and many again put their hands to the plough. Oh may the Lord confirm the fresh desires He has given, that they may no more look back!²

¹ On Jan. 7 he wrote from London to Miss Hester Ann Roe (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 82). On the 9th he wrote from Lewisham to the Methodist societies, replying more fully and definitely to a letter from Baildon (see *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 244), and advising, with the unanimous approval of the Conference, that all the Methodists bred within the Church should attend its services as often as possible; but if the minister began to preach the Absolute Decrees or to rail at and ridicule Christian Perfection, they should quietly go out of the church, yet attend it again the next opportunity (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² On Jan. 17 he wrote from London to Miss Hester Ann Roe (cf. letter of Jan. 7, which opens with the same

sentence as this letter). On the 18th he wrote from London to John Valton on his Life (which he was writing), on standing to write, and on the strict maintenance of discipline (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 164). On the 19th he wrote to Miss Ritchie, who was recovering, on Christian Perfection (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 62). On the 24th he wrote to Francis Wolf[e] in Redruth (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 492). On Jan. 30 he wrote from London to Thomas Hanson at Colne on the multiplying of circuits for the ease of preachers rather than the profit of the people (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

On Feb. 9 he wrote from London to Alexander Suter, Tiverton (new ed. *Wesley Letters*). On the 12th he wrote from Lambeth to 'Nelly' (new ed. *Wes-*

MARCH 1, *Fri.*¹—We had a very solemn and comfortable watch-night at West Street.²

Sun. 3.—I took coach, and the next evening had a watch-night at Bath. On *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*, after meeting the classes, I visited as many as I could, chiefly of the sick and poor.

Thur. 7.—I preached about eleven at Keynsham, and in the evening at Bristol. *Friday* the 8th, and most of the following days,³ I visited Mr. C[astlema]n,⁴ just hovering between life and death. What a blessing may this illness be! On *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday* I visited the classes, and found a little increase.

Fri. 15.—I opened the new house at Freshford. In the afternoon I called at Mr. Henderson's, at Hanham, and spent some time with poor, disconsolate Louisa.⁵ Such a sight, in the

ley Letters.) On the 20th he wrote from London to John Bredin, who seems to have been maltreated by 'Headstrong Volunteers' in Ireland, with whom the 'Southern Volunteers' had 'absolutely refused to join' (new ed. *Wesley Letters*). On the 22nd he wrote from London to Joseph Benson (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 430). On the 23rd he replied, as he said, 'simply' to questions on church attendance, &c., addressed to him on the 13th by some nameless friend or foe (new ed. *Wesley Letters*). On the 24th he wrote to 'Dear Joseph' (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); on the 26th from London to Ambrose Foley, at Quinton near Birmingham, respecting the opening of the new chapel in Birmingham (*Christian Miscellany*, Dec. 1900); on the 28th from London to Mrs. Betsy Bradburn on the loss of a child (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

¹ There is a gap in the Journal between Jan. 14—March 1. During this interval a Tract Society was formed for the distribution of tracts among the poor. For the rules see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 369. A list of thirty tracts was printed with the rules, all of them either written or published by Wesley. For the full list of these see Green's

Bibliog., note to No. 363. In 'An Extract of the Original Proposals,' Wesley says:

I cannot but earnestly recommend this to all those who desire to see true scriptural Christianity spread throughout these nations. Men wholly unawakened will not take pains to read the Bible. They have no relish for it. But a small tract may engage their attention for half an hour, and may, by the blessing of God, prepare them for going forward. Signed, JOHN WESLEY, London, Jan. 25, 1782.

This, strictly speaking, was the first tract society ever formed. The Religious Tract Society dates from a much later period.

² On March 2 he wrote from London to Robert Costerdine (*W.M. Mag.* 1845, p. 580).

³ On March 9 he wrote to Mr. Brackenbury and to Miss Ann Loxdale (*Works*, vol. xiii pp. 3, 130).

⁴ See below, p. 439, and *Diary passim*; also *W.H.S.* vol. ii. pp. 103 ff.

⁵ See *A Tale of Real Woe* in *Arm. Mag.* 1782, p. 321. It first appeared in the *St. James's Chronicle*. William Ward, the famous engraver, has a fine portrait of her (see Hind's *Short History of Engraving*). Louisa lived for some time in a haystack, in spite of all the

space of fourteen years, I never saw before! Pale and wan, worn with sorrow, beaten with wind and rain, having been so long exposed to all weathers, with her hair rough and frizzled, and only a blanket wrapped round her, native beauty gleamed through all. Her features were small and finely turned; her eyes had a peculiar sweetness; her arms and fingers were delicately shaped, and her voice soft and agreeable. But her understanding was in ruins. She appeared partly insane, partly silly and childish. She would answer no question concerning herself, only that her name was Louisa. She seemed to take no notice of any person or thing, and seldom spoke above a word or two at a time. Mr. Henderson has restored her health, and she loves him much. She is in a small room by herself, and wants nothing that is proper for her.

Some time since a gentleman called, who said he came two hundred miles on purpose to inquire after her. When he saw her face he trembled exceedingly; but all he said was, 'She was born in Germany, and is not now four-and-twenty years old.'

In the evening I preached at Kingswood School, and afterwards met the bands. The colliers spoke without any reserve. I was greatly surprised; not only the matter of what they spoke was rational and scriptural, but the language, yea, and the manner, were exactly proper. Who teacheth like Him?

Mon. 18.—I left our friends at Bristol with satisfaction, having been much refreshed among them. In the evening and the next day I preached at Stroud; *Wednesday* the 20th at Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Worcester.

*Fri. 22.*¹—About two in the morning we had such a storm as I never remember. Before it began our chamber-door clattered to and fro exceedingly—so it sounded to us, although, in fact, it did not move at all. I then distinctly heard the door open, and, having a light, rose and went to it; but it was fast shut. Mean-

efforts of neighbours to persuade her to accept the shelter of a home. Mrs. Hannah More befriended her until her death in Guy's Hospital, Southwark, in 1801. For full account of Richard Henderson, his Asylum at Hanham,

the 'new house,' his son, see *W.H.S.* vol. iii. pp. 158 ff. See also *Life and Letters of Mrs. Delany*, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 145, and below, p. 482.

¹ He wrote from Worcester to Robert Costerdine (*W.M. Mag.* 1845, p. 580).

time the window was wide open ; I shut it, and went to sleep again. So deep a snow fell in the night that we were afraid the roads would be impassable. However, we set out in the afternoon, and made shift to get to Kidderminster. We had a large congregation in the evening, though it was intensely cold, and another at seven in the morning, *Saturday* the 23rd, and all of them were deeply serious. It was with a good deal of difficulty we got to Bridgnorth, much of the road being blocked up with snow. In the afternoon we had another kind of difficulty : the roads were so rough and so deep that we were in danger, every now and then, of leaving our wheels behind us. But, by adding two horses to my own, at length we got safe to Madeley.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher¹ complained that, after all the pains they had taken, they could not prevail on the people to join in society, no, nor even to meet in a class. Resolving to try, I preached to a crowded audience on 'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ.' I followed the blow in the afternoon by strongly applying those words, 'Awake, thou that sleepest,' and then enforcing the necessity of Christian fellowship on all who desired either to awake or keep awake. I then desired those that were willing to join together for this purpose to call upon Mr. Fletcher and me after service. Ninety-four or ninety-five persons did so, about as many men as women. We explained to them the nature of a Christian society, and they willingly joined therein.

Mon. 25.—I spent an agreeable hour at the boarding-school in Sheriffhales.² I believe the Misses Yeomans are well qualified for their office. Several of the children are under strong drawings. We then went on to Newcastle-under-Lyme. (This is the name of a little river which runs near the town.)

Tues. 26.—I found many at Burslem too under sad apprehensions of the public danger ; so I applied to these also those comfortable words, 'I will not destroy it for ten's sake.'

Thur. 28.—Coming to Congleton, I found the Calvinists

¹ John Fletcher, vicar of Madeley, married Miss Mary Bosanquet from her residence, Cross Hall, at Batley Church, Nov. 12, 1781. They remained at Cross Hall until Jan. 2, 1782, and settled in Madeley soon after. They had consulted Wesley, and he highly approved their

union. He was now visiting the recently wedded pair, and giving advice on the difficulties and discouragements of their parish work. For an account of their marriage see Benson's *Life of Fletcher*, chap. viii.

² Near Shifnal in Salop.

were just breaking in and striving to make havoc of the flock.¹ Is this brotherly love? Is this doing as we would be done to? No more than robbing on the highway. But if it is *decreed*, they cannot help it; so we cannot blame them.

Fri. 29 (being Good Friday).—I came to Macclesfield just time enough to assist Mr. Simpson² in the laborious service of the day. I preached for him morning and afternoon; and we administered the sacrament to about thirteen hundred persons. While we were administering I heard a low, soft, solemn sound, just like that of an Aeolian harp. It continued five or six minutes, and so affected many that they could not refrain from tears. It then gradually died away. Strange that no other organist³ (that I know) should think of this. In the evening I preached at our room. Here was that harmony which art cannot imitate.

*Sat. 30.*⁴—As our friends at Leek,⁵ thirteen miles from Macclesfield, would take no denial, I went over and preached about noon to a lovely congregation. God bore witness to His word in an uncommon manner, so that I could not think much of my labour.

Sun. 31 (being Easter Day).—I preached in the church, morning and evening, where we had about eight hundred communicants. In the evening we had a lovefeast; and such a one as I had not seen for many years. Sixteen or eighteen persons gave a clear, scriptural testimony of being renewed in love; and many others told what God had done for their souls with inimitable simplicity.

APRIL 1, *Mon.*—We set out in the morning for Chapel-en-

¹ See *Methodism in Macclesfield*, p. 192; and especially J. B. Dyson's *Methodism in the Congleton Circuit*, pp. 84-6.

² See above, vol. v. p. 86 n.

³ The organist was Aeneas Maclardie, the father of Dr. Bunting's wife. See *Life of Dr. Bunting*, vol. i. p. 130; *W.M. Mag.* 1913, p. 137. It is stated (on the authority of the *Meth. Rec.* May 31, 1906, ed. notes) that after the service Wesley said, 'Mr. Maclardie, if I could ensure a similar performance to yours this afternoon, I would have

an organ introduced into every one of our chapels.' It has been suggested that the soul of the Maclardie organ music reappears in the hymns of William Maclardie Bunting. See *Meth. Hymn-Bk.* 1904—Nos. 249, 487, 576, 638, 721, 746.

⁴ He wrote to Joseph Benson, commending him for his answer to Madan's book (*Works*, vol. xiv. p. 291).

⁵ Hester Ann Roe breakfasted with him and accompanied him to Leek. See the *Journal of Hester Ann Rogers*, p. 418 ff., for the sermon and its effects.

le-Frith. But such a journey I have seldom had, unless in the middle of January. Wind, snow, and rain we had in abundance, and roads almost impassable. However, at last we got to the town, and had a good walk from thence to the chapel, through the driving snow, about half a mile. But I soon forgot my labour, finding a large congregation that were all athirst for God.

Tues. 2.—About ten I preached at New Mills to as simple a people as those at Chapel.¹ Perceiving they had suffered much by not having the doctrine of Perfection clearly explained and strongly pressed upon them, I preached expressly on the head, and spoke to the same effect in meeting the society. The spirits of many greatly revived, and they are now ‘going on unto perfection.’ I found it needful to press the same thing at Stockport in the evening.²

*Thur. 4.*³—I preached at noon in the new preaching-house at Ashton[under-Lyne] to as many as the house would hold. The inscription over the door is ‘Can any good come out of Nazareth? Come and see.’ In the evening I preached at Manchester.

Fri. 5.—About one I preached at Oldham, and was surprised to see all the street lined with little children: and such children as I never saw till now. Before preaching they only ran round me and before me; but after it a whole troop, boys and girls, closed me in, and would not be content till I shook each of them by the hand.⁴ Being then asked to visit a dying woman, I no sooner entered the room than both she and her companions were in such an emotion as I have seldom seen. Some laughed,

¹ Chapel-en-le-Frith.

² On April 3 he wrote to Thomas Carlill (Dunn’s *Memoirs of Thomas Tatham and Nottingham Methodism*, p. 58).

³ On April 4 (the date is uncertain) he wrote to Francis Wrigley on two questions of church order or discipline (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ The following is Southey’s description of his personal appearance at this time: ‘No one who saw him, even casually, in his old age, can have for-

gotten his venerable appearance. His face was remarkably fine; his complexion fresh to the last week of his life; his eye quick, keen, and active. When you met him in the street of a crowded city he attracted notice, not only by his band and cassock and his long hair, white and bright as silver, but by his pace and manner, both indicating that all his minutes were numbered, and that not one was to be lost’ (Southey’s *Life of Wesley*, Cavendish Edition, p. 537).

some cried; all were so transported that they could hardly speak. Oh how much better is it to go to the poor than to the rich, and to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting!¹

About this time I had a remarkable letter. Part of it was as follows:

The work of God prospers among us here: I never saw anything equal to it. The last time I was at St. Just the leaders gave me an account of seventy persons who had found either pardon or perfect love within the last fortnight; and the night and morning I was there twenty more were delivered. One-and-twenty likewise were then added to the society, most of whom have found peace with God.

CHRISTOPHER WATKINS.²

Sat. 13.—I preached at St. Helens, a small but populous town ten or twelve miles from Liverpool, in Joseph Harris's house,³ who is removed hither from Kingswood to take care of the copper-works. Surely God has brought him hither for good. The people seem to be quite ripe for the gospel.

I was waked at half-past two this morning, as was Mr. Broadbent also, by a very loud noise like a vast crack of thunder, accompanied with a flash of bright light. It made the whole room shake and all the tables and chairs therein jar. But (what is strange) none in the house or in the town heard it beside us.

Mon. 15.—I saw an uncommon sight—the preaching-house at Wigan filled, yea, crowded! Perhaps God will cause fruit to spring up even in this desolate place.

I had now leisure to transcribe a letter,⁴ wrote last May, from

¹ On April 10 he wrote from Liverpool to John Bredin, Coleraine. Hugh Moon (? Moore) had offered marriage to Kitty Davenport without the consent of her parents. Bredin is to warn him that if he persists he excludes himself from the Connexion. He quotes the exemplary behaviour of John Prickard on a like occasion. (New ed. *Wesley Letters*.) On the 12th he wrote to Thomas Taylor, agreeing with his indictment of the conduct of the war. But his friend does not know half yet. He has changed, as he often did, the plan of his journey.

(*Meth. Rec.* Dec. 24, 1901.) Also from Liverpool to Miss Loxdale (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 130).

² The preacher then stationed in the West Cornwall Circuit. He travelled from 1768 to 1805.

³ Which stood next to the Navigation Tavern. It has been demolished to make room for the offices of Messrs. Pilkington's glass works. (*Meth. Rec.* Aug. 14, 1902.)

⁴ This was afterwards expanded by William Black himself, and published in *E.M.P.* vol. v. p. 242.

Amherst, in Nova Scotia, by a young man whose father, some years since, went thither with his whole family :

In the year 1779 I saw, if I would go to heaven, I must lead a new life. But I did not know I wanted an inward change, or see the deplorable state I was in by nature till I was at a prayer-meeting held at Mr. Oxley's. While they were praying, my heart began to throb within me, my eyes gushed out with tears, and I cried aloud for mercy ; as did most that were in the room, about fourteen in number. One, indeed, could not hold from laughing when we began to cry out ; but it was not long before he cried as loud as any. In a few moments it pleased God to fill Mrs. Oxley with joy unspeakable. After this we went almost every night to Mr. Oxley's to sing and pray. Going thence one night, and seeing the Northern Lights, I thought, 'What if the Day of Judgement be coming?' I threw myself down on the ground and cried to the Lord for mercy. On Sunday Mr. Wells, an old Methodist, came to Amherst and gave us an exhortation, in which he said, 'Sin and repent, sin and repent, till you repent in the bottomless pit.' The words went like a dagger to my heart ; and I continued mourning after God for five weeks and four days, till our monthly meeting. I was then strongly tempted to put an end to my life ; but God enabled me to resist the temptation. Two days after an old Methodist, after praying with me, said, 'I think you will get the blessing before morning.' About two hours after, while we were singing a hymn, it pleased God to reveal His Son in my heart. Since that time I have had many blessed days and many happy nights.

One Sunday night after my brother Dicky and I were gone to bed I asked him, 'Can you believe?' He answered, 'No.' I exhorted him to wrestle hard with God, and got up to pray with him. But he was unbelieving still ; so I went to sleep again. Yet, not being satisfied after talking largely to him, I got up again and began praying for him, being fully persuaded that God would set his soul at liberty. And so He did : He pardoned all his sins, and bade him 'go in peace.'

It being now between twelve and one, I waked my brothers John and Thomas and told them the glad tidings. They got up. We went to prayer ; and when we rose from our knees Tommy declared, 'God has blotted out all my sins.' I then went to my father and mother (who were both seeking salvation) and told them the joyful news. My father said, 'Willy, pray for us.' I did, and earnestly exhorted him to wrestle with God for himself. So he did ; and it was not long before God set his soul also at liberty. The next morning it pleased Him to show my sister Sally His pardoning love. Blessed be His name for all His benefits !

Not long after, Mr. Oxley's son came to our house and lay with me, and complained of his hardness of heart. After I had talked with him a little while, the Lord laid His hand upon him in a wonderful manner, so that he rolled up and down, and roared as in the agonies of death. But between one and two in the morning he likewise could rejoice in God his Saviour. These are a few of the wonderful works of God among us. But He is also working on the hearts of the inhabitants in general.

WILLIAM BLACK, Jun.

*Mon. 22.*¹—I preached, about eleven, in Todmorden church, thoroughly filled with attentive hearers; in the afternoon, in Heptonstall church; and at the Ewood² in the evening.

Wed. 24.—The flood caused by the violent rains shut me up at Longwood House. But on *Thursday* the rain turned to snow; so on *Friday* I got to Halifax, where Mr. Floyd³ lay in a high fever, almost dead for want of sleep. This was prevented by the violent pain in one of his feet, which was much swelled and so sore it could not be touched. We joined in prayer that God would fulfil His word and give His beloved sleep. Presently the swelling, the soreness, the pain, were gone, and he had a good night's rest.

Sat. 27.—As we rode to Keighley the north-east wind was scarce supportable, the frost being exceeding sharp, and all the mountains covered with snow.

Sun. 28.—Bingley church was hot, but the heat was very supportable, both in the morning and afternoon.

Mon. 29.—I preached at Skipton-in-Craven, at Grassington, and at Pateley Bridge.

¹ The Stewards' Book has the following entry: 'April 1782, a pair of shoes for Mr. Wesley' (*Meth. in Halifax*, p. 79).

² See above, p. 229.

³ He was popularly known as Dr. Floyde (Atmore so spells the name), but is described, probably more correctly, as an apothecary and surgeon. In 1770 he appeared on the *Minutes* with an appointment in East Cornwall. When Wesley visited him in 1781-2 he was second preacher in the Halifax Cir-

cuit. At the Conference of 1782 he recommenced his former practice as a surgeon, first in Halifax and afterwards in Leeds, preaching occasionally in episcopal chapels, or as a local preacher among the Methodists. He retired to the house of his friend, John Iredale, at Exley, near Halifax, and there ended his days, July 1798. See also (for Iredale's work at Exley) J. V. Walker's *Methodism in Halifax*, p. 174; Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 142, &c. Wesley, in his letters, more than once recommends Floyde.

Tues. 30.—I found Miss Ritchie at Otley,¹ still hovering between life and death.²

MAY 2, *Thur.*—I met the select society, all but two retaining the pure love of God, which some of them received near thirty years ago. On *Saturday* evening I preached to an earnest congregation at Yeadon. The same congregation was present in the morning, together with an army of little children, full as numerous, and almost as loving, as those that surrounded us at Oldham.

Sun. 5.³—One of my horses having been so thoroughly lamed at Otley that he died in three or four days, I purchased another; but, as it was his way to stand still when he pleased, I set out as soon as possible. When we had gone three miles, the chaise stuck fast. I walked for about a mile, and then borrowed a horse, which brought me to Birstall before the prayers were ended. I preached on those words in the Gospel, ‘Do ye now believe?’ which gave me an opportunity of speaking strong words, both to believers and unbelievers. In the evening I preached at Leeds, on St. James’s beautiful description of pure religion and undefiled: ‘To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.’

Thur. 9.⁴—I preached at Wakefield in the evening. Such attention sat on every face that it seemed as if every one in the congregation was on the brink of believing.

Fri. 10.—I preached at Sheffield; *Saturday*, the 11th, about noon, at Doncaster; and in the evening at Epworth. I found the accounts I had received of the work of God here were not at all exaggerated. Here is a little country town, containing

¹ On May 1 he wrote from Otley to Zechariah Yewdall, permitting him to spend a year in Cork and Bandon, and promising him the *History of the Church*, adding, ‘Money is nothing between you and me.’ Cf. Green’s *Wesley Bibliog.* No. 355. The *Concise Ecclesiastical History* was published in 1781. See *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 12.

² A second illness, induced by unremitting attendance on her dying father and mother. See above, p. 153.

³ On May 7 he wrote from Leeds to Mrs. Nuttal, Preston, advising her to join the society, but warning her that they were not all angels (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ He finished writing a long review which he entitled, *Thoughts on the Writings of Baron Swedenborg*. It was published in the *Arm. Mag.* 1783 (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 425). See also above, vol. v. p. 354.

a little more than eight or nine hundred grown people ; and there has been such a work among them as we have not seen in so short a time either at Leeds, Bristol, or London.

Sun. 12.—About eight I preached at Misterton ; about one at Upperthorpe. Many of the Epworth children were there, and their spirit spread to all around them. But the huge congregation was in the market-place at Epworth, and the Lord in the midst of them. The lovefeast which followed exceeded all. I never knew such a one here before. As soon as one had done speaking, another began. Several of them were children ; but they spoke with the wisdom of the aged, though with the fire of youth. So out of the mouth of babes and sucklings did God perfect praise.

Mon. 13.—I preached at Thorne. Never did I see such a congregation here before. The flame of Epworth hath spread hither also : in seven weeks fifty persons have found peace with God.¹

Tues. 14.—Some years ago four factories for spinning and weaving were set up at Epworth.² In these a large number of young women, and boys and girls, were employed. The whole conversation of these was profane and loose to the last degree. But some of these, stumbling in at the prayer-meeting, were suddenly cut to the heart. These never rested till they had gained their companions. The whole scene was changed. In three of the factories no more lewdness or profaneness were found ; for God had put a new song in their mouth,

¹ On May 14 he wrote from Thorne to Mrs. Thomas Taylor approving, but cautiously, of her husband's concordance (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² In the *Arm. Mag.* 1784 (pp. 45-50, 103-106) will be found 'Accounts' written by several hands in letters to Wesley of a revival at Epworth. It began in 1781. Many names of residents in or near Epworth are given, among them 'Simon Kilham's sons.' Simon had a brother named Alexander, an account of whose conversion may be read in the Jubilee volume of the Methodist New Connexion, p. 299. Three brothers and a sister-in-law of Alexander

Kilham were brought into the society at this time (*Life of Kilham* (1838) p. 54). The four factories, which provided welcome employment for the young people of a growing country town, also created serious problems with which Methodism promptly dealt. This was a typical case. The 'Industrial Revolution' was changing the social and also the moral conditions in all the country between Glasgow and Birmingham, and Wesley knew it. Cf. C. Grant Robertson's *England under the Hanoverians*, ch. iv. With reference to the fruits of the revival at Epworth see below p. 520.

and blasphemies were turned to praise. Those three I visited to-day, and found religion had taken deep root in them. No trifling word was heard among them, and they watch over each other in love. I found it exceeding good to be there, and we rejoiced together in the God of our salvation.

Wed. 15.—I set out for the other side of Lincolnshire.

Thur. 16.—I preached in the new house¹ at Barrow.² I was well pleased to meet with my old fellow traveller, Charles Delamotte, here. He gave me an invitation to lodge at his house, which I willingly accepted of. He seemed to be just the same as when we lodged together, five-and-forty years ago. Only he complained of the infirmities of old age, which, through the mercy of God, I know nothing of.

Hence I went by Hull, Beverley, Bridlington; and then hastened to Newcastle-upon-Tyne,³ where I preached on *Sunday* the 26th.

Mon. 27.—I set out for Scotland,⁴ and, *Wednesday* the 29th, reached Dunbar. The weather was exceeding rough and stormy, yet we had a large and serious congregation.

Thur. 30.—Finding the grounds were so flooded that the common roads were not passable, we provided a guide to lead us a few miles round, by which means we came safe to Edinburgh.

¹ The first chapel, built probably on the site of the present chapel, and opened in 1780. It was the only time Wesley preached in a chapel belonging to the Methodists in these parts.

² There were at this time nine parishes in England which bore the name of Barrow. The one referred to in the text was near the Humber. The place of embarkation in the ferry-boats for Hull was called Barton; and for very many years past the town itself has been universally recognized as Barton-on-Humber. See a long and interesting article on Methodist Beginnings in Barton-on-Humber Circuit, *W.H.S.* vol. viii. p. 129. For Charles Delamotte see Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists*, p. 85, and

also above, vol. i. pp. 106 n. 322, 413, &c.

³ On the 25th he was at Sunderland, where he wrote to an unnamed preacher: 'Explain to our brethren, wherever you go, your conversation with Colonel Barnes, and enforce the proposal, as far as you can then you will be able to judge what numbers of soldiers you may reasonably expect to raise among the Methodists.' The whole letter is interesting (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

⁴ On May 28 he wrote from Alnwick to his brother Charles with reference to the Birstall chapel case (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 148, where also will be found the copy of a letter written, obviously by Charles at his brother John's suggestion). For this case see below, p. 364.

Fri. 31.—As I lodged with Lady Maxwell at Saughton Hall (a good old mansion-house, three miles from Edinburgh), she desired me to give a short discourse to a few of her poor neighbours. I did so, at four in the afternoon, on the story of Dives and Lazarus. About seven I preached in our house at Edinburgh, and fully delivered my own soul.

JUNE 1, Sat.—I spent a little time with forty poor children, whom Lady Maxwell keeps at school. They are swiftly brought forward in reading and writing, and learn the principles of religion. But I observe in them all the *ambitiosa paupertas*.¹ Be they ever so poor, they must have a scrap of finery. Many of them have not a shoe to their foot; but the girl in rags is not without her ruffles.

Sun. 2.—Mr. Collins² intended to have preached on the Castle Hill at twelve o'clock; but the dull minister kept us in the kirk till past one. At six the house was well filled; and I did not shun to declare the whole counsel of God. I almost wonder at myself. I seldom speak anywhere so roughly as in Scotland. And yet most of the people hear and hear, and are just what they were before.

Mon. 3.—I went on to Dundee. The congregation was large and attentive, as usual. But I found no increase, either of the society or of the work of God.

Tues. 4.—The house at Arbroath was well filled with serious and attentive hearers. Only one or two pretty flutterers seemed inclined to laugh, if any would have encouraged them.

Wed. 5.³—We set out early, but did not reach Aberdeen till between five and six in the evening. The congregations were

¹ *Juv. Sat.* iii. 182-3: 'Hic vivimus ambitiosa paupertate omnes' ('Here [at Rome] we all live in ambitious poverty'). (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 89.)

² Rev. Brian Bury Collins. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 335, and Stamp's *Orphan House*, p. 147. Mr. Collins we have hitherto known somewhat vaguely as an unattached clergyman, who preached for Wesley or Lady Huntingdon, or any one else who could offer him an evangelical pulpit. But much new light on an interesting personality may be gathered from 'The Corre-

spondence of the Rev. Brian Bury Collins, M.A., with John, Charles, and Sarah Wesley, and many other notable persons of the eighteenth century, edited and annotated by A. M. Broadley' (*W.H.S.* vol. ix. pp. 25-35, &c.). See also *W.M. Mag.* 1845, p. 117, for an interesting incident in Newcastle, and for Collins's later life.

³ He wrote from 'London' [official address] to 'dear Joseph —' on recommending the Magazine, i.e. *The Arminian Magazine* (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

Acc^t (Wes.) for year 1782
 By myself 361-19-00
 I expended in Cloaths 05-19-00
 In travelling 11-2-06
 The rest I gave away 503 17-06
 And Mr Alley's order 237-13-00
 Given in all 581 10-06

Acc^t for 1783
 By myself 330-17-00
 I expended in trav^l 049-19-00
 Given by Mr C. & m 450 14-06
 Given myself Ell. &c 050-00-00
 Given in all 832-01-06

Acc^t for 1784
 By myself 182-05-06
 Of which I expended in trav^l 040-00-00
 The rest I gave away
 And Mr C. & m's order 302-12-00
 in all 534 17-06

Acc^t 1785 Cons 465 10-00
 Of which I exp in trav^l 55 8-00
 In Cloaths 4 12-00
 I gave Mr 433-00-00
 Mr A. C. m's order 419-12-00
 in all 1857 12-00

large both morning and evening, and many of them much alive to God.

Fri. 7.—We received a pleasing account of the work of God in the north. The flame begins to kindle even at poor, dull Keith¹; but much more at a little town near Fraserburgh; and most of all at Newburgh, a small fishing-town, fifteen miles from Aberdeen, where the society swiftly increases. And not only men and women, but a considerable number of children, are either rejoicing in God or panting after Him.

Sat. 8.—I walked with a friend to Mr. Leslie's seat, less than a mile from the city. It is one of the pleasantest places of the kind I ever saw, either in Britain or Ireland. He has laid his gardens out on the side of a hill, which gives a fine prospect both of sea and land; and the variety is beyond what could be expected within so small a compass. But still—

Valeat possessor oportet,
Si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.²

Unless a man have peace within, he can enjoy none of the things that are round about him.

Sun. 9.—We had a lovely congregation in the morning, many of whom were athirst for full salvation. In the evening God sent forth His voice, yea, and that a mighty voice. I think few of the congregation were unmoved; and we never had a more solemn parting.

Mon. 10.—We went to Arbroath; *Tuesday* the 11th to Dundee; and *Wednesday* the 12th to Edinburgh. We had such congregations both that evening and the next as had not been on a week-day for many years; some fruit of our labours here we have had already. Perhaps this is a token that we shall have more.

Fri. 14.—We travelled through a pleasant country to Kelso,³

¹ See above, pp. 108 and 236.

² See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 89. Horace, *Ep.* I. ii. 49–50. The owner must have good health, if he thinks to enjoy satisfactorily accumulated stores.

³ See below, May 27, 1784, for story of Sir Walter Scott; and Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, vol. vi. p. 42. Mrs. Planche (*Arm. Mag.* 1791, p. 420), says: 'Wesley spent a night with us, and

lodged at my brother's. He preached in the evening from Rev. xx. 11, 12. In the morning at five he preached from 1 Cor. xiii.' She followed him to Alnwick, and went on to Newcastle, where she spent several weeks, and heard much preaching. Then Mr. Hunter, who had been sent specially by Wesley at her request for the work at Kelso, came, and so a society was formed.

where we were cordially received by Dr. Douglas.¹ I spoke strong words in the evening, concerning judgement to come; and some seemed to awake out of sleep. But how shall they keep awake, unless they 'that fear the Lord speak often one to another'?

Sat. 15.—As I was coming downstairs, the carpet slipped from under my feet, which, I know not how, turned me round, and pitched me back, with my head foremost, for six or seven stairs. It was impossible to recover myself till I came to the bottom. My head rebounded once or twice from the edge of the stone stairs. But it felt to me exactly as if I had fallen on a cushion or a pillow. Dr. Douglas ran out, sufficiently affrighted. But he needed not. For I rose as well as ever; having received no damage, but the loss of a little skin from one or two of my fingers. Doth not God give His angels charge over us, to keep us in all our ways?

In the evening, and on *Sunday* the 16th, I preached at Alnwick.

Mon. 17.—I preached at Rothbury in the Forest,² formerly a nest of banditti; now as quiet a place as any in the county. About one I preached at Saugh House,³ a lone house, twelve miles from Rothbury. Though it was sultry hot, the people flocked from all sides; and it was a season of refreshment to

¹ He was probably the minister of the parish church of Kelso, and not unlikely heard Wesley preach at Edinburgh during the session of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. For a number of years Wesley purposely chose the time of that great gathering for his visits to the Scottish metropolis.

² See *Arm. Mag.* 1778, p. 407, for a graphic account of brandished weapons in Bernard Gilpin's church at Rothbury; of a thief who, finding he had stolen Gilpin's horses, brought them back, fearing lest the devil should seize him; and of the Bishop of Durham, who, after a fearless rebuke for neglect of duty by the intrepid preacher, seized him by the hand and said: 'Father Gilpin, you are fitter to be Bishop of Durham than I am to be parson of this

church of yours.' See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 113. At Rothbury the insurgents who supported the first Pretender met under Lords Derwentwater and Widdrington. It was a spot so fierce and uncivilized that no man would pass through it if he could avoid doing so.

³ About a mile to the east from Cambo, through a gateway and iron fence which guards a considerable space of open ground. Within the railings stands an ancient hawthorn-tree, and a massive stone, with the inscription: 'John Wesley preached here on his 79th birthday, June 17, 1782.' An annual service is held under the tree in memory of Wesley's only visit to Cambo. See *W.M. Mag.* 1901, p. 854; *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 113; and *Meth. Rec.* June 26, 1902.

many. In the evening I went to Hexham, and preached near the old Priory¹ to an immense multitude. Very many were present again in the morning, and seemed to drink in every word that was spoken.

Tues. 18.—After preaching about one at Prudhoe, I went to Newcastle.

Wednesday the 19th, and the following days, I examined the society. I found them increased in grace, though not in number. I think four in five, at least, were alive to God. To quicken them more I divided all the classes anew, according to their places of abode. Another thing I observed: the congregations were larger, morning and evening, than any I have seen these twenty years.

Sun. 23.—I preached about eight at Gateshead Fell; about noon at Burnopfield; and at the Garth Heads in the evening. My strength was as my day. I was no more tired at night than when I rose in the morning.

Mon. 24.—I came to Darlington just in time, for a great stumbling-block had lately occurred. But my coming gave the people a newer thing to talk of. So I trust the new thing will soon be forgotten.²

Wed. 26.—I preached at Thirsk; *Thursday* the 27th at York.

Fri. 28.—I entered my eightieth year; but, blessed be God, my time is not 'labour and sorrow.' I find no more pain or bodily infirmities than at five-and-twenty. This I still impute (1) to the power of God fitting me for what He calls me to; (2) to my still travelling four or five thousand miles a year; (3) to my sleeping, night and day, whenever I want it; (4) to my rising at a set hour; and (5) to my constant preaching, particularly in the morning.

Sat. 29.—I went on to Leeds, and, after preaching, met the select society, consisting of about sixty members, most of whom can testify that 'the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin.'

¹ Founded about A.D. 674, destroyed two centuries later by the Danes, renovated in 1113, and demolished by the Scots in 1296.

² On June 25 he wrote from 'London to Samuel Bardsley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 504); and from Darlington to Miss H. A. Roe (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 83).

JULY 1, *Mon.*—Coming to Sheffield just at the time of the Quarterly Meeting, I preached on Acts ix. 31: 'Then had the churches rest . . . and were edified; and, walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.' This is eminently fulfilled in all these parts; at Sheffield in particular.

Tues. 2.—I found a serious as well as a numerous congregation at Nottingham.¹

Thur. 4.—I preached at Derby. I trust the work of God will now prosper here also. All the jars of our brethren are at an end, and they strive together for the hope of the gospel.

Sat. 6.—I came to Birmingham and preached once more in the old, dreary preaching-house.²

Sun. 7.—I opened the new house³ at eight, and it contained the people well: but not in the evening; many were then constrained to go away. In the middle of the sermon a huge noise was heard, caused by the breaking of a bench on which some people stood. None of them was hurt, yet it occasioned a general panic at first. But in a few minutes all was quiet.

¹ He lingered here, as Mr. Harwood thinks, that he might make arrangements for properly securing the intended new chapel to the Connexion. It is upon record that a bond was given in July 1782 to convey the premises to the uses and trusts mentioned in the deed printed in the *Large Minutes of Conference*. See Harwood's *Meth. in Nottingham*, pp. 51-2.

² A disused theatre in a dark court off Moor Street, in which they had worshipped twenty years. It was here, in March 1773, that Thomas Rankin met Wesley and received his final instructions on his appointment to America. See above, vol. v. pp. 21 and 48, and *Early Methodism in Birmingham*, pp. 20-29. See also a remarkable sentence in the autobiography of Thomas Taylor, who had travelled in the circuit in the year 1777-8: 'I have reason to think that our preaching out of doors in Birmingham was a . . . means of increasing the work. . . . Soon after our

going out of doors a large new chapel was built; and since that two more.' (*E.M.P.* vol. v. p. 49, or *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. vii. p. 61.)

³ Cherry Street chapel. His text was 1 Cor. i. 23-4, 'But we preach Christ crucified,' &c. The local *Gazette* explains that the alarm arose merely from the breaking of a carpenter's bench on which too many persons stood, and assures its readers that the building is judged on competent authority 'to be one of the firmest buildings of the kind in the kingdom.' It accommodated 1,000 persons, and was enlarged in 1823 to seat 1,400. During the enlargement the Cannon Street Baptist Chapel and Moor Street Unitarian Chapel (of which Dr. Priestley had been minister) were alternately lent to accommodate the congregation. It was demolished in 1886 for street improvements. (*Early Meth. in Birmingham*, pp. 29-31, and *Meth. Rec.* Feb. 21, 1901, with street plans and illustrations.)

Wed. 10.¹—I read prayers and preached in the church at Darlaston,² and in the evening returned to Birmingham.

Fri. 12.³—I walked through Mr. Bolton's curious works.⁴ He has carried everything which he takes in hand to a high degree of perfection, and employs in the house about five hundred men, women, and children. His gardens, running along the side of a hill, are delightful indeed, having a large piece of water at the bottom, in which are two well-wooded islands. If faith and love dwell here, then there may be happiness too. Otherwise all these beautiful things are as unsatisfactory as straws and feathers.

Sat. 13.—I spent an hour in Hagley Park,⁵ I suppose inferior to few, if any, in England. But we were straitened for time. To take a proper view of it would require five or six hours. Afterwards I went to the Leasowes,⁶ a farm so called, four or five miles from Hagley. I never was so surprised. I have seen nothing in all England to be compared with it. It is beautiful and elegant all over. There is nothing grand, nothing costly; no temples, so called; no statues (except two or three, which had better have been spared); but such walks, such shades, such hills

¹ On July 9 he wrote from Birmingham to John Bredin, then at Londonderry, with regard to his own health, and advising how his young friend, Adam Clarke, might travel to Liverpool, Chester, or from Newry to Bristol. Wesley wished to send him to Kingswood School (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² The Rev. Titus Neve, a pluralist, was rector. His son-in-law, Mr. John Read, was the first steward (1835) of the Walsall circuit. See *Meth. Rec.* June 13, 1901, and Nov. 17, 1904.

³ He wrote from Birmingham to Miss Loxdale (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 131). On the same day he wrote from Birmingham to Mrs. Fletcher, referring to 'that weak young man' (does he mean the new curate, whom he had sent, 'Crayton'?—see above, p. 255) who 'had damped it sufficiently,' and adding this remarkable biographical note: 'It seems to have been the will of God, for many years, that I should have none to

share my proper labour. My brother never did. Thomas Walsh began to do it; so did John Jones. But one died [Walsh], and one fainted. Dr. Coke promises fair; at present I have none like-minded. When a lot is cast, I have no more to say.' (New ed. *Wesley Letters*.)

⁴ See above. p. 12; and *Gentleman's Mag.* 1809, p. 790, in praise of Mr. Bolton.

⁵ The seat of the Lyttelton family (now Lord Cobham). See article in *Meth. Rec.* March 10, 1910. Thomson's *Spring*, lines 900-10 and 947, on Hagley; and Mrs. Delany's *Life and Letters*, 2nd series, vol. iii. p. 134.

⁶ The home of William Shenstone, poet and essayist (1714-63), whose landscape gardening, as displayed in the Leasowes, won for him almost as great fame as his writings. See also below, July 4, 1787, and *Meth. Rec.* March 10, 1910.

and dales, such lawns, such artless cascades, such waving woods, with water intermixed, as exceed all imagination! On the upper side, from the openings of a shady walk, is a most beautiful and extensive prospect. And all this is comprised in the compass of three miles! I doubt if it be exceeded by anything in Europe.¹

The father of Mr. Shenstone was a gentleman farmer, who bred him at the university, and left him a small estate. This he wholly laid out in improving the Leasowes, living in hopes of great preferment, grounded on the promises of many rich and great friends.² But nothing was performed till he died at forty-eight—probably of a broken heart!

Sun. 14.—I heard a sermon in the old church at Birmingham which the preacher³ uttered with great vehemence against these 'hairbrained, itinerant enthusiasts.' But he totally missed his mark, having not the least conception of the persons whom he undertook to describe.

Mon. 15.—Leaving Birmingham early in the morning, I preached at nine in a large schoolroom at Coventry. About noon I preached to a multitude of people in the brickyard at Bedworth. A few of them seemed to be much affected. In the evening I preached at Hinckley, one of the civilest towns I have seen.

Wed. 17.—I went on to Leicester; *Thursday* the 18th to Northampton; and *Friday* the 19th to Hinxworth⁴ in Hertfordshire. Adjoining to Miss Harvey's house is a pleasant garden, and she has made a shady walk round the neighbouring meadows. How gladly could I repose awhile here! But repose is not for me in this world. In the evening many of the villagers flocked together, so that her great hall was

¹ See Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. iii. p. 90.

² See Gray's *Letters*, cxl.

³ St. Martin's, of which the Rev. Charles Curtis was rector, 1781–1829—holding also in plurality the rectory of Solihull—and the Rev. — Crofts, D.D., curate.

⁴ This seems to have been Wesley's first visit. Here (though not on this occasion) he first met Charles Simeon,

afterwards the leader of the evangelical party. For an account of Miss Harvey's introduction to Methodism, and the work in chapel-building she did, see *W.M. Mag.* 1829, p. 290, in the memoir of Richard Hudson of Baldock. At her own expense she built chapels at Hinxworth, Baldock, and Stevenage, and at her death left three thousand pounds to assist the spread of Methodism in the dark parts of Hertfordshire.

well filled. I would fain hope some of them received the seed in good ground, and will bring forth fruit with patience.

*Sat. 20.*¹—We reached London. All the following week the congregations were uncommonly large.

Wed. 24.—My brother and I paid our last visit to Lewisham, and spent a few pensive hours with the relict of our good friend Mr. Blackwell.² We took one more walk round the garden and meadow, which he took so much pains to improve. Upwards of forty years this has been my place of retirement when I could spare two or three days from London. In that time first Mrs. Sparrow³ went to rest, then Mrs. Dewall,⁴ then good Mrs. Blackwell, now Mr. Blackwell himself. Who can tell how soon we may follow them?

*Mon. 29.*⁵—I preached at West Street, on the ministry of angels; and many were greatly refreshed in considering the office of those spirits that continually attend on the heirs of salvation.

Friday, AUGUST 2, we observed as a day of fasting and prayer for a blessing on the ensuing Conference; and I believe God clothed His word with power in an uncommon manner throughout the week, so that, were it only on this account, the preachers, who came from all parts, found their labour was not in vain.⁶

¹ On July 23 he wrote from London to Miss Gretton (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² He died April 21, 1782. See above, vol. ii. p. 259.

³ Charles Wesley describes Mrs. Sparrow as 'a martyr to worldly civility.' But at her house he was often entertained, in her carriage conveyed to his preaching appointments, and at her death he found himself richer by a considerable legacy.

⁴ She was a member of the Blackwell family. Charles Wesley wrote a hymn on her death.

⁵ He wrote from London to Thomas Rutherford, with personal notes helpful in Rutherford's Irish work (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); and on the 31st to Mrs. Nuttall of Preston (*ibid.*).

⁶ On Aug. 3, he wrote to Joseph Benson

(*Works*, vol. xii. p. 430); referring to his offer to the Government of raising some men, and to Captain Webb's correspondence with Col.¹ Barnes, the new Secretary for War (see above, May 25). On the 4th he wrote to John Bredin in Londonderry. His health was failing. Wesley says, 'You may be a supernumerary in whatever place you judge most advisable; and the little salary, the £12, we will allow from hence.' On the 6th he wrote to Francis Wolfe, who retired this year by Wesley's advice in this letter. He sends him his itinerary for the Devon and Cornwall visit—Aug. 15 to Sept. 4; and on the 12th to Mrs. Harriet Cooper, Liverpool (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); on the 10th to Jasper Winscom (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 525); and the next day to Mr. Sagar (*Metho-*
dism in Burnley, p. 37).

Tues. 13.—Being obliged to leave London a little sooner than I intended, I concluded the Conference¹ to-day, and desired all our brethren to observe it as a day of solemn thanksgiving. At three in the afternoon I took coach. About one on *Wednesday*² morning we were informed that three highwaymen were on the road before us, and had robbed all

¹ The thirty-ninth. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 372. At this Conference a question was debated respecting the Sabbath. Methodists visited barbers' shops on Sundays; in some instances they practised military exercises as volunteers. The Conference legislated on these matters; it also dealt with the weekly and quarterly contributions in the classes. But the most serious discussion arose in the case of the Birstall Chapel. It was asked, 'What can be done with regard to the preaching-house at Birstall?' 'If the trustees still refuse to settle it on the Methodist plan: (1) Let a plain statement of the case be drawn up. (2) Let a collection be made throughout all England, in order to purchase ground, and to build another preaching-house as near the present as may be.' This involved one of the fundamental principles of Methodism, namely, 'that the Conference *alone* shall have the power of appointing preachers to preach in Methodist chapels.' All Methodism was concerned in the discussion. The controversy led to great changes, the greatest of all being the drawing up and enrolment of Wesley's Deed of Declaration in 1784. The plain statement ordered by the Conference of 1782 was published by Wesley on Jan. 3, 1783, and republished Jan. 12, 1788. ('The Case of Birstall House,' *Works*, vol. xiii. pp. 274-8). In this paper Wesley refers to the first preaching-house at Bristol which he built in 1739. The first deed of trust was drawn up in the Presbyterian form. Whitefield protested, on the ground that under it the trustees named the preachers, and might have excluded even Wesley

himself. The deed was cancelled with the ready consent of the trustees. When he built preaching-houses in Kingswood and Newcastle the deeds provided that Wesley himself should appoint the preachers. A new preaching-house was proposed for Birstall, and a new deed prepared, which, like the old, gave a few persons the power of placing and displacing the preachers at their pleasure. 'This was brought and read to me at Dawgreen. As soon as ever I heard it, I vehemently objected to it, and positively refused to sign it. I now thought I had done with it; but in the evening several persons came again, and importunately urged me to sign it, averring that it was the same in effect with the old deed, and the old deed could not be altered. Not advertent that it was altered in the new one, I at length unwillingly complied.' For a detailed account of the circumstances under which the new chapel was built at Birstall in 1782, and of the new trust-deed which Wesley unfortunately was worried into signing, see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. pp. 374, 375. Tyerman also gives in subsequent pages Wesley's correspondence in relation to the case with his brother Charles and Bradburn, together with letters of Charles Wesley, the trustees' attorney, Dr. Coke, and others. The reason why Wesley and the Conference objected to the Birstall deed were admirably stated by Wesley himself in the circular of Jan. 3, 1783.

² On Aug. 14 he wrote to the Rev. Thomas Davenport—a letter illustrating the relation between Wesley, the preachers, and the friendly clergy (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 508).

the coaches that had passed, some of them within an hour or two. I felt no uneasiness on the account, knowing that God would take care of us. And He did so, for, before we came to the spot, all the highwaymen were taken; so we went on unmolested, and early in the afternoon came safe to Bristol.

Thur. 15.—I set out for the west; preached at Taunton in the evening; *Friday*, noon, at Cullompton; and in the evening at Exeter. Here poor Hugh Saunderson¹ has pitched his standard and declared open war. Part of the society have joined him; the rest go on their way quietly to make their calling and election sure.

Sun. 18.—I was much pleased with the decent behaviour of the whole congregation at the cathedral, as also with the solemn music at the post-communion, one of the finest compositions I ever heard.² The bishop³ inviting me to dinner, I could not but observe (1) the lovely situation of the palace, covered with trees, and as rural and retired as if it was quite in the country; (2) the plainness of the furniture, not costly or showy, but just fit for a Christian bishop; (3) the dinner, sufficient, but not redundant; plain and good, but not delicate; (4) the propriety of the company—five clergymen and four of the aldermen; and (5) the genuine, unaffected courtesy of the bishop, who, I hope, will be a blessing to his whole diocese.

We set out early in the morning, *Monday* the 19th, and in the afternoon came to Plymouth. I preached in the evening, and at five and twelve on *Tuesday*, purposing to preach in the square at the Dock in the evening; but the rain prevented. However, I did so on *Wednesday* evening. A little before I concluded the commanding officer came into the square with his regiment, but he immediately stopped the drums and drew up all his men in order on the high side of the square. They were all still as night; nor did any of them stir till I had pronounced the blessing.

¹ See above, vol. v. pp. 503 ff.

² William Jackson, the composer of the well-known setting of the *Te Deum* in F, was the organist at this time. See also above, vol. iv. pp. 526-7.

³ John Ross (1778-92). See *W.M.*

Mag. 1871, p. 420. This was a memorable incident, that he should be invited to dine by one of the successors of Bishop Lavington, in the very palace where his old antagonist wrote *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared*.

Thur. 22.—I preached at St. Austell; *Friday* the 23rd at Truro, and in the street at Helston.

Sat. 24.—I preached in Marazion at eleven; in the evening at Penzance.

Sun. 25.—We prayed that God would 'stay the bottles of heaven'; and He heard our prayer. I preached at Mousehole about nine to a large congregation; to a larger at Buryan about two; but that at St. Just in the evening exceeded both of them put together. After visiting the other societies, I came to Redruth on *Saturday* the 31st. I preached there in the evening, and at noon on *Sunday*, SEPT. 1. Afterwards I expounded the Parable of the Sower at Gwennap, to how many thousands I know not. But all (I was informed) could hear distinctly. 'This is the Lord's doing.'

Mon. 2.—I went on to Port Isaac.

Tues. 3.—I preached in the street at Camelford. Being informed here that my old friend Mr. Thompson,¹ rector of St. Gennys, was near death, and had expressed a particular desire to see me, I judged no time was to be lost. So, borrowing the best horse I could find, I set out, and rode as fast as I could. On the way I met with a white-headed old man, who caught me by the hand and said, 'Sir, do you not know me?' I answered, 'No.' He said, 'My father, my father! I am poor John Trembath.'² I desired him to speak to me in the evening at Launceston, which he did. He was for some time reduced to extreme poverty, so as to hedge and ditch for bread; but in his distress he cried to God, who sent him an answer of peace. He likewise enabled him to cure a gentleman that was desperately ill, and afterwards several others, so that he grew into reputation and gained a competent livelihood. 'And now,' said he, 'I want for nothing; I am happier than ever I was in my life.'

¹ The Rev. George Thompson. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 384; *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1894, pp. 23-8; and above, vol. iii. pp. 181, 195. A deeply interesting account is found in the *Life of the C. of Huntingdon*, vol. . p. 125; he is also named in the *Life of Colonel Gardiner*. Though he joined the Moravians, he retained his living and continued his zealous ministry in his

parish. He was vicar (not rector) of St. Gennys from 1732 to 1782, and died two months after the day on which Wesley saw him. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 195. For an interesting conjecture see above, vol. i. p. 350 n.

² See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 385; Crookshank's *Meth. in Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 109 and 121; also above, vol. iii. p. 330; vol. iv. p. 163.

I found Mr. Thompson just alive, but quite sensible. It seemed to me as if none in the house but himself was very glad to see me. He had many doubts concerning his final state, and rather feared than desired to die, so that my whole business was to comfort him and to increase and confirm his confidence in God. He desired me to administer the Lord's Supper, which I willingly did; and I left him much happier than I found him, calmly waiting till his change should come.

NEWINGTON,
January 19, 1786.

PART THE TWENTIETH

THE JOURNAL

FROM SEPTEMBER 4, 1782, TO JUNE 28, 1786

On December 1, 1782, Wesley's Diary, of which for forty years we have lost sight, reappears, and, with but a few slight breaks, due chiefly to sickness, continues until within a few days of the writer's death. In form, and, more important still, in purpose, it differs little from the Diary of an earlier time. It records in briefest possible outline the outward life—the hours, the journeys, the means of travel whether by chaise or coach, the persons interviewed, the meals and services, and, occasionally, the episodes of a romantic life. But essentially it is a record of the diarist's inner religious life and of his friendships. If the student of a very singular document regards it as the Diary of a member of the Holy Club, he will easily understand the significance of its peculiarities.

The Holy Club, in the first instance, was a Reading Society—a Study Circle. In its development it banished such frivolities as cards, the theatre, the gun, the rod, the supper, from young Wesley's life. It gave to his days the early morning, and to his nights quiet sleep. It parcelled out the days of the week, and the hours of each day. It eventually created the 'Methodist Plan,' the Society, the Circuit, the Itinerancy, the Connexion. Finally, it saved England, helped to save Scotland, to some extent saved Ireland, also Wales, Holland, even France herself, and certainly America—saved them from Voltaire and Frederick the Great.

Hitherto we have taken it for granted that with the Voyage to Georgia the Holy Club ceased to exist. Wesley's last Diary shows that for fifty-six years after the 'Simmonds' sailed, its Rules of Holy Living formed the substratum of Wesley's daily devotional life, and kept him, as originally they made him, the most useful saint in the British Empire.

THE JOURNAL

From September 4, 1782, to June 28, 1786

1782. SEPT. 4, *Wed.*—I preached in the market-house at Tiverton; *Thursday* the 5th at Halberton, Taunton, and South Brent.¹

Fri. 6.²—About ten I preached at Shipham, a little town on the side of Mendip [Hills], almost wholly inhabited by miners who dig up *lapis calaminaris*. I was surprised to see such a

¹ Charles Wood, father of James Wood, probably heard Wesley on this occasion. See *Meth. Mag.* 1809, p. 401.

² On this day, at Bristol, Adam Clarke first met Wesley. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 386; *Life of Clarke*, vol. i. p. 165; *History of Kingswood School by Three Old Boys*, p. 74, where a full account of Adam Clarke's extraordinary reception at Kingswood School by Simpson, the head master, and by Mrs. Simpson, the 'Bengal tiger'—as Adam Clarke called her—is given; also, in the same connexion, the school as it then was is described. Tradition says that the first interview between Adam Clarke and Wesley took place under romantic circumstances in the New Room in the Horsefair, Bristol. The sober facts are narrated as follows in the *Life of Adam Clarke*, edited by his son:

At length Mr. Wesley returned to Bristol. The day he came, Mr. Simpson went in and had an interview with him; and, I suppose, told his own tale—that they had not room, that it was a pity I should not be out in the general work; and I was told that Mr. W. wished to see me. I had this privilege for the first time, on September 6th. I went into Bristol, saw Mr. Rankin, who carried me to

Mr. Wesley's study, off the great lobby of the room over the chapel in Broadmead. He tapped at the door, which was opened by this truly apostolic man: Mr. R. retired: Mr. W. took me kindly by the hand, and asked me, 'How long since I had left Ireland?' Our conversation was short. He said, 'Well, brother Clarke, do you wish to devote yourself entirely to the work of God?' I answered, 'Sir, I wish to do and be what God pleases!' He then said, 'We want a preacher for Bradford (Wilts); hold yourself in readiness to go thither; I am going into the country, and will let you know when you shall go.' He then turned to me, laid his hands upon my head, and spent a few moments in praying to God to bless and preserve me, and to give me success in the work to which I was called.

I departed, having now received, in addition to my appointment from God to preach His gospel, the only authority I could have from man, in that line in which I was to exercise the Ministry of the Divine Word.

That evening Mr. Wesley preached in the chapel from Zech. iv. 6, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.'

See the letter in which Wesley and John Bredin arranged for Adam Clarke's journey from Ireland, July 9 (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

On Sept. 7 he wrote from Bristol to Mrs. (or Miss) 'Nelly' (*ibid.*).

congregation at so short a warning; and their deep and serious attention seemed to be a presage that some of them will profit by what they hear. In the afternoon we went on to Bristol.

Sun. 8.—My brother read prayers, and I preached to a very uncommon congregation. But a far more numerous one met near King Square in the evening, on whom I strongly enforced, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon.' Permit me to observe here how you may distinguish a genuine small Field's Bible from a spurious one: the genuine reads here, 'Ye *can* serve God and mammon.' In the spurious the 'not' is supplied.¹

*Mon. 9.*²—About nine³ I preached at Paulton, where the flame is abated, but not quenched. The same is the case at Shepton Mallet, where I preached in the evening.

Tues. 10.—I went on to the simple-hearted colliers at Coleford, abundance of whom met at six in the evening in a green meadow, which was delightfully gilded by the rays of the setting sun.

Wed. 11.—I preached to a large and serious congregation at the end of the preaching-house at Frome.

After preaching at Road, Pensford, Trowbridge, and Freshford, on *Friday* the 13th I preached at Bath.

Sun. 15.—I had a far greater number of communicants than usual. Both at this time, and in the afternoon and the evening service, we had no common blessing.

On *Monday* and *Tuesday* I preached at Chew Magna, at

¹ Wesley is in error. Quoting from memory, he forgets that in a genuine small Field's Bible it is the word 'God' that is omitted.

Field's Bible (small edition) is the Bible which, it is said, Wesley always used when he preached out of doors, and which is passed on annually by the outgoing President of the Conference to his successor. This particular edition of the Bible was published by Field. On the title-page is printed, allusively, the text, 'Consider the lilies of the field how they grow.' Another famous copy of this interesting edition of the Bible, bound in heavily chased silver, was presented to

Oliver Cromwell—the nation's gift to its 'Protector.' It is now in the possession of the Rev. W. G. Beardmore.

² He wrote from Bristol to Joseph Taylor on his first appointment as Assistant, with advices (new ed. *Wesley Letters*), and on the same day to Richard Rodda (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 510); on the 24th he wrote again to Joseph Taylor (new ed. *Wesley Letters*). In all this September correspondence the 'books' figure prominently.

³ The first edition says, 'About noon.' 'Nine' in the text may be Wesley's or Jackson's correction. We cannot tell.

Sutton, [Chew] Stoke,¹ and Clutton. In my way thither I saw a famous monument of antiquity at Stanton Drew, supposed to have remained there between two and three thousand years. It was undoubtedly a Druids' temple, consisting of a smaller and a larger circle of huge stones set on end,² one would think by some power more than human. Indeed, such stones have been used for divine worship nearly, if not quite, from the time of the flood. On the following days I preached at many other little places.

Sun. 22.—After the service at Bristol, I hastened to Kingswood, and preached a funeral sermon on Jenny Hall, a lovely young woman, who died in full triumph, and desired a sermon might be preached on Rev. vii. 13 and following verses.

On *Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday* I visited the classes, and was concerned to find that, for these two last years, the society has been continually decreasing. *Thursday* the 26th,³ and the following days, I visited the rest of the country societies. For a day or two I was not well, but I went on with my work till *Sunday*, when I preached morning and evening at the new room, and in the afternoon in Temple Church.

*OCT. 1, Tues.*⁴—I read among the letters, in the evening, the striking account of Robert Roe's⁵ death; a

¹ See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 245.

² They consist of three circles, some of the stones being 14 ft. high, and 24 ft. in circumference. The largest circle has 14, the second 8, and the third circle 5 stones. Camden gives the legend of the bride and her attendants; how the pipers and dancers were changed into these monoliths.

³ He was at Bath and Bradford. See *Life of Adam Clarke*, vol. i. p. 169.

⁴ He wrote from Bristol to Miss Hester Ann Roe (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 84); and to Miss Newman (*ibid.* p. 166).

⁵ He was the son of Charles Roe of Macclesfield, who built Christ Church, and as patron presented it to the Rev. David Simpson (see above, p. 142). He married Miss Stockdale, a well-known London Methodist, the mother

of all his children, most of whom became Methodists. After the death of his first wife Charles Roe's attachment to Methodism ceased. His son Robert was sent to Oxford to be trained for Holy Orders. He lived a blameless life, and excelled as a student. But because he steadfastly refused to renounce Methodism the College authorities withheld the 'grace' without which the Bishop of Oxford would not ordain. Nor would they grant any other form of certificate. His father banished him from home, and even from the town. The story of the persistent college and family persecution is told in the *Life* of his cousin Hester Ann Rogers, and in the 'Experience of Robert Roe,' which finds a place in many numbers of the *Arm. Mag.* for 1783 and 1784. Charles Roe, the father,

burning and a shining light while alive, but early numbered with the dead.

Sat. 5.—I visited several that are yet in the body, but longing to depart and to be with Christ. But many have this year stepped before them. For forty years I do not know that so many have, in the space of one year, been removed to Abraham's bosom.

Sun. 6.—I preached in Temple Church, between our own morning and evening service; and I now found how to speak here so as to be heard by every one: direct your voice to the middle of the pillar fronting the pulpit.

Mon. 7.—I left Bristol with much satisfaction, firmly believing that God will revive His work there. I preached at the Devizes about eleven, and in the evening at Sarum; *Tuesday* the 8th at Winchester and at Portsmouth Common.

Wed. 9.—We took a wherry for the Isle of Wight.¹ There was sea enough, which now and then washed over our boat. However, in about an hour we landed safe, and walked on to Newport. This place seems now ripe for the gospel; opposition is at an end. Only let our preachers be men of faith and love, and they will see the fruit of their labours.

Fri. 11.—I returned to Portsmouth; took chaise at two the next morning, and in the afternoon came to London.

Mon. 14.—I went to Wallingford. The house was filled in the evening with much-affected hearers. Shall all our labour here be in vain? Lord, Thou knowest!

Tues. 15.—About noon I preached at Oxford. I have seen

died, repentant, in 1781, reconciled to all his children, but intestate. When the estate was divided, Robert, with his share, built a house in which his cousin, Hester Ann and her mother, widow of James Roe, 'prime curate,' or vicar, of St. Michael's, Macclesfield, resided until Robert's death. See Smith's *Meth. in Macclesfield*, pp. 117, 130, 145-8, 187.

¹ During this visit to the Isle of Wight Robert Wallbridge heard Wesley, was converted, and became a local preacher. 'The Dairyman's Daughter,' Elizabeth Wallbridge, was his sister.

She was converted later under the ministry of James Crabb, one of the Methodist preachers. She lived and died a member of the Methodist society. The Rev. Legh Richmond, who visited her in her last illness, and afterwards wrote her *Life*, studiously ignores the fact of her Methodism—the one inexplicable blot on one of the most popular and useful biographical tracts ever written. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 386; and the Rev. John B. Dyson's *Methodism in the Isle of Wight*, pp. 137, 227.

no such prospect here for many years. The congregation was large and still as night, although many gentlemen were among them. The next evening the house would not contain the congregation; yet all were quiet, even those that could not come in. And I believe God not only opened their understandings, but began a good work in some of their hearts.

Wed. 16.—I preached at Witney, one of the liveliest places in the circuit, where I always find my own soul refreshed.

I saw such a garden at Oxford as I verily believe all England cannot parallel. It is three-square; and, I conjecture, contains about an acre of ground. It is filled with fruit-trees of various sorts, and all excellent in their kinds. But it is odd beyond all description; superlatively whimsical. The owner has crowded together pictures, statues, urns, antiques of various kinds; for all which why should not Mr. Badcock's name, as well as Mr. Roberts's, be consigned to posterity?

Thur. 17.—I preached at Thame; this evening and the next at High Wycombe; and on *Saturday* returned to London.¹

*Mon. 21.*²—I preached at Tunbridge Wells; *Tuesday* the 22nd at Sevenoaks.

Wed. 23.—I visited the house of mourning at Shoreham, and read the strange account at first hand. Not long after his former wife died, Mr. H—— paid his addresses to Miss B——. He had been intimately acquainted with her for some years. By immense assiduity and innumerable professions of the tenderest affection, he, by slow degrees, gained hers. The time of marriage was fixed; the ring was bought; the wedding clothes were sent to her. He came one Thursday, a few days before the wedding-day, and showed the most eager affection; so he did on Saturday. He came again on the Wednesday following, sat down very carelessly on a chair, and told her with great composure that he did not love her at all, and therefore could not think of marrying her. He talked a full hour in the same strain, and then walked away!

Her brother sent a full account of this to Miss Perronet, who

¹ On Oct. 19 he wrote from London to Thomas Rutherford (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² He wrote from Sevenoaks to Zechariah Yewdall, who was to act as Assistant (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 12).

read it with perfect calmness, comforted her niece, and strongly exhorted her to continue steadfast in the faith. But the grief which did not outwardly appear preyed the more upon her spirits, till, three or four days after, she felt a pain in her breast, laid down, and in four minutes died. One of the ventricles of her heart burst ; so she literally died of a broken heart.¹

When old Mr. Perronet heard that his favourite child,² the stay of his old age, was dead, he broke into praise and thanksgiving to God, who had 'taken another of His children out of this evil world'!

But Mr. H——, meantime, has done nothing amiss. So both himself and his friends say!

Fri. 25.—I returned to London, and was glad to find Mr. Edward Smyth³ and his family just come from Dublin.

Sun. 27.—At ten I took coach ; reached Norwich on *Monday* noon, and preached at six in the evening. I stayed there on *Tuesday* ; and *Wednesday* the 30th went to Yarmouth, where were the largest congregations I had seen for many years.

Thur. 31.—I went on to Lowestoft, which is, at present, far the most comfortable place in the whole circuit.

Nov. 1, *Fri.*—Mr. Smyth and his wife gave us a strange account. A little before they were married, her brother Samuel was about eight years old. One evening, as she was with Mr. Smyth, in one of the rows at Yarmouth, both of them saw Samuel standing five or six yards off. She cried out, 'Sammy, come hither ; I want you' ; but instantly he was gone. Just then he fell into the river. A large water-dog, which was on the bridge, directly leaped off, swam about and sought him, but could not find him. He then came out, and ran to his mother's house howling ; nor would he leave her till he was put out by force.

Sat. 2.—About nine I preached at [North] Cove, a village nine or ten miles from Lowestoft ; the poor people presently

¹ On October 24 he wrote from London to D. McAllum (*Wesley Banner*, vol. iii. p. 427).

² That is to say, grandchild.

³ A nephew of the Archbishop of

Dublin. For particulars of Mr. Smyth see *Life of the C. of Huntingdon*, vol. ii. p. 189. For his wife see Crookshank's *Memorable Women of Irish Methodism*, p. 126, &c. See also above, p. 262.

filled the house, and seemed to devour every word. About one I preached at Loddon, and at Norwich in the evening.

Sun. 3.—I administered the Lord's Supper to about a hundred and forty communicants. I preached at half-past two, and again in the evening; after which I requested them to go away in silence, without any one speaking to another. They took my advice; they went away in profound silence, so that no sound was heard but that of their feet.

Mon. 4.—At five in the morning the congregation was exceeding large. That in the evening seemed so deeply affected that I hope Norwich will again lift up its head. At nine we took coach; and before eleven, on *Tuesday* the 5th, reached Colchester. In order to strengthen this poor feeble society, I stayed with them till *Friday*, preaching morning and evening, and visiting in the day as many as I could, sick or well. I divided the classes anew, which had been strangely and irregularly jumbled together; appointed stewards; regulated temporal as well as spiritual things; and left them in a better way than they had been for several years.¹

Monday the 11th, and the following days, I visited the societies in and about London.²

Sun. 24.—I preached at St. Clement's in the Strand³ (the largest church I ever preached in at London, except, perhaps, St. Sepulchre's) to an immense congregation. I fully discharged my own soul, and afterwards took coach for Northamptonshire.

On *Monday* the 25th I preached at Towcester; on *Tuesday* at Whittlebury (so called; but the true name of the town is Whittle); on *Wednesday* at Northampton; and on *Thursday* I returned to London.

Fri. 29.—I preached at Highgate, in the palace built in the

¹ On Nov. 9 he wrote from London to Samuel Bradburn (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 123). Referring to the Birstall chapel case he added: 'I abhor the thought of giving to twenty men the power to place or displace the preachers in their congregations.'

² On Nov. 12 he wrote from London to Zechariah Yewdall (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 12), and to the same on Nov. 21,

sending an epitaph in Charles Wesley's handwriting for the grave of Richard Boardman, who had recently died at Cork (see *Arm. Mag.* 1795, p. 270).

³ See above, vol. ii. pp. 73, 99. The incumbent at this time was the Rev. John Burrows, LL.B. (1773-86). A tablet commemorates the fact that Dr. Johnson was a regular worshipper at St. Clement Danes.

last century by that wretched Duke of Lauderdale; now one of the most elegant boarding-houses in England.¹ But, alas! it is not Publow!²

DEC. 2, *Mon.**—I preached at St. Neots, in Huntingdon-

DEC. 1, 1782, *Sunday*

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 the preachers, on business; 8.30 prayers, 2 Tim. iii. 5, communion.
1 at sister Burg[ess] dinner, conversed, prayer, visited, slept, writ Narrative; 3 the leaders, tea, prayed.
5 Heb. vii. 25! society meeting, supper, prayer; 9.15 in the coach.

Monday 2

- 6 Conversed! 7 tea, conversed; 8 chaise; 10.15 St. Neots, letters; 1.30 dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 Journal.
prayed; 4 visited, tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6 Mark ix. 23; 7 letters, supper, conversed
9 prayer; 9.30.

* At this point Wesley's Diary is resumed and continues day by day, and sometimes hour by hour, until within a few days of his death. The Diary has been hidden for many years amongst a large number of MSS., note-books, printed volumes, and other documents in the iron safe of the Conference Office at City Road. The volume which contains the greater part of this last Diary is strongly bound in parchment, and the paper is of superior hand-made quality. There are 260 pages of Diary. The writing, as the years pass, becomes increasingly tremulous. The entries are made in Byrom's shorthand, which is curiously interspersed at intervals with the cipher of the First Oxford Diary, transliterated, however, into the Byrom characters. Names of persons and places, together with texts of Scripture and occasional words, like 'committee,' 'society,' or 'diligence,' are written in longhand, often, however, much abbreviated.

(1) In most instances in which place-names are misspelt in the Diary we have adhered to Wesley's spelling, and, to save space, have only, where imperatively necessary, inserted corrections.

¹ This building is still standing in Waterlow Park, and is open to the public. For Miss Teulon's school at Linden House, Highgate, see below, Dec. 13, 1787, and Dec. 15, 1788. For John Maitland, Duke of Lauderdale, see *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

² On the 29th he wrote at length to Joseph Benson, giving a reasoned history of the trust deeds on which all the preaching-houses were settled until the Birstall case arose, of which he gives a clear account; on Nov. 30 he wrote to

the commanding officer in Lowestoft, complaining of the disturbance of public worship by officers quartered in the town: 'Before I use any other method, I beg of you, sir, who can do it without a word, to prevent our being insulted any more. We are men, we are Englishmen; as such we have a natural and a legal right to liberty of conscience' (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 510). On the same day he wrote a letter of sympathy and medical advice to John Bredin, then at Whitehaven (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

shire; *Tuesday* the 3rd at Buckden¹ about one; and in the evening at Huntingdon. Two clergymen were there, with one of whom I had much serious conversation.

Wed. 4.—I preached with great enlargement of spirit to my old congregation at Bedford.

Thur. 5.—With some difficulty I crossed the country to Hinxworth, and preached to fifty or sixty plain people, who

A blank [—] attached to a name, whether of person or place, or otherwise, is editorial, not Wesley's. It means that we are unable to give, with any certainty, a correct transliteration.

(2) Occasionally it was at first impossible to decide between rival interpretations. The *Ypr*, which occurs very frequently, might in a few cases stand for 'preached,' or 'prepared,' but in many instances this obviously was an impossible interpretation, so that we finally decided everywhere to translate it 'prayer.'

(3) Another sign, *Δ*, we have in every case left untranslated. It does not belong to the Byrom system, nor have we discovered it in any one of nearly fifty systems dating from the sixteenth century. It may safely be regarded as Wesley's own cipher sign of self-examination and confession. See above, vol. i. pp. 54, 55.

Other characteristics of the writing may be gathered from the facsimile pages reproduced in the remaining volumes of the Standard Edition.

It is quite clear that, whilst the Journal deals mainly with events, travel, and opinions, the Diary is mainly concerned with Wesley's private religious life. It is a faithful record of the daily routine of a member of the Holy Club.

In all his Diaries it was Wesley's invariable habit to preface a new volume with a series of resolutions dealing with his inner spiritual life, his work, and his daily habits. In the earlier volumes of his Diary these resolutions were numerous and elaborate, constituting an apparatus for self-examination and the correction and improvement of his religious life. But in his later Diaries this apparatus was reduced to a few simple resolutions.

Those of the present volume are as follows :

I resolve *Deo juvante*

1. To (a line of shorthand) ;
2. To dedicate an hour, morning and evening ;
No Excuse, Reason or Pretence :
3. To converse. No anger,
No (a line of shorthand)
4. To pray every hour, seriously, deliberately, fervently.

The entries on p. 378 (December 1 and 2) show the exact form of the Diary, which in later instances is 'run on,' to save space.

¹ For other visits to Buckden see above, p. 340, and below, Dec. 2, 1784. In November and December of 1782 John Venn was supplying St.

Neots Church. He was then newly ordained (*Life of Henry Venn*, p. 349). Charles Simeon had been ordained a few months earlier. He is frequently

seemed very willing to learn. In the afternoon, it being impossible to drive a chaise straight round to Luton, I was obliged to go many miles about, and so did not reach it till after six o'clock; so I went directly to the preaching-house, and began without delay enforcing those solemn words, 'To-day, if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts.'

Fri. 6.—I could procure no other conveyance to St. Albans but in an open chaise; and hence (the frost being very sharp), I contracted a severe cold.¹

Tuesday 3

- 4 Prayed, letters; 6 Mark ix. 23, Journal; 8 tea, conversed, Journal; 10 coach; 11 Bugden [modern Buckden], Journal, 1 Eph. ii. 8, Journal; 4 prayed, tea, conversed; 6 chaise, Hunt[ingdon], Heb. iv. 7; chaise, Godm[anchester], supper, prayer; 9.45.

Wednesday 4

- 4 Prayed, Journal; 6 1 Cor. xii. 31, tea, prayer; 8 chaise, Bugd[en], chaise, Henry, E[arl] of M[oreland] 12.30 Bedf[ord], at Mr. Hill's, within, Journal; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 2.30 Journal; 4 tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Eph. iii. 14, etc. ! Journal, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 5

- 4 Prayed, Journal; 6 Matt. v. 6! tea, conversed; 8 chaise, Bigglesw[ade], tea, chaise; 10.30 Hinxwor[th], conversed, Heb. ix. 27, dinner; 1.30 chaise; 6.15 Luton; 6.30 Heb. xii. 14! Journal, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 6

- 5 Prayed; 6 John vi. 26, Journal, tea, conversed; 8 chaise; 2.15 at home, dinner, letters, prayed; 5 letters, the Committee; 8 supper, prayer, on business; 9.30.

Saturday 7

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea, prayer, letters; 12.15 dinner, conversed, prayer, letters; 3 prayed; 4 visited, at brother Sop., tea, conversed, prayed; 6 prayers, John vi. 28, communion, coach, supper, Pen[ry]'s on business; 9.30.

mentioned in Henry Venn's *Letters* about this time; he often went over to Yelling to consult Venn, and moved about in the neighbourhood with him. In February 1783 Venn names four young clergymen whom he meets at Cambridge: Atkinson, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity Hall, Mr. Simeon, Dr. Jowett, and Mr. Farish. He writes: 'They have since been over with me.'

¹ Which continued some time—see Dec. 14. On Dec. 7 he wrote to a nobleman, then high in office. See

Whitehead's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii. p. 377, and Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 366. On the same day he wrote to Zechariah Yewdall (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 13).

² Probably Roger Penry, residing in the New Chapel Yard, died in April 1796, aged eighty-four years (Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*). In the Diary he always appears (when Wesley is at home, in London or Bristol) on Saturday evening 'on business' under the abbreviated name of 'Pen.'

Mon. 9.—I had a better conveyance into Kent. In the evening I preached at Canterbury ; on *Tuesday* at Dover ; the next day at Canterbury again. On *Thursday* the 12th, and on *Friday* morning, I preached at Chatham ; and in the afternoon returned to London.

Sat. 14.—I found the cold which I had contracted in the

Sunday 8

- 4 Prayed, letters, walk ; 8.15 chap[el],¹ prayers, Rom. xv. 4, 5, communion, coach ; 1 at Mr. Dixon's, dinner, conversed ; 3 St. John's, prayers, Jas. i. 27 ; 5 tea ; 5.45 on business, prayed, society, letters, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 9

- 4 Prayed, tea : 5 diligence with brother A. H. and Sister Hall ; 11 Roch[este]r, tea ; 3 diligence ; 4.30 Cant[erbury], dinner, conversed, tea ; 6 Col. i. 10, at brother Thortn[on]'s, supper, read, prayer ; 9 at sister Biss, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 10

- 4 Prayed, Mag[azine] ; 7 1 Tim. vi. 20, tea, within ; 9.15 chaise, on business ; 1 dinner, prayer ; 3 Journal, prayed ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, on business ; 6.30 Eph. iii. 14 ! communion, at sister Sim ; 8 supper, read, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 11

- 4 Prayed, Heb. vi. 1, Mag., tea, prayer, within ; 9.30 chaise ; 12 Cant[erbury], on business ; 1 dinner ; 2.30 Journal, prayed ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 Eph. iii. 14, etc. ! communion, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 12

- 4 Prayed, Journal ; 6 John vi. 28, tea, conversed, prayer ; 8 Diligence ; 12 Chatham, Journal ; 1 dinner, conversed, Journal ; 2.30 walk ; 3.30 Journal, prayed, tea, prayed ; 6 2 Tim. iii. 5 ! 7 communion ; 8 Journal, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 13

- 4 2 Tim. iii. 4, tea, conversed, prayer ; 7 diligence ; 12.30 at home, letters ; 2 dinner, prayer ; 3 letters ; 4 visited, tea, prayed, letters ; 8 supper, prayer, on business ; 9.30.

Saturday 14

- 4 Prayed, Journal ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, on business ; 12.30 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 1.30 Mag., visited ; 4 prayed, tea, prayed ; 6 prayers, 1 Pet. ii. 9, communion, Pen[ry] ; 9.30.

¹ 'Chapel,' as on the eighteenth-century MS. Plans, always means 'West Street.' The chapel in City Road is always, in the diary, 'the new chapel' ;

West Street is always 'the chapel,' and the other old Huguenot chapel in Spitalfields is always 'Sp.'

way to St. Albans exceedingly increased, having a deep and violent cough, which continued at intervals till spring.

Mon. 16.—I retired to Hoxton for a few days.¹

Thur. 19.—About eleven at night a gun was fired at our chamber window, and at the same time a large stone thrown through it. (Probably in sport, by some that had been drinking.) I presently went to sleep again.

Sunday 15

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 Sp[italfields] ; 9.30 prayed, 2 Tim. iii. 4 ! communion, at brother Dew's ; 1 dinner, within ; 2 sleep, prayed, the leaders, prayer, tea, prayed ; 5 prayers, Isa. xxvi. ult. ; 6.30 society ! supper, prayer, letters ; 9.30.

Monday 16

- 5 Prayed, 1 Pet. iii. 8, select society, on business ; 8 at W. Marr[iott's], tea, prayer, writ society ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 1.30 writ society ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed, writ society ; 8 prayer, supper, prayed ; 9.30.

Tuesday 17

- 4 Prayed, writ society ; 8 prayer, tea ; 9 married G. Shad[ford] and E. Bai. ; 11 writ society, dinner, society ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed, society ; 8 prayer, supper ; 9 conversed ; 9.30.

Wednesday 18

- 4 Prayed, society ; 8 prayer, tea, conversed, society ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 1.30 society ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.30 society ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 19

- 4 Prayed, writ society ; 7 writ letters ; 8 prayer, tea, conversed, letters ; 10 visited ; 11 letters ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 1.45 letters, society, letters ; 4 prayed ; 5 tea, conversed, writ society ; 8.30 supper ; 9 prayer ; 9.30.

¹ The Diary notes that, after the early morning service, which was followed by a meeting of the select society and the transaction of business, he went at eight o'clock to W. Marr[iott], where he had breakfast, with prayer, and immediately began to 'write the society'; in other words, to transcribe the names of the London society either in one of his little note-books or on 'class papers,' which were in use throughout the Connexion before the more modern 'class-books' took their place. Each name had to be considered, and the process occupied

several days, in this case four days. It is a silent testimony to the importance Wesley attached to this numbering, naming, and renaming of the people, that he always sought retirement for the purpose, going to a friend's house where he would be undisturbed and probably find the secretarial help which now, in his old age, he required. The Marriotts did a great deal of writing and transcription for Wesley, and it is not at all surprising that a member of this family became one of the earliest collectors of Wesley letters and note-books.

Sat. 21.—I visited Mr. Maxfield, struck with a violent stroke of palsy.¹ He was senseless, and seemed near death; but we besought God for him and his spirit revived, I cannot but think, in answer to prayer.²

Friday 20

- 4 Prayed, Case of Birstal; 8 prayer, tea, conversed, Case; 11 at home, on business; 12 the female [bands], letters; 1.30 prayer; 2.15 dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 letters, Mag.; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayed; 6 read; 7 Mag., supper, conversed; 8.30 2 Thess. ii. 7! 9.30 coffee; 10 prayer! 12.

Saturday 21

- 6.30 Prayed, Mag.; 8 prayer, tea, conversed; 9 writ letters, within to many; 12 [—]; 1 dinner, within, prayer; 2 letters, tea, within, prayed; 4 at Mr. Maxfield's; 5 communion, prayer! coach; 5.45 Snowsfield[s], prayed; 6 read prayers, 1 John i. 9; 7 communion, coach; 7.45 supper, Pen[ry], on business; 9.30 laid down, could not sleep; 10 ill. Isa. xxxvii. 3; 2 Thess. ii. 7; Psal. cvi. 24.

Sunday 22

- 4 Prayed, sleep, Mag.; 8 Chapel; 9.30 prayers, 2 Thess. ii. 7! communion; 1 at brother Clulow's, [his solicitor] dinner, conversed, prayer, sleep; 3 the leaders; 3.30 prayers, Acts xxii. 16; 4 tea, society, coach, society, supper, conversed, letters, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 23

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. 1-4; 4 select society, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag., visited; 12 select society; 1.15 at sister Key's, dinner, conversed, prayer, on business, at children[s] meeting; 3.30 Mag.; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 prayed; 6.15 prayers, 1 John iii. 1-3! supper at the bands, Mag.; 9.30.

Christmas Day

- 3.30 Dressed; 4 prayer, John iii. 16! 6 Mag., tea, coach, Chap[el], prayers, John iii. 16, communion; 12 coach, at brother Butch[er's], dinner, prayer; 3 sleep, prayed, tea; 5 prayed, Eph. i. 9; 6 society, single women; 7.30 supper, conversed, prayer, Mag.; 9.30.

¹ For some years before this stroke, which ended fatally, Maxfield had become more friendly with the Methodists, whose preachers often ministered in his large chapel in Moorfields.

² On Dec. 23 he wrote from London to the Rev. Mr. Davenport at Alexton, near Uppingham (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); on the same day to Mr. — a letter of sympathy, quoting his own

experience in Georgia (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 41); and the same day to Matthias Joyce (*E.M.P.* vol. iv. p. 262; or *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. vii. p. 218); on Dec. 29 he wrote from London to Robert Hall, junior, in which he describes the Londoners as 'a princely people'; on the 31st to Miss Gretton (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); and on Dec. 31 to Zechariah Yewdall (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 14).

Sun. 29.—I buried the remains of Thomas Forfitt,¹ a rich and yet a generous man. He was unwearied in well doing; and in a good old age, without any pain or struggle, fell asleep.

Tues. 31.—We concluded the year with a solemn watch-night.

Thursday 26

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 sermon, [cipher], ∞ ; 1 at L. [? Lady] Halton, dinner, prayer; 2 visited; 2.30 letters, tea, prayed; 6.15 Acts vii. 55, the bands! supper, conversed, prayer; 9 Kempis; 9.30.

Friday 27

- 4 Prayed, letters, sermon, Mag.; 2.30 at Mr. Pilgrim[?], dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 visited, buried sister Gan[—], tea, read, prayed; 6.30 prayers, Rev. xxii. 17! 8 supper, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 28

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters, Mag.; 1 at Mr. Ford's, dinner, conversed; 3 visited some; 5 at Mr. Prelt's, tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6 prayers, 1 John v. 19, communion, Pen[ry], supper, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 29

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 the preachers, prayed; 9.30 prayers, Isa. xxxvii. 3! communion, Highbury; 1.30 dinner, conversed, coach; 3 the leaders, prayed, buried T[homas] Forfitt; tea, prayed; 5 prayers, Phil. i. 21! society, band, lovefeast; 8 supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 30

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. 4, communion, select society; 7 writ the bands; 7.30 at sister Cockerot; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letter; 9 writ the bands; 10 the preachers, acc[ounts], ult. [The accounts to the end of the year were examined]; 11 walk, chap[el], select society, visited, walk; 1.30 at Mr. Atwood's, dinner; 3 prayer; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayed; 6.30 read prayers, Psalm cxlvii. 3! supper, the bands; 9.30.

Tuesday 31

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. 1 to 4, writ bands; 8 tea, conversed; 9.15 at home, the bands; 11 the preachers, the bands; 1.30 at Jo[hn] Folgham's, dinner, conversed, prayer, visited man, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayed, the bands, supper; 8.30 Psalm cxxvi. 24, prayer; 12.30.

¹ There were twenty-six trustees of the New Chapel, City Road, in all. Of these, Number 17 is 'Thomas Forfitt, parish of St. Luke, gentleman.' He was one of the wealthy members of the Foundry society. Born in 1706, he was connected with the Foundry during a considerable portion of its use by the Methodists. He served three years as

trustee, and enjoyed many marks of Wesley's personal friendship. After his retirement from business he lived in Ratcliffe Row, St. Luke's, then a suburb of the city among fields and gardens. He was one of the three trustees who secured the sealing and delivering of the Deed. (Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, pp. 250, 557.)

1783. JAN. 1, *Wed.*—May I begin to live to-day!¹

Sun. 5.—We met to renew our covenant with God. We never meet on this occasion without a blessing; but I do not know that we had ever so large a congregation before.²

JAN. 1, 1783, *Wednesday.*

7 Prayed; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, the preachers, letters; 1 at brother Ball's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 visited many; 5 at sister Halton's, tea, within, prayed; 6 prayers, Rev. xxi. 5! 7 communion, visited; 8.15 supper, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 2

4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, the preachers; 10 Journal; 1 dinner, read, prayer, visited many; 3.45 prayed, tea, conversed, letters; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 3

4 Prayed, 1 John i. 4-7, communion, texts; 9 the preachers; 10 texts; 1 walk; 2 at Charles, Mr. Galway! dinner, within, walk; 5 at brother Fergus[on's], tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayed, audit, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 4

4 Prayed, writ narrative; 8 prayer, tea, conversed, the preachers; 9.30 Mag.; 12 visited; 1 at Mr. Thornto[n's], dinner, conversed; 2.30 Mag., prayed; 5 at sister Bicc[—], tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, Rom. iii. 22! communion, supper, Pen[ry] on business; 9.30.

Sunday 5

4 Prayed, letters, the preachers; 9.30 prayers, Deut. xxix. 11! communion; 1 at brother Duf.; 1 dinner, conversed, sleep, the leaders; 4 tea, prayed; 5 the coven[an]t; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 6

4 Prayed, Heb. viii. 10, select society, on business, tea, prayer, the preachers; 9.30 walk, Highb[ury] Place; 10.30 writ narrative, texts; 3 dinner, read; 4 texts, prayed; 6 tea, conversed, texts; 9 supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Tuesday 7

4 Prayed, writ sermon; 8.30 tea, conversed, prayed; 9.30 sermon; 2 garden; 2.30 dinner, conversed; 4 texts; 5 prayed; 6 tea, conversed, texts; 8.45 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

¹ In 1783 (exact date not given) he wrote to Abraham Orchard, of Bath, a considerate letter for one just setting out in the good way (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 523); on Jan. 4 and 10 he wrote to Robert Carr Brackenbury, whom Wesley had sent as an itinerant Methodist preacher to Guernse and Jersey, bid-

ding him preach in French and organize on 'the Methodist plan.' He expects to see him before setting out on his spring and summer journeys in March (*Works*, vol. xiii. pp. 3, 4).

² On Jan. 16 he wrote from London to Joseph Taylor (*The Wesleyan*, Sept. 9, 1846; Tyerman's *Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 390).

Fri. 10.—I paid one more visit to Mr. Perronet, now in his ninetieth year. I do not know so venerable a man. His understanding is little, if at all, impaired, and his heart seems to be all love. A little longer I hope he will remain here to be a blessing to all that see and hear him.

Wednesday 8

- 4 Prayed, texts ; 8.30 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 texts ; 12 Mag. ; 2 dinner, conversed ; 3 letters, prayed ; 5 prayed ; 6 tea, conversed ; 7 letters ; 8 supper, prayer, conversed ; 9.45.

Thursday 9

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.15 coach ; 10.15 at home, sorted letters ; 1 dinner ; 2 visited some ; 3.30 rode to Charles, tea, prayed ; 6.30 read prayers, Rom. viii. 3, 4 ; 8 the bands, supper, conversed ; 9.30.

Friday 10

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea ; 7 chaise with Charles and Sall[y] ; 12.30 Shoreham ; 1 within, dinner, conversed ; 2 letters ; 4 tea, writ letters, prayed ; 6 Luke xx. 3-5, &c. ; 7 society, letters, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 11

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 7 Rev. xxi. 6, tea ; 8 chaise ; 1 at home, letters ; 2 dinner, conversed ; 3 letters, visited ; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed, letters, supper ; 8.15 Pen[ry] on business ; 9.30
Psa. lxii. 2, Rom. xvi. 17.

Sunday 12

- 4 Prayed, letters, Chap[el], prayers, Psa. lxii. ! communion, Mag. ; 1.30 dinner ; 2 sleep, prayed ; 3 the leaders ; 3.30 prayers, Rom. x. 4, etc., society, coach, society ; 7.30 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 13

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. 5-7, select society, letters ; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, the preachers ; 9 letters, Mag. ; 11.30 Mag. ; 12 select society ; 1.30 at sister Turn[er's] dinner, conversed, prayer, visited many ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.15 prayers, Rom. xi. 26, supper, the bands, Mag. ; 9.30.

Tuesday 14

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. 6, 7, Mag. ; 7.30 tea, conversed, walk ; 9 the preachers, 10 Mag. ; 1.15 at sister Shak[espear's] dinner, conversed, prayer, visited ; 3 prayed, Mag., tea, prayed ; 6.30 prayers, Rom. xii. 2, the bands, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 15

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea, prayer, the preachers ; 10 Mag., visited ; 10, Mag., visited ; 2.15 at brother Wri[gh]t's ; 3 dinner, conversed, prayed ; 4.30 prayer at brother Thornt[on's], tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 prayers, Rom. xiii. 10 ; 7.30 coach, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Sun. 19.—I preached at St. Thomas's Church in the afternoon and at St. Swithin's in the evening. The tide is now turned; so that I have more invitations to preach in churches than I can accept of.

Thursday 16

- 4 Prayed, letters; 7.30 prayer, tea, the preachers; 9 letters, Mag.; 1 at brother Fe[—] dinner, conversed, prayer, visited; 3 prayed; 4 Mag., tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 prayers, Psa. lxxxiv. 1; 7 the bands, supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 17

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 1 visited some, walk; 2.30 at brother Cheesem[ent's], dinner, conversed, prayer; 4 walk, coach; 5 at brother Clulow's, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 sleep, prayed, supper; 8.30 Psa. cvi. 24, coffee, prayer; 12.30.

Saturday 18

- 7 Prayed, walk; 8 at brother Pococ[k's], tea, conversed, prayer, walk; 9.30 Pup. on business, Mag.; 12 visited; 1 at brother Huff[let's], dinner, conversed, Mag., prayer; 4 visited, tea, prayed; 6 read prayers, Rom. xvi. 17, communion, supper, Pen[ry] on business; 9.30.

Sunday 19

- 4 Prayed, sermon, Sp[italfields]; 9.30 prayers, Matt. xvii. 20, communion, at Mr. Mark's, dinner; 2 conversed; 2.30 prayed, sleep, prayers, 1 Cor. i. 30, coach, tea; 6 St. Swith[in's], prayers, 1 Cor. i. 24; 7.30, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 20

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. ad fin., select society, Mag.; 7.30 prayer, tea, Pu.; 9.30 Mag.; 12 select society; 1.30 at sister Well's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 Mag., the leaders; 4 prayed; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayed; 6.15 read prayers, 1 Cor. ii. 2, supper; the bands, Mag.; 9.30.

Tuesday 21

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. ii. 6, Mag.; 8 at home, tea, Pu.; 9 letters; 1 at brother Cor[y], dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 letters, prayed; 4.15 tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 prayed; 6.15 prayers, 1 Cor. iii. 6 [cipher], the bands, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Matt. xvii. 20.

Wednesday 22

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 7.30 prayer, tea, sermon; 1 at brother Willan's, dinner, conversed, writ society, prayer; 4.30 walk; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, 1 Cor. iv. 2, communion; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 23

- 4 Prayed, letters, prayer, tea, Pen[ry]; 10 letters; 1 at brother Marsd[en], dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 on business, Mag.; 4.30 at T. Scolic, tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 prayed; 6 read prayers, 1 Cor. v. 10! the bands, supper, prayer; 9.30.

FEB. 1, *Sat.*—I drank tea at Mr. A[dam]'s, in the Maze-pond, Southwark; but both Mr. A[dam] and his wife informed me they were determined to quit the house as soon as possible by

Friday 24

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8.30 Pu.; accounts; 12 Mag., prayer; 2.15 at brother P[er]c[ell]'s; 3 dinner, conversed, prayer, visited, prayed; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6 the Committee; 7.30, supper, read; 8 prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 25

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea, prayer, Pu., letters; 1 at brother Butch[er's], dinner, conversed, prayer, prayed; 4 visited, at sister Clementso[n], tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, Acts xxvi. 28, communion, supper, Pen[ry] on business; 9.30.

Sunday 26

- 4 Prayed, letters, Chap[el], prayers, Rom. xii. 21! communion, dinner, sleep, prayed; 3 the leaders; 3.30 prayers, 1 Cor. vii. 28, etc., tea society, coach, society, supper; 7.30 within, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 27

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 1, 4, select society; 7 writ narrative; 7.30 prayer, tea, Pu.; 9.30 coach; 10.30 Peckham, within, writ narrative; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 sermon; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6 sermon; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 28

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 7.30 prayer, tea, conversed, sermon; 12 garden, sermon; 2 dinner, sermon; 5 tea, conversed; 6 prayed, sermon, at sister Fuller's, Gal. vi. 14! sermon; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 29

- 4 Prayed, Mag.; 8 prayer, tea, conversed; 9 Mag.; 12 garden, Horne, Mag.; 2 dinner, conversed, Mrs. Fuller; 3 Mag., prayed; 5 tea, conversed; 8 supper, prayer; 9.45.

Thursday 30

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag.; 12.15 garden; 1 dinner, conversed; 2.45 coach; 4.30 at home, tea, prayer, letters, prayed; 6.30 prayers, 2 Sam. ii. 34, the bands, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 31

- 4 Prayed, prayed, Journal, within to some, Journal; 2.30 dinner, prayer, Journal; 5 tea, prayer, prayed, Journal; 8 supper, read, prayer; 9.30.

FEB. 1, *Saturday*

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, prayer, letters, within to many; 1 dinner, prayer, on business; 3 letter, prayed; 4.30 walk, at brother Adam's, tea, conversed, prayed; 6 prayers, 1 Cor. xiii. 13! communion, supper; 8.15 Pen[ry], on business; 9.30.

reason of strange noises which they heard day and night, but in the night chiefly, as if all the tables and chairs had been thrown up and down in the rooms above and under them.

Sun. 2.—Mr. Maxfield continuing ill, I preached this after-

Sunday 2

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 the preachers ; 9.30 prayers, Matt. viii. 26 ! communion, at sister Burg[ess] ; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.15 sleep, prayed, at Mr. Max[field], tea, prayed ; 5 prayers, 1 Cor. iii. 1, etc. ; 6.30 society ; 7.30 supper, within ; 9.30.

Monday 3

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 5 to 10, select society, class ; 8 tea, class ; 1 dinner, class ; 4.30 at brother Graham, tea, conversed, class ; 6 prayers, 1 Cor. xiii. 9 ; society ; 8.15 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 4

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 6 class, tea ; 8 class ; 1 at brother Rance's, dinner, conversed ; 2 class ; 5 at brother Tedford's, tea, prayer ; 6 prayed ; 6.30 prayers, 1 Cor. xvi. 13 ; 7 the leaders, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 5

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 6 class, tea ; 8 class ; 1 at brother Kemp's, dinner, conversed ; 2 class ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 letters ; 8 supper, within, prayer ! on business ; 9.30.

Thursday 6

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 6 class, tea, class ; 1 at sister Westr[y], dinner ; 2 class ; 5 tea ; 5.15 coach ; 6.15 at Charles's concert, coach ; 9.45.

Friday 7

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 6 class, tea, class ; 11 at Mr. Parkinson's, class ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2 class, within, class ; 5 tea, prayed ; 6 the Committee ; 8 supper, within, read, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 8

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 6.30 walk ; 7 at brother Trig. class, tea, conversed ; 8 at the Chap[el], class ; 12 at brother Collinson[s], class, walk ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2 class ; 4.45 tea, conversed, visited ! 6 prayers, 2 Cor. iv. 18 ! 7 society ; 8.15 supper, on business ; 9.30.

Sunday 9¹

- 4 Prayed, letters, the Chap[el] ; 9.30 prayers, Col. iii. 12, etc. ! communion ; 1 at Mr. Key's, dinner, conversed ; 2 sleep, prayed ; 3 the leaders ; 3.30 prayers ; 4 2 Cor. v. 16, etc., society, coach, society ; 7.30 supper, read ; 9 prayer ; 9.15.

2 Cor. iv. 18.

¹ On Feb. 9 he wrote to Zechariah on the 10th to John Cricket (*Works*, Yewdall (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 14), and vol. xiv. p. 361).

noon at his chapel. Prejudice seems now dying away : God grant it may never revive !

Tues. 11.—I buried the remains of Sarah Clay,¹ many years a mother in Israel ; the last of those holy women who, being filled with love, forty years ago devoted themselves wholly to God, to spend and be spent in His service. Her death was like her life, calm and easy. She was dressing herself when she dropped down and fell asleep.

Monday 10

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 12, select society ; 7 at brother R[—], class ; 11 Chap[el], letters, select society ; 1 at brother Dobso[n's], dinner, visited ; 2 class ; 5.30 prayed, within ; 6.30 prayers, 2 Cor. vi. 2 ! supper, the bands ; 9.30.

Tuesday 11

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 12, class, tea, class ; 1 at brother Bower, dinner, within ; 2 walked, at home, on business, walked, buried Sarah Cla[y], coach Westm[inster] ; 5.30 class, prayed ; 6.30 2 Cor. iv. 18 ! coach, Chap[el], supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 12

- 4 Prayed, letters, class, tea ; 7 class ; 12.30 letters ; 2 at brother Bow's ; 2 dinner ; 3.30 coach ; 5 at brother Strong's, tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 Col. iii. 12, etc. ; 7 class, prayed, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 13

- 4 Prayed, Eph. iv. 30 ! Mag. visited, at brother Blackal[l]'s, tea, within ; 7.30 coach, walk ; 10 letters ; 12.15 coach, at brother Longf., dinner, letters ; 4 coach ; 5.15 Wandsw[orth], tea, within, prayed ; 6 Isa. xxxvii. 3, class, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 14

- 4 Prayed, Psa. cvi. 24, at Mr. Bark[er's], tea, the children ; 7 coach ; 8.30 at home, letters, the bands, coach ; 12 Stratf[ord], Isa. lv. 7 ; 1 class, dinner, chaise ; 5 Hadl[ey], tea, 2 Cor. vi. 2 ! class, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 15

- 4 Prayed, Mag., tea, chaise ; 8.15 at home, on business, writ the bands ; 1 dinner ; 2 letters, within to many, on business, at Mr. Max[field's], Jasp[er] Ja[ne] etc. ! ; 4 letters, tea, conversed, prayed ; 7 supper, Pen[ry] on business ; 9.30.

Sunday 16

- 4 Prayed, letters, Sp[italfields] ; 9.30 prayers, Mark xvi. 16 ! communion, visited ; 1.15 dinner, prayer ; 2.30 sleep, letter, the leaders, tea, prayed ; 5 2 Tim. iv. 7 ; 7 society, within to many ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ For an account of her see *Arm. Mag.* 1783, p. 528.

Mon. 17.—I had an opportunity of attending the lecture of that excellent man, Dr. Conyers.¹ He was quite an original; his *matter* was very good, his *manner* very bad; but it is enough that God owned him, both in the conviction and conversion of sinners.

Thur. 20.—I went to Dorking, and in the afternoon took a walk through the lovely gardens of Lord Grimston.² His father-in-law, who laid them out, is some time since numbered with the dead; and his son-in-law, living elsewhere, has not so much as the beholding them with his eyes!

Monday 17

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 15, etc., select society, letter; 8.15 tea, conversed, prayer, letter; 10 walk, visited, Poplar, 2 Cor. vi. 2, class, dinner, walk; 3.30 at Mr. Dorn[ford's]; 4 letters; 5 prayed, tea, conversed; 6.30 at Dr. Conyers; 8 supper, conversed; 9.45 prayers; 10.15.

Tuesday 18

- 4 Prayed, Mag., letters; 8 prayer, tea, conversed, letters; 12 visited; 1 at brother Stan., dinner, conversed; 2 letters, prayed; 4 class; 5 at brother Ock, tea, conversed, class; 6.30 Mark xvi. 16! at sister Purnel's, supper, read, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 19

- 4 Prayed, Mag.; 7 tea, conversed, prayer; 8 walk; 9 at sister Wri[ght's], tea, within; 10 visited, chaise; 11.30 Bark[ing], within; 12 2 Cor. viii. 9! class, dinner; 2 chaise; 5 Lamb[eth], letters, tea; 6.30 Rom. xiv. 17! class, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 20

- 4 Prayed, Psa. cvi. 24, letters; 7 the leaders, letters; 8 tea, conversed; 9 coach; 2 Dork[ing], dinner, conversed; 3.15 walk! 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6.15 Eph. v. 14! communion, prayed, supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

¹ On leaving Helmsley he became rector of St. Paul's, Deptford. See above, p. 139 and vol. v. pp. 17 n. and 58. His embarrassing nervousness, with detailed illustrations, is described in the *Life of the C. of Huntingdon*, vol. i. p. 329. See also the *Christian Mag.* 1792, p. 427, and the *Life of Sir R. Hill*, p. 90.

² James Bucknell, third Viscount Grimston in the peerage of Ireland. He was created Baron Verulam in the peer-

age of Great Britain in 1790. He died in 1809. Bury Hill had been taken in from the waste lands of the manor of Milton by Mr. Edward Walter, M.P. His daughter and heiress married James Bucknell. The grounds have some fine and unusual trees. The rhododendrons are specially rich and varied. (*Meth. Rec.* July 9, 1903.) Sir Harbottle Grimston was Speaker of the 'Convention Parliament' which recalled Charles II.

Fri. 21.—At our yearly meeting for that purpose we examined our yearly accounts, and found the money received (just answering the expense) was upwards of three thousand pounds a year. But that is nothing to me; what I receive of it yearly is neither more nor less than thirty pounds.

To-day Charles Greenwood¹ went to rest. He had been a melancholy man all his days, full of doubts and fears, and continually writing bitter things against himself. When he was first taken ill he said he should die, and was miserable through fear of death; but two days before he died the clouds dispersed, and he was unspeakably happy, telling his friends, 'God has revealed to me things which it is impossible for man to utter.' Just when he died, such glory filled the room that it seemed to be a little heaven; none could grieve or shed a tear, but all present appeared to be partakers of his joy.

Friday 21

- 4 Prayed, Journal; 6 *Psa. cvi. 24*, class; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 coach with sister Sparrow[w], etc., conversed, Mag.; 2.30 at sister Rankin's, dinner, within; 3.30 prayer, on business; 4 letters, tea, prayed; 6 Quart[erly] Meeting, Committee; 8 supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 22

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, at T[homas] O[liver's], Mag.; 1.30 dinner, visited sister Greenw[ood]! 5 at sister Da[y]'s, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, Gal. v. 5, communion, supper, Pen[ry], on business; 9.30.

¹ Charles Greenwood—the son of James Greenwood, an early member of the Foundery Society—was one of the first trustees of City Road Chapel, and was connected with most of its benevolent enterprises. He carried on a lucrative upholstery business in Rood Lane, City. From an old book of records in the Stoke Newington Free Library we learn that he was a sidesman at St. Mary's (the Parish Church). Wesley is believed to have retired to the house of the Greenwoods at various periods, named in the Journal (see Index), for quietness or literary and society work. John Fletcher spent four months of his illness there in 1776–7, and was visited by Wesley (see above, p. 176), Berridge, Walter Shirley,

Rowland Hill, and others. Fletcher refers to Mr. and Mrs. Greenwood as his 'dear benefactors.' It has recently been discovered that the Greenwoods' 'quiet retreat,' as Fletcher called it, is still standing (1915), though surrounded by rows of modern houses. It is the only one of the original nine houses on the Palatine Estate not demolished. An 'account' of Greenwood's dying hours by 'J. T.' is given in the *Arm. Mag.* 1783, pp. 306, 361. This was reprinted as a pamphlet, at the end of which are two verses, one written by 'his much loved and valued friend, Mr. Charles Wesley,' the other by his sister-in-law, Mrs. Thornton. See Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, p. 361; Tyerman's *Life of Fletcher*, pp. 372 ff.



TWO OF WESLEY'S LONDON RETREATS, RECENTLY IDENTIFIED BY MR. A. WALLINGTON.

1. JOHN HORTON'S HOUSE, 25 Highbury Place, Islington (see PAGE 460).
2. CHARLES GREENWOOD'S HOUSE AT STOKE NEWINGTON (see OPPOSITE).

(From a sketch by Miss Bagust, 1915.)

*Mon. 24.*¹—I buried the remains of Captain Cheesement,² one who, some years since, from a plentiful fortune, was by a train of losses utterly ruined ; but, two or three friends enabling him to begin trade again, the tide turned ; he prospered greatly, and riches flowed in on every side. A few years ago he married one equally agreeable in her person and temper. So what had he to do but enjoy himself? Accordingly, he left off business, took a large, handsome house and furnished it in a most elegant manner. A little while after, showing his rooms to a friend, he said, ‘All this will give small comfort in a dying hour.’ A few days after he was taken with a fever. I saw him twice ; he was sensible, but could not speak. In spite of all means he grew worse and worse, and in about twelve days died. So within a few days we lost two of our richest and two of our holiest members³

Sunday 23

- 4 Prayed, letters, Chap[el] ; 9.30 prayers, Psa. xli. 1, communion, at brother Folgh[am]’s ; 1.30 dinner ; 3 the leaders ; 4 prayers, Gal. v. 15, society, coach, society, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 24

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. ad fin., writ narrative, tea, letters ; 10 coach, at brother Cheesem[ent] ; 11 conversed ; 2.15 buried him ; 3 at brother Walter’s, dinner, letters, tea, prayed ; 6.30 prayers, Eph. i. 6 ; 7 supper, the bands, Journal ; 9.30.

¹ On Feb. 23 he wrote from London to Thomas Rutherford, then in Dublin, on appointments and personal details relating to preachers and their movements ; on the 24th to Mr. Foley at Quinton, near Birmingham (new ed. *Wesley Letters*) ; on Feb. 25 he wrote from London to George Blackall of Brentford on the future state ; on the 26th to Mrs. Bradburn ; on the same day to William Black, alluding to his expostulation with the Bishop of London because he refused to ordain a pious man without learning, while he ordained others without piety, and with but a moderate share of learning (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² John Cheesement was born at Seaton, near Sunderland. The competency to which Wesley refers was acquired at sea. He lived in the parish of St. George’s-in-

the-East, and was one of the first trustees of the new chapel. The inscription on his tombstone in City Road Chapel adds that ‘He came to an anchor in a place of rivers and broad streams within the vale of the Fair Havens.’ His widow married G. Wolff, of Balham, Wesley’s executor. Within two months three trustees died : Thomas Forfit, Dec. 29, 1782 ; Charles Greenwood, Feb. 21, 1783 ; and now Captain Cheesement.

³ The City Road Burials-Book gives :

No. 163, 1783, Feb. 13. Sarah Clay, 66 years, James Street, St. Luke’s.
No. 164, 1783, Feb. 18. George Hufflet, 56 years, Grey Eagle Street, Spitalfields.
No. 166, 1783, Feb. 23. Captain John Cheesement, 51 years, Mile End Green.
No. 167, 1783, Feb. 23. Charles Greenwood, 56 years, Stoke Newington.

(Stevenson’s *City Road Chapel*, p. 82.)

—Sarah Clay and good old George Hufflet, who has been for many years a burning and a shining light. He lay fourteen weeks praising God continually, and had then a triumphant entrance into His kingdom.

MARCH 2, *Sun.*—In the evening I took coach, and the next evening preached at Bath.

Tuesday 25

- 4 Prayed, Eph. i. 13, Journal, visited ; 7.30 tea, conversed, walk, letters ; 1.30 dinner, conversed, letters ; 3.30 tea, within ; letter, at brother Float's, tea, conversed, prayer, prayed, conversed ; 6.30 prayers, Rev. xxi. 1-5 ! the leaders, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 26

- 4 Prayed, letters, prayer ; 8 tea, conversed, letters, 1 walk, visited ; 2.30 at brother Ra[nkin]'s, dinner, conversed, prayer, visited ; 5 at W. Garret's, tea, conversed ; 6 read prayers, Eccl. ix. 10 ! communion, coach ; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 27

- 4 Prayed, letters, Mag. ; 8 tea, conversed ; 9 Mag. ; 2 at Mr. Judd's, dinner, conversed ; 3.30 prayed, 4 buried C[harles] Greenw[ood], tea, prayed ; 6.30 read prayers, Eph. iv. 30 ! 7.30 the bands, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 28

- 4 Prayed, Mag. ; 1.30 coach ; 2 at Mr. Wolff's, dinner, conversed, visited, tea, chaise ; 5 Strat[for]d, Heb. ix. 27 ! coach, Plaistow, opened letters ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 Eph. vi. 11.

MARCH 1, *Saturday*

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 coach ; 10 at home, within, and letters ; 1.30 dinner, letters ; 3.30 prayed, visited, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 read prayers, Eph. vi. 11, communion, supper, Pen[ry] on business ; 9.30.

Sunday 2

- 4 Prayed, letters, the preachers, prayed ; 9.30 prayers, Job iii. 17, communion, walk, at Mr. Horton's, dinner ; 3.30 the leaders, tea, prayed ; 5 prayers, 1 Cor. xiii. 8 ! society, supper, within, prayer ; 8 Fri[day] Str[ee]t, coach, within, sleep ; 10.

Monday 3

- 6 Within ; 7.30 Newbur[y], tea ; 8.30 coach together ; 3.30 Chippenha[m], dinner ; 4 coach ; 6 Bath, at brother Sincla[ir]'s, tea, within ; 6.30 1 Cor. xiii. 8 ; 7.15 at brother Symes', supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thur. 6.—I went on to Bristol, and found a family of love, so united as it had not been for some years. The next week I met the classes; and on *Friday*¹ had a watch-night at Kingswood; but I was far from being well, the cold which I had caught in coming from Luton² rather increasing than decreasing.

Tuesday 4

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 12, 13, class, visited; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 class; 11 Trustees; 1 at brother Sinclair's, dinner, conversed, visited; 2.15 letters; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 5.45 prayed; 6.30 read prayers, Phil. iii. 8! class; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Wednesday 5

- 4 Prayed, Phil. iii. 9; class, the [—]; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, visited; 10.15 letters; 1 dinner, prayer; 3 accounts, on business; 4 prayed, 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6.30 read prayers, Phil. iii. 15! communion; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer; 10.15.

Thursday 6

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 15! writ narrative; 7.30 at Miss Cave's, tea, within, visited; 9 coach; 12 at home, on business; 2 at Mr. Durbin's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 Mag.; 4 prayed, prayer, at sister Lewis's, tea, conversed, prayed; 6.30 Job iii. 17! the bands, at sister Jo[hnson']s.

Friday 7

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, Mag.; 12 the females; 1 prayer; 2.15 at brother Green's, dinner, prayer; 3.30 Mag., prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 2 Thess. ii. 7 at sister Castl[eman's]; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 8

- 4 Prayed, letters, Mag.; 8 at Sa. James's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9 Mag.; 1 at R. Lewis's, dinner, writ letters, prayed; 5 visited, at brother Collins, tea, read; 6 Phil. iii. 8, on business Pen[ry], at Miss Jo[hnson']s, supper, prayer, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 9

- 4 Prayed, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, meditated; 9.30 prayers, Gen. xix. 17, communion, at brother Ewer's, dinner, prayer; 2.30 sleep; 3 prayers, 2 Cor. vi. 2, tea, prayed; 5 2 Cor. v. 1; 6 society, on business, supper, read, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 10

- 4 Prayed, Phil. iii. 14! class; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 class; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 class; 4.45 tea, conversed, visited, prayed; 6.30 2 Thess. ii. 7 at sister Ca[stleman's], supper, read, prayer; 9.30.

¹ On March 7 he wrote to John Baxendale of Wigan, and on the 15th to Hester Ann Roe, a letter which he closes thus: 'I love that word "and Ishmael died in

the presence of all his brethren"' (*Works*, vol. xiii. pp. 39, 84).

² See above, p. 380, when he was compelled to ride in an open chaise.

Sat. 15.—I had a deep, tearing cough, and was exceeding heavy and weak. However, I made shift to preach at Weavers' Hall and to meet the penitents.

Sun. 16.—I found myself considerably worse. However, I preached in the morning, but had such a fever in the afternoon that I was obliged to take my bed.

I now knew not what to do, having fixed the next morning for beginning my journey to Ireland, and sent notice to Stroud, Gloucester, and various other places, of the days wherein I pur-

Tuesday 11

- 4 Prayed, class, tea, class ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2 class ; 5 tea, visited some, 6.30 read ; 7 the leaders, the letters, at sister Jo[hnson's], supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Gen. xix. 17.

Wednesday 12

- 4 Prayed, classes, the preachers ! 8 at brother Capel's, tea, conversed, letters ; 10 class ; 1 at brother Hop[kin's], dinner, conversed ; 2 class ; visited many, tea, conversed ; 6.30 Gu[inea] St[reet], Heb. viii. 10 ! 8 at sister Cast[leman's], supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 13

- 4 Prayed, writ narrative ; 8 tea, visited some, read Miss Boone ; 1 visited some ; 1.30 at brother Stock's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 4 coach, visited ; 5 Bris[ing]ton, tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.30 Eccl. ix. 10, read, prayer ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 14

- 4 Prayed, writ Mag. ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 chaise ; 10 read narrative ; 12 females ; 1 prayer ; 2 at Mr. Ca[stleman's], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 4 chaise, tea, conversed ; 5 at the s[chool], accounts ; 6 prayed, letter, supper, within ; 8.30 ill ; 2 Cor. iv. 18, on business, 10.

Saturday 15

- 5.30 Prayed, the children, chaise ; 8 at brother Gee's, tea, conversed, prayer, visited, sleep ; 10 letters ; 1 at brother Powell's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 letters ; 4 prayed, at sister Lyddiat's, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 1 Cor. vii. 35, Pen[ry], at sister Jo[hnson's], supper, conversed, prayer, on business ; 9.15.

Sunday 16

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, on business, prayed ; 9.30 prayers, John iii. 7 1 communion, ill ; 1 at brother Bullen's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 sleep ; 3.30 within ; 4 tea, writ, ill, chaise, at sister Johnson's, Mr. Dyer ; 6 no bands,

posed to visit them. But Mr. Collins¹ kindly undertook to supply my place at Stroud and the other places as far as Worcester.

Lying down in bed, I took part (being able to swallow no more) of a draught which was prepared for me.² It gave me four or five and twenty stools and a moderate vomit, after which I fell asleep.

Mon. 17.—Mr. Collins set out. About six in the morning, finding myself perfectly easy, I set out in the afternoon, and overtook him at Stroud. But it was as much as I could do, for I was in a high fever, though without any pain. After giving a short exhortation to the society, I was very glad to lie down. My fever was exactly of the same kind with that I had in the north of Ireland.³ On *Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday* I was just the same. The whole nervous system was violently agitated. Hence arose the cramp, with little intermission, from the time I lay down in bed till morning; also a furious, tearing cough, usually recurring before each fit of the cramp. And yet I had no pain in my back, or head, or limbs, the cramp only excepted. But I had no strength at all, being scarce able to move, and much less to think. In this state I lay till *Friday* morning, when a violent fit of the cramp carried the fever quite away. Perceiving this, I took chaise without delay, and reached Worcester in the afternoon. Here I overtook Mr. Collins again, who had supplied all my appointments, and with a remarkable blessing to the people. But, being much exhausted, I found rest was sweet.

Monday 17

- 6 Prayed, tea; 9.30 walk, home, chaise; 2.45 Stroud, dinner, within, ill; 4.30 prayed, tea, conversed, prayed, tea, prayer, within, tea, read; 8.15 supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 18

- 6 Prayed, writ narrative, electrified together, sleep; 12.30 chaise; 1.30 New[town]; 2 dinner, conversed, sleep; 4.30 tea, conversed, chaise; 7.30 society, total eclipse; 8 within, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

¹ See above, p. 354.

² Probably in the house of Mr. Ezekiel King, of Middle Street, tallow chandler,

who often entertained Wesley. See *Meth. Rec.* Aug. 20, 1903.

³ See above, pp. 66-70.

*Sat. 22.*¹—In the morning I gave a short exhortation, and then went on to Birmingham.

Sun. 23.—Finding still some remains of the fever, with a load and tightness across my breast, and a continual tendency to the cramp, I procured a friend to electrify me thoroughly, both through the legs and the breast, several times in the day. God so blessed this that I had no more fever or cramp, and no more load or tightness across my breast. In the evening I ventured to preach three-quarters of an hour, and found no ill effect at all.

Wednesday 19

- 6 Drest, prayed, tea within, on business, read ; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer, read Cowper's *Poems* ; 4 chaise ; 5 tea, conversed, Cowp[er], supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 20

- 4 Very ill ; 7 tea, conversed ; 9 diary, read narrative ; 1.30 dinner, read Cowp[er] ; 4 chaise ; 5 at Mr. Freeby, tea, conversed, prayer, within, on business, supper ; 9 prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 21

- 5.30 Well, on business, tea, conversed, prayer ; 7.15 chaise ; 9.15 Glo[uce]ster, the people, tea, prayer ; 11.30 chaise ; 1.30 Tewkesb[ury], dinner, read ; 2.45 chaise ; 5 Worc[este]r, tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 read letters ; 8 tea, prayer, on business ; 9.30.

Saturday 22

- 5 Prayed, on business, tea ; 7 society, visited ; 8 chaise ; 10.30 Inn ; 11 chaise ; 1.30 at Mr. Holden's, within ; 2 dinner, within, writ narrative, prayed, tea, writ narrative ; 8.15 supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Sunday 23

- Ill ; 6 prayed, letters ; 8.15 tea, conversed, writ Journal, writ Mag. ; 12 electrified ; 1 at Mr. Pai[n]'s, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 writ Mag., prayed ; 5 tea, conversed ; 7 society ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 24

- 4 Prayed, read Ston[house]² ; 8.15 at John Undr., tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 Stonh[ouse] [cipher] ♪ ! 1 at brother Barnard's, dinner, conversed, prayer, on business ; 3 Mag., prayed, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 Eph. iv. 30 ! [—] 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ He wrote from Birmingham to his brother (*W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 126).

² Probably one of the publications of Sir James Stonhouse, M.D., physician,

and afterwards rector of Great and Little Cheverell, near Devizes. He was the friend and convert of Doddridge. See *W.H.S.* vol. vii. p. 45.

Tues. 25.—In the afternoon I reached Hilton Park, about six miles north of Wolverhampton. Here I found my old acquaintance, Miss Freeman (whom I had known almost from a child), with Sir Philip Gibbs's lady, and his two amiable daughters, in a lovely recess. With these I spent this evening and the next day both profitably and agreeably.¹

Tuesday 25

- 4 Prayed, on business, tea, prayer; 6.30 chaise; 8 Wedn[esbury], conversed, tea, visited; 9 John vi. 69, on business; 11 chaise, 1.30 Hilton Hall, conversed; 4 dinner, conversed to Miss Fr[ee]man, prayed, tea, conversed, supper, conversed; 11.

Wednesday 26

- 5 Prayed, letters; 9 tea, conversed; 10 writ Mag.; 11 garden with Miss Freem[an], within; 12.30 Mag.; 2.30 dinner, conversed; 4.30 letter, prayed, Journal [the frequent repetition of 'Journal' seems to indicate that he was preparing Part XVIII for the press. It was issued this year]; 7.30 tea, within; 9 supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

¹ In Wesley's Diary for 1739 (see above, vol. ii. p. 151) he meets Mr. Gibbs (the spelling, as usual, is contracted) at Mr. Score's, and again in his (Gibbs's) rooms. The name is also found elsewhere in the Diary. On May 13, 1750, Charles Wesley, then in Bristol, baptizes Hannah, Mrs. Gibbs's maid. In *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 150, Westley Hall reckons 'Gibbs and Miss ——' amongst acquaintance he met in Barbados, referring, probably to Philip Gibbs of Springhead, Barbados, and of Trikley, co. Gloucester, baronet (cr. 1774, ob. 1815). Lady Gibbs here referred to (married Feb. 1, 1753) was daughter and heiress of Samuel Osborne of Barbados. She seems to have had two sons and two daughters, and to have died in 1813. Sir Philip Gibbs (or Gibbs), Bart., of Hilton Park, was descended from William Gibbs of Bristol, a man of some note in his day, whose mural inscription is in St. Thomas's Church (or churchyard), Bristol. See Barrett's *History*, p. 559, and the *Royal Kalendar*, 1785. Miss Freeman is frequently referred to by Charles Wesley in his Journal and in letters to his wife. John Wesley also refers to her in a letter to his brother Charles, May 2, 1783; see *Works*, vol. xii. p. 151. But a more

interesting letter, dated April 4, 1783, and preserved in the manuscript Journal of the *W.H.S.*, contains the following paragraph:

The place [Hilton Park] was agreeable, and much more the company. Lady Gibbs puts me in mind of one of Queen Elizabeth's Dames of Honour. Her daughters are exceedingly sensible, but sink under Miss Freeman's superior sense. She has been of great service to them.

Hilton is a township in the parish of Wolverhampton, and is the ancient seat of the Vernons. The hall, of red brick with stone dressings, was built in 1700, and enlarged in 1830, and stands in a park of a hundred acres. It contained a Benedictine Abbey, but no vestige remains. For the curious ceremony of 'Jack of Hilton,' a little hollow image of brass, see Nightingale's *Beauties of England*, vol. xiii. pt. ii. p. 869. A tower was built in the park in 1741 in commemoration of the capture of Portobello by Admiral Vernon in November 1739. The present squire, who cannot trace any connexion of Sir Philip Gibbs, thinks 'he may have rented Hilton Park.'

It was during this visit that Wesley wrote an article for the *Arm. Mag.* (1785, p. 643), entitled 'Thoughts upon Dissipation.'

Thur. 27.—I crossed over the country to Hinckley, and preached in the evening in the neat, elegant preaching-house. So I did, morning and evening, on the three following days to a serious, well-behaved people.

Here I met with Dr. Horne's¹ *Commentary on the Psalms*, I suppose the best that ever was wrote. Yet I could not comprehend his aggrandizing the Psalms, it seems, even above the New Testament. And some of them he hardly makes anything of—the eighty-seventh in particular.

APRIL 1, *Tues.*,² &c.—I went through several of the

Thursday 27

- 5 Prayed, Journal; 6.30 Miss Fr[eeman], conversed; 7 tea, conversed, prayer; 8.30 chaise; 2.15 Pa[—]; 3 dinner, conversed; 3.15 chaise; 5.30 Hin[c]kl[ey], tea; 1 Cor. i. 23, within; 7 writ narrative; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 28

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xii. 1, Journal; 2.15 dinner, conversed, Horn[e], prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Isa. lv. 6, society! supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 29

- 4 Prayed, Heb. xii. 14! Horn[e], letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 12 walk; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2 Horn[e], prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 John iv. 24! 7 Horn[e]; 7.45 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Sunday 30

- 4 Prayed, ill, Journal; 8 tea, conversed; 8.30 Rom. iii. 23! Journal; 11 prayers; 12 dinner, conversed; 1 Journal; 3.30 prayed, Journal, tea, Jo[hn] xvii. 3, Horn[e]; 7.30 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 31

- 4 Prayed, Psa. cxlvii. 3, Horn[e]; 7 tea, conversed, prayer; 8 chaise, 11.15 Ashby[-de-la-Zouch]; 12 Journal; 12.30 dinner, Journal; 3 lovefeast; 4.30 prayed; 6 Josh. xxiv. 15; 7 Journal; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ President of Magdalen College, Dean of Canterbury, and Bishop of Norwich. He bestowed nearly twenty years on this work.

² On April 1 he wrote from Nottingham to John Valton, who desired to remain another year at Birstall, one of the difficult posts in the Connexion (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); on the 4th from Nottingham to his brother, describing his recent visit to Hilton Park, adding, 'I

wish King George (like Louis the Fourteenth) would be his own Prime Minister' (*W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 169); on the 21st from William Street to Henry Brooke (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); on the 23rd from Dublin to Mrs. Barton of Beverley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 383); on the 25th from Dublin to Mrs. Christian (new ed. *Wesley Letters*); and on the same date to John Watson of Perth.

societies¹ till I reached Holyhead on *Friday* the 11th. We went on board without delay, and on *Sunday* morning the

APRIL 1, *Tuesday*

- 4 Prayed, Journal, tea ; 8 chaise, visited ; 10.30 Ca[stle] Don[ing]ton, on business ; 11 Matt. vii. 24 ! 12 dinner, conversed ; 1 chaise ; 3.30 Nott[ingha]m, leaders ; 5 tea, prayed ; 6 letters, 1 Sam. xx. 3, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 2

- 4 Prayed, 1 Peter ii. 1, etc., Journal ; 7.15 tea, conversed, Journal ; 11.30 walk ; 12.30 Journal ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2 Journal ; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 Matt. xi. 28, etc., Journal ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 3

- 4 Prayed, Journal ; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, Journal ; 10 letters, visited ; 12.30 dinner, Journal ; 3 texts, D[octo]r Coke, within, prayed ; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 Acts ix. 31 ; 7 society, Journal ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 4

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 6 Journal ; 11.30 visited ; 12.30 dinner, conversed, Journal ; 4 prayed, tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 1 Cor. i. 24 ! society ! writ Journal ; 8 supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 5

- 4 Prayed, Journal, letters ; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, letters ; 12 walk ; 1 at brother Plat's, dinner, conversed ; 2 letters, Journal ; 4 prayed, tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 Zech. iv. 6, Journal ; 7.30 Journal, on business, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Sunday 6

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, letters ; 10 prayers, Heb. ix. 13 ! communion ! 1 at brother Woodward's, dinner, prayer ; 2 Journal, prayed, tea ; 5 Isa. lv. 6, society ; 7.30 prayed, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 7

- 4 Prayed, Mark i. 15, Journal, tea, conversed, prayer ; 8 chaise, Staple-f[ord], tea ; 10 Heb. viii. 10, chaise ; 12.30 Derb[y], letter ; 1.30 dinner, conversed, letters ; 4 prayed, tea, conversed ; 6 Isa. v. 4 society, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 8

- 4 Prayed, Matt. v. 6 ! on business, tea ; 7 chaise ; 10 Uttoxeter, tea, within ; 11 chaise [cipher] ~ ; 1.30 Lane End, conversed, dinner, prayer, chaise ; 4.30 Newc[astle], tea, conversed, writ narrative, prayed ; 7 Luke x. 42, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ Among the societies visited was Nottingham, where, on April 4, he and Dr. Coke opened Hockley Chapel (Harwood's *Meth. in Nottingham*, p. 55), also Derby, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and Chester.

13th landed at Dunleary, whence (not being able to procure a carriage) I walked on to Dublin. Here I spent two or three weeks with much satisfaction in my usual employments.

Wednesday 9

- 4 Prayed, Phil. iii. 13, tea ; 6.45 chaise ; 9.45 Nantwich, tea, conversed, prayer ; 10.30 chaise ; 12 Alprah[am], dinner, within, prayer ; 1.30 chaise ; 4 Chester ; 5 on business, tea, prayed ; 7 Matt. xxii. 27, society, at brother Sel[l]ier[s]'s, supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.30.

Thursday 10

- 4 Prayed, [—] ; 5 chaise, Holywell ; 12 St. Asaph, dinner, chaise, Conwa[y], writ narrative, prayed ; 8 supper, conversed ; 9.45.

Friday 11

- 4 Prayed ; 5 chaise ; 8 Bangor Ferry, tea, chaise ; 11.30 Gwyndew, dinner ; 1 chaise ; 3 Holyhead, tea, writ narrative ; 5.30 on the *Bestboran* ; 8 lay down.

Saturday 12

- 4 Sleep, in talk, walk ; 8 tea, prayed, dozed, prayed, tea ; 9 sleep.

Sunday 13

- 4.30 Drest, conversed ; 6 in the boat ; 7 Dunlear[y] ; 7.30 walk ; 9.30 at Mr. Smi[th's] ; 10 tea, on business ; 11.30 prayers, communion ; 2 dinner, conversed ; 4 prayed ; 5 tea, conversed ; 6 Matt. xxi. 50, etc., society, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 14

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. 1-3, writ sermon ; 8 at sister K[eeene]'s, tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 sermon ; 11 sat for my picture ; 12 walk ; 2 dinner, conversed ; 3 letters ; 4 prayed, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 1 John i. 4, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 15

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. 5-6 ! within, sermon ; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, sermon ; 11 sat, visited ; 2 at A[rthur] Keen[e's], dinner, conversed, prayed, visited, communion ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed [ejaculatory prayer] ; 6.15 Col. i. 10 ! the bands ; 8.15 supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 16

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. 7 ! within, sermon ; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, sermon ; 1 walk ; 2 dinner, within ; 3.30 read narrative ; 4.45 prayed, tea, conversed ; 6.30 1 Tim. vi. 9 ! the letters ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 17

- 4 Prayed, 1 John i. ult., sermon, letters ; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, sermon ; 11 letters ; 1 walk ; 2 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3.30 prayed, visited ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 Eph. iii. 14, the single men ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Mon. 21.—I spent an hour with Mr. Skelton¹; I think full as extraordinary a man as Mr. Law; of full as rapid a genius; so that I had little to do but to hear—his words flowing as a river.

Good Friday

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8.30 Gen. xxii. 1! sermon; 11 prayers; 2.30 dinner, conversed; 4 prayed; 4.45 tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 1 Pet. ii. 1, etc., the lovefeast; 8.15 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 19

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 1, 2, letters; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 8.30 letters; 12.30 Coll[ins's], dinner; 2 conversed, prayer; 4 sat, tea, conversed; 6 Rom. viii. 3, 4, on business, supper, prayer; 9.45.

Easter Day

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea, conversed, prayer; 8.30 1 Pet. i. 3, sermon; 11 St. Patrick, prayers, communion; 2.30 dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 sermon, prayed, tea; 5.30 Rom. vi. 23; 7, society, supper, conversed, prayers; 9.30.

Monday 21

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayers; 9 sermon; 1 at Mr. Skelton's, conversed; 2 at brother Tate's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 4.45 tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 prayed; 6.30 Luke xxiv. 25; 7.30 select society! supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 22

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 writ narrative; 12 walk, writ narrative; 2.15 dinner, within; 4 prayer! 4.45 visited; 5 at home, Mr. Hales, etc.! tea, within; 6 prayed; 6.30 Col. iii. 1; 7.30 the bands! supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 23

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 3–12, writ narrative; 8.30 at Mr. Hales, tea, within; 10 texts; 1 walk; 2 at Mr. Dolier's, dinner, conversed; 4 prayer! tea, read, prayer; 6 prayed, 1 John v. 20! the leaders, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 24

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 13, etc., writ Journal; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, Journal; 12.30 walk; 2.30 dinner, conversed; 3.45 Journal, prayed; 5.15 tea, prayer; 6.30 2 John 8! letters; 8.15 supper; 9 prayer; 9.30.

Friday 25

- 4 Prayed, letters; 10 Mr. Skelton, within; 11.15 within to many; 12 walk; 1 prayer; 2 dinner, read; 4 prayed, tea, at Mrs. Glass! [See above, vol. iii. p. 405]; 6 prayed Isa. lix, 1, 2, the singers; 8.30 supper, prayer; 9.30.

¹ See *W.M. Mag.* 1861, p. 32, and *Life of C. of Huntingdon*, vol. ii. pp. 172, 196.

Tues. 29.—Our little Conference began, and continued till *Friday, MAY 2.*¹ All was peace and love, and I trust the same spirit will spread through the nation.

Saturday 26

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, together, prayer ; 9.15 letters ; 1.15 walk ; 2 at Mrs. Car's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3.30 visited servant at brother Cook's, tea, conversed ; 6.30 Dan. ix. 24, prayed, on business ; 8.15 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.45.

Sunday 27

- 4 Prayed, Journal, tea, prayer ; 8.30 1 Pet. ii. 9, Journal ; 11 prayers, communion ; 2 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 4 prayed, tea ; 6.30 1 John v. 11 society, at La[dy] [Arabella] Denn[y's] ; 7.30 tea, conversed, at home, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.45.

Monday 28

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. ad finem ! 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 within to man ; 10 read narrative ; 11 within ; 12 visited ! 2.30 at brother Hall's, dinner, conversed, prayer, visited, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 Zech. iv. 6 ! married persons, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 29

- 4 Prayed, writ for Conf[erence] ; 6 Conf[erence] ; 8 tea, conversed ; 9 Conf[erence] ; 1.15 on business ; 2 at brother Keen's, dinner, conversed ; 3 Conf[erence] ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.30 Jer. vi. 16, the bands ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 30

- 4 Prayed, writ Conf[erence] ; 6 Conf[erence] ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 Conf[erence] ; 1 on business, walk ; 2 at sister K[eele]'s, tea, conversed, prayer ; 3 Conf[erence] ; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer, visited ; 6 prayed ; 6.30 Isa. v. 4, the leaders ; 8.15 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

MAY 1, Thursday

- 4 Prayed, writ for Conf[erence] ; 6 Conf[erence] ; 8 tea, conversed, on business ; 9 Conf[erence] ; 1 within on business ; 2.30 dinner, conversed ; 3.30 Conf[erence] ; 5 tea, writ, prayed ; 6.30 Heb. vi. 1, select society, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 2

- 4 Prayed, John vi. 28 ! Conf[erence], communion ; 8 letters ; 1 prayer ; 2.15 at Mrs. Pearse's ; 3 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 4 prayed, tea, conversed ; 5.30 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 Deut. xxix. 10 ; 8 the singers, supper together, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ On May 2 he wrote to his brother Charles (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 151).

Sat. 3.—I made a little excursion to a nobleman's¹ seat, a few miles from Dublin. It may doubtless vie in elegance, if not in costliness, with any seat in Great Britain; but the miserable master of the whole has little satisfaction therein. God hath said, 'Write this man childless.' For whom then does he heap up these things? He is himself growing old:

And must he leave this paradise? Then leave
These happy shades, and mansions fit for gods?²

Sun. 4.—There was an ordination at St. Patrick's. I admired the solemnity wherewith the Archbishop³ went through the service, but the vacant faces of the ordained showed how little they were affected thereby. In the evening multitudes met to renew their covenant with God. But here was no vacant face to be seen; for God was in the midst, and manifested Himself to many, particularly to a daughter of good William Penington.⁴

Mon. 5.—We prepared for going on board the packet; but,

Saturday 3

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea, prayer, letters; 10 coach, Rathforna[ck], coach!
2.30 dinner; 3.30 visited, walk; 5.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30
Rom. iii. 17, visited; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer, on business; 10.

Sunday 4

- 4.45 Prayed, Journal, tea; 8.30 Matt. vii. 16! Journal; 11 St. Patrick's,
prayers, ordination; 2.45 dinner, visited, tea; 5.30 Numb. xxiii. 10!
the covenant; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Monday 5

- 4 Prayed, Acts xxii. 16, within, tunes; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, tunes;
1 walk; 2.15 dinner, conversed, prayer; 4 prayed, visited; 5 prayed,
tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6.30 Eccl. vii. 29! tunes, supper,
conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ Probably Henry Loftus, fourth Viscount and first Earl of Ely. He died May 8, 1783.

² Altered from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, xi. 269. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 155, also *ibid.* p. 116.

³ Dr. Robert Fowler (1778–1801). See *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, vol. ii. p. 185.

⁴ He married Miss Veare. For Miss Penington's conversion under John Bredin see Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, vol. i. p. 354. She afterwards married Joseph Burgess. Their son, the Rev. William Penington Burgess, M.A., was probably the first writer on Methodist Hymnology. See *W.M. Mag.* 1840, p. 537; also *W.H.S.* vol. viii. p. 43.

as it delayed sailing, on *Tuesday* the 6th I waited on Lady Arabella Denny,¹ at the Blackrock, four miles from Dublin. It is one of the pleasantest spots I ever saw. The garden is everything in miniature. On one side is a grove, with serpentine walks; on the other, a little meadow and a greenhouse, with a study (which she calls her chapel) hanging over the sea. Between these is a broad walk, leading down almost to the edge of the water; along which run two narrow walks, commanding the quay, one above the other. But it cannot be long before this excellent lady will remove to a nobler paradise.

The unusually large congregation in the evening was plentifully watered with the dew of heaven. I found a particular concern for the children, many of whom willingly attended.

Wed. 7.—The packet still delaying, I exhorted a large congregation, in the evening, to take care how they built their

Tuesday 6

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. 8, tunes; 7.45 tea, conversed, prayer, tunes; 10 coach; 11.30 Black Rock, coach; 2 tunes; 2.30 dinner, conversed; 4 visited; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 Col. iii. 11! the bands, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 7

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xv. 58! letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 letters, within to some; 12.30 coach; 1 Canal Basin; 2 at sister K[eeene]'s, dinner, conversed; 4 visited, prayed, tea; 6.15 Matt. vii. 26! the leaders; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ Lady Arabella Fitzmaurice, sister of John, Earl of Shelburne, married Mr. Alfred Denny, grandson of the Earl of Coningsby. Dr. Priestley calls her a woman of 'good understanding and great piety.' Her nephew, William, Earl of Shelburne (First Marquess of Lansdowne), Prime Minister in 1782, says in his autobiography that it was impossible to do justice to her 'virtues, talents, temper, taste, true religion, and goodness of every kind.' 'She inculcated into me a sense of duty towards God, the publick, and my neighbours, which has never quitted me.' Her

husband's brother treated her with such brutality that she had to put the laudanum in the little apothecary's shop which she kept for the poor on an upper shelf lest she should take it in a moment of despair. She learnt to fire a pistol, and showed her skill to her tormentor so that she thoroughly frightened this coward and bully, who immediately changed his manner, and never afterwards gave her the least trouble. She died in 1792. See Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, vol. i. pp. 5, 7-10; cf. *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 74.

house upon the sand ; and then cheerfully commended them to the grace of God.

Thur. 8.—We rose at one, went down to the quay at two, and about four went on board the *Hillsborough* packet. About five the wind turned fair, and, between five and six in the evening, brought us to Holyhead. About seven we took coach, and the next evening met our friends at Chester.

Tues. 13.—About eight I preached at Preston-in-the-Hill ; about twelve in Warrington ; and in the evening at Liverpool. Here the scandal of the cross seems to be ceased, and we are grown honourable men.

Thursday 8

- 1 Tea, prayer, coach ; 2.30 in the boat ; 4 on board ; 5 sailed, Captain Cook ; 6.30 tea, Cook ; 12 dinner, Cook ; 5.30 Holyhead, on business ; 7 coach ; 9 Gwyndew, supper ; 10.30.

Friday 9

- 3.30 On business ; 4 coach, prayed, *Surv[ey]* of Ireland ; 10 Conway, tea, boat ; 11 coach, *Survey*, within ; 9 Chester, at Miss Beddish, supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.45.

Saturday 10

- 5 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters ; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 letters, read narrative ; 3 Journal ; 3.30 walk ; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed ; 6.45 Psalm cxlvi. 4 ! read, supper, prayer ; 9.45.

Sunday 11

- 4 Prayed, Journal ; 7 Phil. iii. 13, tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 writ sermon ; 10.30 prayers, within ; 1 at brother Walk[e]r's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 sermon, within, prayer ; 4 prayed, visited, tea, conversed ; 5 Ezek. xxxvii. 1, etc., communion ; 7.30 prayed, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 12

- 4 Prayed, Gal. v. 1 ! T. Be[—]t, etc., in talk, prayer ; 6 tea, conversed, prayer ; sermon ; 12 visited ; 1 at Mr. Gard[ine]r's, dinner, conversed, prayer, 2.30 within to man, writ narrative ; 4.30 prayed ; 5 tea together ; 6.30 Isa. lix. 1, society, on business, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 13

- 4.15 On business, prayed, tea ; 5 walk ; 8 Preston, Rom. iii. 23 ; 9.15 chaise, Watson ; 11 Warr[ing]t[on], read ; 12 Jer. viii. 20 ; 2 chaise ; 5 Liv[erpool], tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.30 Matt. xi. 4, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Thur. 15.—I preached about noon at Wigan, and in the evening at Bolton, to a people much alive to God. *Saturday*, the 17th, I went on to Manchester.

Sun. 18.—Mr. Bayley¹ came very opportunely to assist me in the morning service. Such a sight, I believe, was never seen


Wednesday 14

- 4 Prayed, Acts xxii. 16, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, sermon, within to some; 12 visited; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 prayer; 2.30 sermon, prayed; 4.15 visited some; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, within to some; 6.30 Isa. xxxviii. 5; 7.30 society, supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 15

- 4 Prayed, Isa. lvii. 1, 2, within to man; 7 tea; 7.30 chaise, Art[hur] Young; 12 Wigan, Heb. ix. 27! at brother Layl[and's], dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 chaise; 5 Bolton, tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Dan. ix. 24! society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.15.

Friday 16

- 4 Prayed, Psa. xlv. 13, tunes; 8 sermon; 11 tunes, [cipher] , walk; 1 at sister Thwa[ite's], dinner, the leaders, christened; 3 tunes, tea, prayed; 6 Mat. vii. 16, society, tunes, supper, conversed, prayer, on business; 9.30.

Saturday 17

- 4 Prayed, Matt. v. 47! letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9.15 chaise; 11.50 Manch[ester]; 12 sermon, letters; 1 dinner, within; 2 letters, within to man; 4 prayed, tea, conversed, within; 6.15 Luke viii. 18, on business, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Sunday 18

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 prayers, Matt. xvi. 23! communion; 1 dinner; 2 sleep; 3 sermon, prayed; 4 tea, conversed, prayed; 5.15 1 Cor. i. 30! society, within to many; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ We find Cornelius Bayley at Kingswood School, in Manchester, Buxton, Leeds, and elsewhere. H. J. Foster's record (drawn from *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*; an imperfect record) is as follows:

Cornelius Bayley, 1757-1782 (?) born at Ashe, near Whitechurch, Salop. Educated, and master of Whitechurch Grammar School. Methodist preacher, first incumbent of St. James's, Manchester, which he built in 1788. B.D. (Cantab. 1792), D.D. 1800. Author of a Hebrew Grammar, published in 1782, et. cet.

Another record is in the *History of Kingswood School*:

The second master, Mr. Cornelius Bayley, afterwards D.D. Trinity College, Cambridge, remained at the school from 1773 to 1783, and

was one of the most notable of its masters. On leaving Kingswood he entered the ministry of the Established Church, and subsequently became the founder and first incumbent of St. James's, Manchester. He was an author of considerable merit, his chief works being *Select Psalms and Hymns*, a Hebrew Catechism, *The Swedenborgian Doctrine of the Trinity Considered*, various sermons, and, lastly, but by no means least, a Hebrew Grammar.

This last was the work referred to as having been purchased by Adam Clarke while at the school, and upon which the commentator based his subsequent learning in that language. For an exact description of this famous grammar and the

at Manchester before. It was supposed there were thirteen or fourteen hundred communicants, among whom there was such a spirit as I have seldom found ; and their whole behaviour was such as adorned the gospel.

Tues. 20.—I met the select society, consisting of between forty and fifty members. Several of these were lately made partakers of the great salvation ; as several were above twenty years ago. I believe there is no place but London where we have so many souls so deeply devoted to God ; and His hand is not shortened yet, but His work rapidly increases on every side.

About noon I preached at Stockport ; and in the afternoon in the new church at Macclesfield. This society seems as lively as even that at Manchester, and increases nearly as fast. Not a week passes wherein some are not justified, and some renewed in love.

Wed. 21.—I met a few of these, and found them indeed—

All praise, all meekness, and all love.

In the evening I exhorted them all to expect pardon or

Monday 19

- 4 Prayed, Gal. v. 5, within to many, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 letters ; 12.30 walk ; 1 at brother Brier[ley's], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 visited man ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 Gen. xxii. 1, 2 ! lovefeast, within, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 20

- 4 Prayed, 2 John 8 ! select society, within to men ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, on business, prayer ; 10 chaise, Stockport, sermon ; 12 Heb. ii. 3, walk ; 1.30 at brother Moore's dinner, conversed ; 3 chaise ; 5 Macc[esfield], at sister Ryle's, tea, conversed ; 6 prayers, 1 Cor. iii. 11, etc. ! 7.30 society, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 21

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. iii. 8 ! within ; 7 letters, read narrative, tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 Journal ; 12 walk ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2.30 sleep, read ; 3 prayed ; 4 with E. R., etc., conversed, prayer ; 5 tea, conversed, christened, prayer ; 6 Mark i. 15, lovefeast, sermon, supper, conversed ; 9 prayer ; 9.30.

names of some of the first subscribers, see *History of Kingswood School*, p. 79. A third record will be found in John S. Stamp's memoir of Charles Atmore, *W.M. Mag.* 1845, p. 13, note. See Wesley's letter to Dean D. on Cornelius

Bayley's *Hebrew Grammar* (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 464). It is said that Manchester Methodists, towards the close of the eighteenth century, after their own services, used to go to St. James's Church for the sermon and the Lord's Supper.

holiness *to-day*, not *to-morrow*. Oh let their love never grow cold!

Fri. 23.—I set out for Derby; but the smith had so effectually lamed one of my horses, that many told me he would never be able to travel more. I thought, 'Even this may be made matter of prayer'; and set out cheerfully. The horse, instead of growing worse and worse, went better and better; and in the afternoon (after I had preached at Leek by the way) brought me safe to Derby.

Sat. 24.—Being desired to marry two of our friends¹ at Buxton, two-and-thirty miles from Derby, I took chaise at three, and came thither about eight.² I found notice had been

Thursday 22

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xv. 2! select society, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 sermon, within to man; 12 visited some! 1 dinner, conversed, prayer, sermon; 4 prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, Ezek. xxxvii.; 7.30 society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 23

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xv. 58, tea; 6.30 chaise; 9 Leek, tea, conversed; 9.30 2 Cor. vi. 1; 10.30 chaise; 1 Ashburn, dinner; 2 chaise; 4.15 Derby, on business; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 Col. i. 10; society; supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 24

- 2 Prayed, tea, conversed; 3 chaise, with Rac[hel] Norton, conversed; 8.15 Buxton, tea; 9 married Mr. [Bayley], R[achel] N[orton], read prayers, Isa. lv. 6! on business, within; 11 chaise, read Dillon; 3.30 dinner, chaise; 7.30 Nottingham; 8 on business, supper, conversed, on business; 9.30.

¹ In the *Universal Magazine*, 1766, p. 334, is a marriage, 'at Buxton Hall, Derbyshire.' Can it be possible that this marriage, in which Cornelius Bayley figured as bridegroom, was also conducted, not in the church, but at Buxton Hall? If so it would possibly account for the strange fact reported by the Rev. R. D. Ringrose, curate in charge of St. Anne's: 'There is no reference at any possible date to John Wesley in our registers. They are parchment sheets, signed as above ['John Mellor, minister of Buxton']; the sheet upon which, if at all, he only would be found, is wanting.'

² This appears to have been Wesley's first visit to Buxton, at all events in his capacity as the Methodist evangelist. His father, however, had preached there, probably in St. Anne's Church, many years before. At this visit he found Methodism represented, if not in Buxton itself, yet in the immediate neighbourhood, by a very remarkable family in a picturesque hamlet near Buxton. George Lomas, the fifth child of the family, who attended his father's sheep upon the mountains of Derbyshire, left his father's house in 1803 to settle in Manchester. As he crossed the lonely hills he knelt

given of my preaching in the church¹; and the minister desired me to read prayers. By this means I could not leave Buxton till eleven, nor reach Nottingham till after seven; whereas I was to have preached at six. But Mr. Brackenbury came to town just in time to supply my place.

Sun. 25.—I had an easy day's work, as Mr. Bayley assisted me by reading prayers and delivering the wine at the Lord's Table.

Tues. 27.—I preached at Loughborough in the morning, and at Mountsorrel at one. While I was preaching, the rain, which was so wanted, began, and continued for eight-and-forty hours. In the evening I preached at Leicester, where I always feel much liberty, and yet see but little fruit. After

Sunday 25

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8.30 tea, conversed, meditated; 10 prayers, John xvi. 31! communion, visited; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 sleep, read sermon, prayed; 4 tea, conversed, Journal; 5 James i. 27! society; 7 Journal; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 26

- 4 Prayed, Luke viii. 18, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 letters, 12 dinner, conversed; 1 sermon; 3 prayed, read; 4 visited, communion; 5 at brother Woodward's, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 Mark iii. 35, the leaders, visited, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 27

- 4 Prayed, Mag., tea, prayer; 6.15 chaise, with Mr. Brackenbury, Loughborough; 9 tea, Jos. xxiv. 15! chaise; 11 Mount S[orrel], Mag.; 12 Luke x. 42! dinner, chaise, Leicester, within, tea, prayed; 6.30 Eph. iv. 30! society; 8 supper, prayer; 9.30.

upon a stone and consecrated his service to God. He married Mary Buxton, and they became in due course leaders in all that was noblest and best in the Methodism of Manchester during the first half of the nineteenth century. George Lomas might almost be called the father of Methodist Sunday-school work there.

¹ For a full account of the quaint little church of St. Anne's and of early Methodism in Buxton see *Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1899, pp. 28-34. One paragraph from the description may be quoted here:

There were a number of white cottages near by; some of these survive, others, still

nearer the church, have been removed to make way for the new school-rooms. . . . One of our friends in Buxton tells me that his grandfather distinctly remembers seeing John Wesley come out of one of the white cottages, and walk across the burial-ground to the church . . . dressed in a white surplice and his beautiful white hair brushed back.' He looked, he said, like an angel.

This agrees with the statement in the Journal that the minister asked him to read prayers. He would, at that time, no doubt, preach in a black gown, but read prayers in his surplice. The church was very inadequately equipped in those days, and the cottage served as vestry.

preaching at Northampton, Bedford, and Hinxworth, on *Saturday* the 31st I returned to London.

JUNE 1, *Sun.*¹—I was refreshed by the very sight of the congregation at the new chapel. *Monday* the 2nd and the

Wednesday 28

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. 13, tea, chaise; 9 Wel[for]d, tea, conversed; 10 chaise; 1.30 Northa[mpto]n, dinner, conversed; 2.30 at sister Philips's, within, tea, conversed; 6.30 2 Cor. xiii. 5, society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 29

- 3 Prayed, tea, conversed; 4.15 chaise, Dillom; 7 at brother Angrave, tea, prayer; 8 chaise; 11 Bedf[ord], within; 12 2 Tim. iii. 5! dinner, conversed; 2.30 Miss Harv[ey]; 3 chaise; 5.15 Hinxw[orth], tea, conversed, prayed, Prov. iii. 17, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 30

- 3.30 Prayed, tea, read; 5 chaise, Well[wyn], tea, conversed; 9 chaise; 12 Barnet, coach; 1 dinner; 2 coach; 4.30 at home, tea, visited, on business, letters, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 31

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 at brother Rankin's, tea, prayer, letters; 1 dinner, conversed, letters, Mag.; 5 tea, conversed, letters, prayed; 7.45 supper, Pen[ry] on business; 9.30.
2 Cor. v. 7.

JUNE 1, *Sunday*

- 4 Prayed, letters; 7 conversed; 8 the preachers, prayed; 9.30 prayers, 1 Pet. iv. 11! communion, coach; 1.30 at brother Horton's, dinner; 3.15 the leaders, tea, prayed; 5 prayers, 1 Cor. xv. 58, society; 7 read narrative; 7.30 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 2

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xv. 41, select society, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag.; 10 visited some! 12 select society, at brother Dobso[n]'s, dinner, conversed; 2 Mag., the children, prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6.30 read prayers, 1 Cor. xvi. 13! supper, the bands, Mag.; 9.30.

¹ On June 5 he wrote from London to Mr. Walton of Bristol, in praise of fasting and of Sister Rogers, also on injudicious trustees, ending with this postscript: 'But your life! I want your life.' On the same day he wrote to Miss Bolton, telling her that in many places the prayer-meetings had been of more use

than even the preaching; two days later, writing from near London, he tells an unnamed correspondent an extraordinary story of the history of Methodism in four societies of the Oxford circuit—Henley, Wycombe, Wallingford, and Witney (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

following days I employed in settling my business and preparing for my little excursion.¹

Tuesday 3

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xv. 45, Mag., [cipher] ☩ ; 8 at brother Smy[th's], tea, conversed ! visited ; 10 writ Journal ; 1 at sister Burgess's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 Journal ; 4 prayed ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 prayed ; 6.30 read prayers, 2 Cor. i. 22, the leaders, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 4

- 4 Prayed, 1 John iii. 1 to 3 ! letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 Journal, letters ; 2 at Mr. Wolff[s], dinner, within ; 3 Journal ; 4 prayed, walk, tea, conversed, prayer, coach ; 6 read prayers, 2 Cor. iii. 18, communion ; 7 coach ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 5

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 Journal ; 12.30 garden ; 1 coach, at the dinner, conversed ; 2 visited ; 3.45 prayed ; 4.30 visited, tea, conversed ; 6.30 2 Cor. iv. 5, the bands, visited, coach ; 8.30 Highbury Place, within ; 9.30 supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.15.

Friday 6

- 4 Prayed ; 5 Journal ; 1 garden ; 2 dinner, within ; 3 Journal ; 5 prayed ; 6 tea, conversed ; 7 Journal ; 8 garden, meditated, conversed ; 9 supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

¹ There were various surmises as to Wesley's reasons for taking this journey. Henry Moore, who knew Wesley so intimately, shows that there was in reality no mystery about the project. It was quite true, as Whitehead once remarked, that 'Mr. Wesley had no secrets.' One of the local preachers in the London society, William Ferguson, for whom Wesley had the highest regard, traded to Holland for some years, and generally spent his summers there. He found families in Holland of some distinction who were Methodists in everything except the name. He spoke much of Wesley and of the Methodists in England. Ferguson distributed Wesley's sermons among his new friends. There is a letter which Wesley wrote to him in 1779 in which he encourages a proposal from The Hague for an agency for the sale of Methodist books and for the translation into Dutch of one or two Wesley sermons. He is referred to John Atlay, the Book Steward, and Mr. Wesley

offers to take again any books that prove to be unsaleable, provided they were not damaged. Mr. Ferguson was urged by his friends in Holland to press Wesley to visit them. This sufficiently accounts for his journey. As the Rev. Thomas McCullagh suggested, his purpose may have been strengthened by a desire to secure a thorough change for his friend Robert Carr Brackenbury ; but of this we have no information. Incidentally we learn from a letter to Mrs. Ferguson written from Harwich on June 12, 1783, that Sally Wesley accompanied her uncle on this journey (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 508). One difficulty with Wesley's tour in Holland was the language. He knew many languages, but not Dutch ; the difficulty, however, was overcome by the appointment of Mr. Ferguson's son as interpreter. He became Wesley's travelling companion, and did for him what he afterwards did for the philanthropist John Howard. See *W.M. Mag.* 1845, p. 292.

Wed. 11.—I took coach with Mr. Brackenbury, Broadbent, and Whitfield; and in the evening we reached Harwich. I went immediately to Dr. Jones,¹ who received me in the most affectionate manner. About nine in the morning we sailed; and at nine on *Friday* the 13th landed at Hellevoetsluis. Here

Saturday 7

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea, prayer, walk; 8.30 at home, letters; 1 at brother Walter's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 Mag., prayed; 5 at Jo[—], tea, conversed; 6 read prayers, 2 Cor. v. 7! communion; 7.45 Pen[ry] on business; 9.30.

Sunday 8 (Whit-Sunday)

- 3.30 Prayer, Acts ii. 1-4, sleep, letters, walk; 8.15 Chapel; 9.30 prayers, Psal. lxxviii. 18! communion; 1 at brother Folgham's, conversed, dinner; 3 the leaders; 3.30 read prayers, Acts ii. 1 to 4! tea, love-feast, coach, society, supper; 7.30 garden, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 9

- 4 Prayed, John vii. 37, select society, writ narrative; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 at sister Rank[in's], Mag.; 1 dinner, conversed, Mag., prepared; 3.15 visited some; 5.30 at sister L[—]p, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 prayers, Acts xix. 2, supper, the bands, coach, visited; 9.45.

Tuesday 10

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 at T. Oliver's, tea, conversed, Mag.; 12.30 walk; 1 at brother Holton's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2 on business, visited, within; 5 tea, prayer, prayed; 6.30 1 John iv. 1; 7.30 the leaders, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 11

- 4 Prayed, tea, conversed, prayer; 5 coach; 8.15 Ingatston[e], tea, conversed; 9 coach; 1 Coke; 2 coach; 5.30 Harwich, at Dr. Jones's, tea, within; 8 supper; 9 prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 12

- 4 Prayed, Dr. Horne; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 8.30 on the *Besborough*; 9 on business, set sail, read *Account of Holland*, conversed; 12 dinner, together; 1 *Account*, prayer; 5 tea, conversed, prayed, *Account*; 8 supper, together; 9.30.

Friday 13

- 4.30 Prayed, *Account*, within, tea, prayer; 9 Helvoetsluys [Hellevoetsluis], coffee, coach; 12 Delft, dinner, within; 1 boat, conversed; 4 Rotterdam, at Mrs. Young's; 5 coffee, at Mr. Loyal's, conversed, walk; 8 supper, prayer; 9.30.

¹ His old and affectionate friend, once a master at Kingswood School, whose letter of congratulation on his recovery

from sickness was published in the *Arm. Mag.* 1787, p. 444. See above, p. 69, and vol. iii. p. 273.

we hired a coach for Brielle, but were forced to hire a wagon also, to carry a box which one of us could have carried on his shoulders. At Brielle¹ we took a boat to Rotterdam. We had not been long there when Mr. Bennet, a bookseller, who had invited me to his house, called upon me. But as Mr. Loyal, the minister of the Scotch congregation, had invited me, he gave up his claim, and went with us to Mr. Loyal's. I found a friendly, sensible, hospitable, and, I am persuaded, a pious man. We took a walk together round the town, all as clean as a gentleman's parlour. Many of the houses are as high as those in the main street at Edinburgh, and the canals, running through the chief streets, make them convenient as well as pleasant, bringing the merchants' goods up to their doors. Stately trees grow on all their banks. The whole town is encompassed with a double row of elms, so that one may walk all round it in the shade.

Sat. 14.—I had much conversation with the two English ministers, sensible, well-bred, serious men. These, as well as Mr. Loyal, were very willing I should preach in their churches; but they thought it would be best for me to preach in the Episcopal church. By our conversing freely together, many prejudices were removed, and all our hearts seemed to be united together.

In the evening we again took a walk round the town, and I observed: (1) Many of the houses are higher than most in Edinburgh. It is true they have not so many stories; but each story is far loftier. (2) The streets, the outside and inside of their houses in every part, doors, windows, well-staircases, furniture, even floors, are kept so nicely clean that you cannot find a speck of dirt. (3) There is such a grandeur and elegance in the fronts of the large houses as I never saw elsewhere, and such a profusion of marble within, particularly in their

Saturday 14

6 Prayed, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 Mag.; 12 walk; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 Mag.; 4 prayed; 5 at Mrs. Mon[—], tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 walk; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

¹ For Brielle (in customary English The Brill) and its stirring memories and associations see Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

lower floors and staircases, as I wonder other nations do not imitate. (4) The women and children (which I least of all expected) were in general the most beautiful I ever saw. They were surprisingly fair, and had an inexpressible air of innocence in their countenance. (5) This was wonderfully set off by their dress, which was *simplex munditiis*, plain and neat in the highest degree. (6) It has lately been observed that growing vegetables greatly resist putridity; so there is a use in their numerous rows of trees which was not thought of at first. The elms balance the canals, preventing the putrefaction which those otherwise might produce.

One little circumstance I observed which I suppose is peculiar to Holland: to most chamber windows a looking-glass is placed on the outside of the sash, so as to show the whole street, with all the passengers. There is something very pleasing in these moving pictures. Are they found in no other country?

Sun. 15.—The Episcopal church¹ is not quite so large as the chapel in West Street. It is very elegant both without and within. The service began at half-past nine. Such a congregation had not often been there before. I preached on 'God created man in His own image.' The people seemed 'all but their attention dead.' In the afternoon the church was so filled as (they informed me) it had not been for these fifty years. I preached on 'God hath given us eternal life; and this life is in His Son.' I believe God applied it to many hearts. Were it only for this hour, I am glad I came to Holland.

One thing which I peculiarly observed was this, and the same in all the churches in Holland: at coming in, no one looks on the right or the left hand, or bows or curtsies to any one, but all go straight forward to their seats, as if no other person was in the place. During the service none turns his

Sunday 15

- 4 Prayed, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag.; 9.30 prayers, Gen. i. 27! visited; 12.30 at Mr. Williams', dinner; 1.45 sleep, prayed; 2.30 prayers, 1 John v. 11! 4.30 at Mr. Smi[th]'s, tea, garden; 6.30 prayers; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ Wesley preached in this church again on Aug. 13, 1786. He was present at prayers on Sept. 8, 1738. See above, vol. ii. p. 63.

head on either side, or looks at anything but his book or the minister, and in going out none takes notice of any one, but all go straight forward till they are in the open air.

After church an English gentleman invited me to his country house, not half a mile from the town. I scarce ever saw so pretty a place. The garden before the house was in three partitions, each quite different from the others. The house lay between this and another garden (nothing like any of the others), from which you looked through a beautiful summer-house, washed by a small stream, into rich pastures filled with cattle. We sat under an arbour of stately trees, between the front and the back gardens. Here were four such children (I suppose seven, six, five, and three years old) as I never saw before in one family: such inexpressible beauty and innocence shone together!

In the evening I attended the service of the great Dutch church,¹ as large as most of our cathedrals. The organ (like those in all the Dutch churches) was elegantly painted and gilded; and the tunes that were sung were very lively, and yet solemn.

Mon. 16.—We set out in a track-skuit² for The Hague. By the way we saw a curiosity: the gallows near the canal, surrounded with a knot of beautiful trees! So the dying man will have one pleasant prospect here, whatever befalls him hereafter! At eleven we came to Delft,³ a large, handsome town, where we spent an hour at a merchant's house, who, as well as his wife, a very agreeable woman, seemed both to fear and to love God. Afterwards we saw the great church; I think nearly, if not

Monday 16

4 Prayed, Mag.; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 boat, conversed; 11 Delft, conversed! 12 walk; 1 boat; 3 the Hague Inn, on business, dinner, conversed, prayer; 6 at Madam van Wassenaar, tea, 1 Cor. xiii. 1 to 3, prayer; 7.30 walk; 10.

¹ The church of St. Lawrence, built in 1477-87; it contains the tombs of many Dutch admirals.

² 'Trekschuit,' a canal-boat drawn by a horse.

³ Pepys calls it a most sweet town, with bridges and a river in every street.

The Nieuwe kerk (1412-76) contains the magnificent monument of William the Silent by Keyser and Quellin (1621), Black marble columns support a white canopy over the white, sleeping figure of the Prince. At the head of the tomb is another figure of William, in bronze.

quite, as long as York Minster. It is exceedingly light and elegant within, and every part is kept exquisitely clean. The tomb of William the First is much admired; particularly his statue, which has more life than one would think could be expressed in brass.

When we came to The Hague,¹ though we had heard much of it, we were not disappointed. It is, indeed, beautiful beyond expression. Many of the houses² are exceeding grand, and are finely intermixed with water and wood; yet not too close, but so as to be sufficiently ventilated by the air.

Being invited to tea by Madam van Wassenaar (one of the first quality in The Hague), I waited upon her in the afternoon. She received us with that easy openness and affability which is almost peculiar to Christians and persons of quality. Soon after came ten or twelve ladies more, who seemed to be of her own rank (though dressed quite plain), and two most agreeable gentlemen, one of whom, I afterwards understood, was a Colonel in the Prince's Guards. After tea I expounded the three first verses of the thirteenth of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Captain M. interpreted, sentence by sentence. I then prayed, and Colonel V. after me. I believe this hour was well employed.

Tues. 17.—As we walked over the Place we saw the Swiss Guards at their exercise. They are a fine body of men, taller,

Tuesday 17

- 5 Prayed, Journal; 7 walk, at Mrs. Lie—la's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 Mag.; 11 walk; 12 at Mr. Ollen's, coffee, walk; 1 at Mrs. Lie—la's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 read; 4 prayed; 5 at Mrs. Wassen[aar]'s, tea, conversed, at , Gal. vi. 14, at sister L., supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

¹ The Hague has had a singular history. The following account was published before the middle of the nineteenth century:

Though long the residence of the Stadtholders, and now of the King of Holland, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century The Hague ranked only as a village because it had neither corporation nor walls, and did not return members to the States-General. Louis Bonaparte, however, during his rule, conferred on it the privileges of a city. Other Dutch cities owe their rise to commerce or manufacture; this to the residence of a Court,

the presence of the Government and States-General, and the abode of foreign ministers.

In the twentieth century The Hague has won new renown as the place in which the representatives of the great Powers meet for the promotion of international arbitration and the peace of nations.

² The houses of stadtholders. All around are parks and gardens. The Mauritshuis contains the splendid picture-gallery of The Hague.

I suppose, than any English regiment; and they all wear large whiskers, which they take care to keep as black as their boots. Afterwards we saw the gardens at the Old Palace,¹ beautifully laid out, with a large piece of water in the middle, and a canal at each end: the open walks in it are pleasant, but the shady serpentine walks are far pleasanter.

We dined at Mrs. L——'s,² in such a family as I have seldom seen. Her mother, upwards of seventy, seemed to be continually rejoicing in God her Saviour; the daughter breathes the same spirit; and her grandchildren, three little girls and a boy, seem to be all love. I have not seen four such children together in all England. A gentleman coming in after dinner, I found a particular desire to pray for him. In a little while he melted into tears, as indeed did most of the company.

Wed. 18.—In the afternoon Madam von Wassenaar invited us to a meeting at a neighbouring lady's house. I expounded Gal. vi. 14, and Mr. M. interpreted as before.

Thur. 19.—We took boat at seven. Mrs. L. and one of her relations, being unwilling to part so soon, bore us company to Leyden—a large and populous town, but not so pleasant as Rotterdam. In the afternoon we went on to Haarlem, where a plain, good man and his wife received us in a most affectionate manner. At six we took boat again. As it was filled from end to end, I was afraid we should not have a very pleasant journey. After Mr. Ferguson had told the people who we were, we made

Wednesday 18

4.30 Prayed, Journal, walk; 9 at Mrs. Lie[——]'s, tea, conversed, prayer; 10 Mag.; 11.30 at Mr. [——], conversed; 1 at Mr. Ollen's, dinner, conversed, prayer, the Court, walk; 5 the Madam W[assenaar], tea, conversed, prayer; 7 2 Tim. iii. 5! supper, prayer; 10.

Thursday 19

4.15 Prayed, in talk, tea, conversed; 7 boat, together, singing; 11 Leyden, tea, walk; 1 boat, writ; 5 Haerlem, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 boat, conversed! 9 Amsterdam, the Swan, supper, prayer; 10.15.

¹ The Palace is the Binnenhof, rising straight out of the waters of the beautiful lake, the Vijver. The court of the Binnenhof is very fine.

² Mrs. L—— wrote to Wesley in reply to his letter of thanks for her hospitality.

Her letter, dated Hague, July 1783, refers to her mother as having Wesley continually in mind, and to all the children as desiring to be remembered (*Arm. Mag.* 1792, p. 50).

a slight excuse, and sung a hymn. They were all attention. We then talked a little, by means of our interpreter, and desired that any of them who pleased would sing. Four persons did so; and sung well. After a while we sung again; so did one or two of them; and all our hearts were strangely knit together, so that when we came to Amsterdam they dismissed us with abundance of blessings.

Fri. 20.—We breakfasted at Mr. Ferguson's, near the heart of the city. At eleven we drank coffee (the custom in Holland) at Mr. J——'s, a merchant, whose dining-room is covered, both walls and ceiling, with the most beautiful paintings. He and his lady walked with us in the afternoon to the Stad-huis, perhaps the grandest building of the kind in Europe. The great hall is a noble room indeed, near as large as that of Christ Church in Oxford. But I have neither time nor inclination to describe particularly this amazing structure.

At five in the evening we drank tea at another merchant's, Mr. G——'s, where I had a long conversation with Mr. de H., one of the most learned as well as popular ministers in the city; and (I believe, what is far more important) he is truly alive to God. He spoke Latin well, and seemed to be one of a strong understanding, as well as of an excellent spirit. In returning to our inn, we called at a stationer's,¹ and, though we spent but a few minutes, it was enough to convince us of his strong affection, even to strangers. What a change does the grace of God make in the heart! Shyness and stiffness are now no more!

Sat. 21.—We breakfasted with a very extraordinary woman, who lamented that she could not talk to us but by an in-

Friday 20

4.30 Prayed; 6 Mag.; 8 at brother Fergu[son]'s, tea, conversed, prayer, Mag.; 11 visited; 12 Mag.; 1.30 dinner, Mag.; 3 Stadth[ouse]! 5 at Mr. ; 6 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 supper, letter; 10.45.

Saturday 21

5.15 Prayed, letters, Journal; 8 at sister Beam's, tea, conversed, prayer, visited some, conversed; 1.30 dinner; 2 visited Mr. Vanhooven [probably Van Oosten], conversed, walk; 3.30 Mr. Yooesden's; 4 garden, tea, conversed, walk! 8 at brother Ferg[uson]'s, supper, conversed, on business; 10.

¹ Mr. Shranten (or more probably elder of the Dutch Church. Wesley Schouten) was also a bookseller, and an met him again Aug. 19, 1786.

terpreter. However, she made us understand that she had a little child some years since, three or four years old, that was praying continually. That one morning, having just dressed her, she said, 'Will you go kiss your sister?' She said, 'Yes, mamma; and I will kiss you too'; and threw her arms about her mother's neck; who said, 'My dear, where will you go now?' She said, 'I will go to Jesus'; and died.

At eleven I spent an hour with a woman of large fortune,¹ who appeared to be as much devoted to God as her. We were immediately as well acquainted with each other as if we had known each other for many years. But indeed an easy good breeding (such as I never expected to see here) runs through all the genteeler people of Amsterdam. And there is such a childlike simplicity in all that love God, as does honour to the religion they profess.

About two we called upon Mr. V——n, and immediately fell into close conversation. There seems to be in him a peculiar softness and sweetness of temper, and a peculiar liveliness in Mrs. V——n. Our loving dispute, concerning deliverance from sin, was concluded within an hour; and we parted, if that could be, better friends than we met. Afterwards we walked to Mr. J——'s house in the Plantations, a large tract of ground, laid out in shady walks. These lie within the city walls; but there are other walks, equally pleasant, without the gates. Indeed nothing is wanting but the power of religion to make Amsterdam a paradise.

Sun. 22.—I went to the new church, so called still, though four or five hundred years old.² It is larger, higher, and better illuminated than most of our cathedrals. The screen that divides the church from the choir is of polished brass, and shines like gold. I understood the psalms that were sung,

Sunday 22

4.30 Prayed, Journal; 7.30 tea, conversed; 8.15 prayers; 11 Mag.; 12.30 at Mr. Pierson's; 1 dinner, within; 2 Isa. lv. 6! at Mr. — [Van Ooster], conversed, tea, prayer, at Mr. Box's, tea, read, prayer; 7.30 at Mr. conversed, prayer! 9.30.

¹ This seems to have been Miss berg). See below, Aug. 18, 1786.
Falconberg (or more probably Falken-

² It was built 1408-70.

and the text well, and a little of the sermon, which Mr. de H. delivered with great earnestness. At two I began the service at the English church, an elegant building, about the size of West Street chapel. Only it has no galleries; nor have any of the churches in Holland. I preached on Isa. lv. 6, 7; and I am persuaded many received the truth in the love thereof.

After service I spent another hour at Mr. V——'s. Mrs. V—— again asked me abundance of questions concerning deliverance from sin; and seemed a good deal better satisfied with regard to the great and precious promises. Thence we went to Mr. B[ox], who had lately found peace with God. He was full of faith and love, and could hardly mention the goodness of God without tears. His wife appeared to be exactly of the same spirit, so that our hearts were soon knit together. From thence we went to another family, where a large company were assembled. But all seemed open to receive instructions, and desirous to be altogether Christians.

[*Mon. 23.*—After dinner Mrs. J—— took me in a coach to the Meer, and thence round the country to Zeeburg. I never saw such a country before: I suppose there is no such summer country in Europe. From Amsterdam to [the] Meer is all a train of the most delightful gardens. Turning upon the left, you then open upon the Texel, which spreads into a sea. Zeeburg itself is a little house built on the edge of it, which commands both a land and sea prospect. What is wanting to make the inhabitants happy but the knowledge and love of God?

Tues. 24.—We took a view of the new workhouse, which stands on one side of the Plantations. It much resembles

Monday 23

- 4 Prayed, Journal, writ narrative; 8 at brother Fergus[on]'s, tea, read, prayer; 9 visited some, walk; 11 at sister Medcalf's, conversed, prayer; 12 Mag.; 2 at Mr. Pierso[n]'s, dinner, conversed! 3.30 coach, Meer, tea, conversed, coach; 8.45 at home, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 24

- 4 Prayed, Journal, Mag.; 8 at Mrs. , tea, conversed, prayer, visited some; 11 the Workhouse; 1 at sister Vanhous[en], conversed; 2 at Mr. Vanhinkel's, dinner, conversed, prayer, tea, visited; 7.30 at Mr. Vanho[usen]'s, conversed, prayer, supper; 10.

Shoreditch Workhouse ; only it is considerably larger ; and the front of it is so richly ornamented that it looks like a royal palace. About four hundred are now in the house, which is to receive four hundred more ; just half as many as are in the poorhouse at Dublin, which now contains sixteen hundred. We saw many of the poor people, all at work, knitting, spinning, picking work, or weaving. And the women in one room were all sewing, either fine or plain work. Many of these had been women of the town ; for this is a Bridewell and workhouse in one. The head keeper was stalking to and fro, with a large silver-hilted sword by his side. The bed-chambers were exceeding neat ; the beds are better or worse as are those that use them. We saw both the men in one long room, and the women in another, at dinner. In both rooms they sung a psalm and prayed, before and after dinner. I cannot but think the managers in Amsterdam wiser than those in Dublin ; for certainly a little of the form of religion is better than none at all !

Afterwards we spent an hour at Mrs. V——'s, a very extraordinary woman. Both from her past and present experience I can have no doubt but she is perfected in love. She said : ' I was born at Surinam ; and came from thence when I was about ten years old. But when I came hither my guardian would not let me have my fortune unless I would go back to Surinam. However, I got acquainted with some pious people, and made shift to live till I was about sixteen. I then embarked for Surinam ; but a storm drove us to the coast of England, where the ship was stranded. I was in great distress, fearing I had done wrong in leaving the pious people ; but just then God revealed Himself to my soul. I was filled with joy unspeakable ; and boldly assured the people, who despaired of life, that God would preserve them all. And so He did : we got on shore at Devon ; but we lost all that we had.

' After a time I returned to Amsterdam, and lived four years in service ; then I married. Seven years after it pleased God to work a deeper work in my heart ; since then I have given myself wholly to Him. I desire nothing else. Jesus is my All. I am always pleased with His will : so I was even when my husband died. I had not one discontented thought ; I was still happy in God.'

Wed. 25.—We took boat for Haarlem. The great church¹ here is a noble structure, equalled by few cathedrals in England, either in length, breadth, or height; the organ is the largest I ever saw, and is said to be the finest in Europe. Hence we went to Mr. Van Ka[mpen]'s,² whose wife was convinced of sin and justified by reading Mr. Whitefield's Sermons.

Here we were as at home. Before dinner we took a walk in Haarlem Wood. It adjoins to the town, and is cut out in many shady walks; with lovely vistas shooting out every way. The walk from The Hague to Scheveningen is pleasant³; those near Amsterdam more so; but these exceed them all.

We returned in the afternoon to Amsterdam; and in the evening took leave of as many of our friends as we could. How entirely were we mistaken in the Hollanders, supposing them to be of a cold, phlegmatic, unfriendly temper! I have not met with a more warmly affectionate people in all Europe! No, not in Ireland!

Thur. 26.—Our friends having largely provided us with wine and fruits for our little journey, we took boat in a lovely morning for Utrecht, with Mr. Van [Kampen]'s sister, who in the way gave us a striking account. 'In that house,' said she (pointing to it as we went by), 'my husband and I lived; and that church adjoining to it was his church. Five years ago we were sitting together, being in perfect health, when he

Wednesday 25

4.30 Prayed, Journal; 7 in the boat, conversed; 9.30 Haarlem, tea, in the church; 10 at Mr. Van Campen's, conversed, walk! garden, coffee, conversed; 12 Haarlem, writ; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 boat, conversed; 6 at brother Box's, conversed, supper, visited man, at home, within, on business; 12.

Thursday 26

4 Prayed, writ narrative; 6 tea, conversed, prayer; 7 boat, [—] sleep; 9 coffee, conversed, [—], read narrative; 3 Utrecht, M[iss] Loten; 5.30 walk, garden, conversed; 7.15 Mr. Lo[—]; 7.30 within, prayer; 8 supper, conversed; 9.30.

¹ The Groote Kerk of St. Bavo, a noble cruciform fifteenth-century building. The organ was built by Christian Muller in 1735-8.

² See below, Aug. 18, 1786. Wesley's spelling has been followed on this page both in text and Diary.

³ Through charming forest scenery.

dropped down, and in a quarter of an hour died. I lifted up my heart, and said, "Lord, Thou art my husband now"; and found no will but His.' This was a trial worthy of a Christian; and she has ever since made her word good. We were scarce got to our inn at Utrecht when Miss L[oten]¹ came. I found her just such as I expected. She came on purpose from her father's country house, where all the family were. I observe of all the pious people in Holland that, without any rule but the Word of God, they dress as plain as Miss March² did formerly, and Miss Johnson³ does now! And, considering the vast disadvantage they are under, having no connexion with each other, and being under no such discipline at all as we are, I wonder at the grace of God that is in them!

Fri. 27.—I walked over to Mr. L[oten]'s country house, about three miles from the city. It is a lovely place, surrounded with delightful gardens, laid out with wonderful variety. Mr. L[oten] is of an easy, genteel behaviour, speaks Latin correctly, and is no stranger to philosophy. Mrs. L[oten] is the picture of friendliness and hospitality; and young Mr. L[oten] seems to be cast in the same mould. We spent a few hours very agreeably. Then Mr. L[oten] would send me back in his coach.

Being sick of inns (our bill at Amsterdam alone amounting to near a hundred florins), I willingly accepted of an invitation to lodge with the sons-in-law⁴ of James Oddie.⁵

Friday 27

- 4 Prayed, Journal; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Temp[le] at Sol, visited; 11 walk; 12 at Mr. Loten's, together; 1 dinner, conversed; 3.30 coach, Utrecht, on business; 5 visited many; 8 supper, conversed; 9.30.
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¹ Her father was one of the Burgomasters of Utrecht. She kept up an English correspondence with Wesley till his death. Henry Moore (vol. ii. p. 291) says, 'I have read many of her letters to Mr. Wesley.' See below, Aug. 25, 1786.

² A lady of fortune and piety in London. See *Meth. Mag.* 1805, p. 37. At her house Charles Greenwood, of

Stoke Newington (see above, p. 392), met his wife, Miss March's friend and companion, Miss Thornton, of Dover and Canterbury. For her sister, Miss Jane Thornton, see *Works*, vol. xii. p. 406; *Meth. Mag.* 1805, p. 42.

³ See *Meth. Mag.* 1798, p. 594.

⁴ The two Fergusons.

⁵ *Arm. Mag.* 1780, p. 335, and above, vol. iv. p. 531.

Sat. 28.—We went over to Zeist, the settlement of the German Brethren.¹ It is a small village, finely situated, with woods on every side, and much resembles one of the large colleges in Oxford. Here I met with my old friend Bishop Anton² [Seifart], whom I had not seen for near fifty years. He did not ask me to eat or drink, for it is not their custom, and there is an inn; but they were all very courteous, and we were welcome to *buy* anything that we pleased at their shops! I cannot see how it is possible for this community to avoid growing immensely rich.

I have this day lived fourscore years; and, by the mercy of God, my eyes are not waxed dim. And what little strength of body or mind I had thirty years since, just the same I have now. God grant I may never live to be useless! Rather may I

My body with my charge lay down,
And cease at once to work and live.

Sun. 29.—At ten I began the service in the English church in Utrecht. I believe all the English in the city were present, and forty or fifty Hollanders. I preached on 1 Cor. xiii.; I think, as searchingly as ever in my life. Afterwards a merchant invited me to dinner. For six years he had been at death's door by an asthma, and was extremely ill last night; but this morning, without any visible cause, he was well, and walked across the city to the church. He seemed to be deeply acquainted with religion, and made me promise, if I came to Utrecht again, to make his house my home.³

Saturday 28

At brother Thompson's; 4 prayed, Journal; 8 at brother Thomps[on]'s, tea, conversed, walk, [—] within, Rams[ay]; 12 coach; 1.30 Zeist, with Anton; 3 lovefeast, dinner, coach; 6 Utrecht, at sister , tea, conversed, prayer; 8 at home, supper, read, prayer; 9.30.

Sunday 29

4 Prayed, Journal, Ramsa[y], tea, conversed; 9.15 on business; 10 1 Cor. xiii. 1 to 3! 12.30 at Mr. Vand[er]lo[—], dinner, conversed; 2 prayed, Journal; 5 at Miss Loten[']s, tea, Gr[—]; 8.30 at home, supper, prayer; 9.30.

¹ The 'Moravians,' the Unitas Fratrum. See above, vol. ii. p. 5.

² See above, vol. i. p. 170 (the Georgia Diary). Wesley was present at

Bishop Anton's ordination in Savannah. See also *Hutton's Memoirs*, p. 22, and below, June 7, 1785.

³ See below, Aug. 24, 1786.

In the evening a large company of us met at Miss L[oten's], where I was desired to repeat the substance of my morning sermon. I did so ; Mr. Toydemca¹ (the Professor of Law in the University) interpreting it sentence by sentence. They then sung a Dutch hymn ; and we an English one. Afterwards Mr. Regglet, a venerable old man, spent some time in prayer for the establishment of peace and love between the two nations.

Utrecht² has much the look of an English town. The streets are broad, and have many noble houses. In quietness and stillness it much resembles Oxford. The country all round is like a garden ; and the people I conversed with are not only civil and hospitable, but friendly and affectionate, even as those at Amsterdam.

Mon. 30.—We hired a coach for Rotterdam, at half a crown per head. We dined at Gouda,³ at Mr. Van Vlooten's, minister of the town, who received us with all possible kindness. Before dinner we went into the church, famous for its painted windows ; but we had not time to survey a tenth part of them. We could only observe, in general, that the colours were exceeding lively, and the figures exactly proportioned. In the evening we reached once more the hospitable house of Mr. Loyal, at Rotterdam.

JULY 1, Tues.—I called on as many as I could of my friends, and we parted with much affection. We then hired a yacht, which brought us to Hellevootsluis about eleven the next day. At two we went on board ; but, the wind turning against us, we

Monday 30

- 4 Prayed, tea, conversed ; 6 coach ; 11 Gouda, at Mr. V[an Vlooten's], in the kirk, dinner, read prayers ; 2 chaise, conversed, Ramsa[y] ; 5 Rott[erdam], at Mr. Loyal's, tea, conversed, on business, prayed ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

JULY 1, Tuesday

- 4 Prayed, Journal ; 8 at Mr. Williams, conversed ; 9 Mag. ; 10.30 S. Lieuliet, etc., conversed ; 1 at Mrs. Liv[ing]ston, dinner, conversed ; 2 sleep, prayed, Mag. ; 4.30 visited ; 7 boat, within, supper ; 10.

¹ Probably Tiedema.

(*Sketches in Holland*, by Augustus J. C. Hare).

² 'Has more the aspect of a decayed German city than a Dutch town : solemn and sad, but pre-eminently respectable'

³ See above, vol. ii. p. 4.

did not reach Harwich till about nine on *Friday* morning. After a little rest we procured a carriage, and reached London about eleven at night.

I can by no means regret either the trouble or expense which attended this little journey. It opened me a way into, as it were, a new world; where the land, the buildings, the people, the customs, were all such as I had never seen before. But as those with whom I conversed were of the same spirit with my friends in England, I was as much at home in Utrecht and Amsterdam as in Bristol and London.

Sun. 6.¹—We rejoiced to meet once more with our English friends in the new chapel, who were refreshed with the account of the gracious work which God is working in Holland also.

Wednesday 2

- 4.30 Prayed, Mag., tea, Mag.; 11 Hel[le]v[oetsluis], Mag.; 1 dinner; 2 in the *Prince Henr[y]*, Ramsa[y], prayed; 5 tea, within, Ramsa[y]; 8 supper, within; 9.30 laid down; 11 sleep.

Thursday 3

- 4 Prayed, Rams[ay]; 7 tea, within, Rams[ay]; 2 dinner, Rams[ay], together; 8 supper, Rams[ay], together; 9.30.

Friday 4

- 4.30 Prayed, Rams[ay], tea; 9 Harwich, tea, on business; 11 coach, Mann[ing]tree; 1.30 chaise, Colch[este]r, dinner, chaise; 11 Lad. lane on business; 11.30.

Saturday 5

- 4.45 Prayed, at home, letters; 7 tea, prayer, letters; 12.45 walk, with Charles; 12.30 dinner, conversed, prayer; 1 letters; 5 tea, prayer, prayed; 6 letters, supper, Pen[ry], on business; 9.30.

Sunday 6

- 4 Prayed, Mag., [cipher] ☸; 8 the preachers; 9.30 prayers, 1 Pet. v. 10! communion, at brother Hort[on's], dinner, conversed; 3 the leaders, tea, prayed; 5 1 Pet. v. 8, society; 7 writ narrative; 7.15 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ On July 5 he wrote from London to Mrs. Barton of Beverley (*Works*, vol. xii. p. 383); on the 13th to William Black, of Nova Scotia, on a 'swift

increase, generally followed by a decrease equally swift' (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 401).

Wed. 9.—I spent a melancholy hour with Mr. M[axfield] and several others, who charged him with speaking grievous things of me, which he then knew to be utterly false. If he acknowledges his fault, I believe he will recover; if not, his sickness is unto death.

These four days, *Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday*, were as hot as the midsummer days in Jamaica. The summer heat in Jamaica usually raises the thermometer to about eighty degrees. The quicksilver in my thermometer now rose to eighty-two.

Monday 7

- 4 Prayed, Matt. xix. 6, select society, tea, prayer; 8.30 Mag.; 9 chaise; 10 at sister Wright's, writ sermon; 1.45 dinner, conversed; 2.30 sermon; 5 prayed; 6 tea together; 7 garden, within, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 8

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, prayer, sermon, letters; 1.30 garden; 2.30 dinner, together, sermon, chaise; 5 at home, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 read the letters, the leaders; 8 chaise; 8.45 Walthamstow, supper, prayer; 10.

Wednesday 9

- 4.30 Prayed, sermon, [cipher] ♫! 8 tea, conversed, prayer, sermon; 11 chaise, sermon; 2.15 at brother Blunt's, together, dinner; 4.30 at Mr. Maxf[ield's], tea, chaise; 7 Leyton, Prov. iii. 17, chaise, supper, prayer; 9.45.

Thursday 10

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 11 chaise, at home, on business; 1 at sister Burg[ess]; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer, Mag., prayed, at sister Cheesm[ent's]? tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 Psa. lv. 6, the bands, Highbur[y], supper, prayer; 10.30.

Friday 11

- 4.30 Prayed, sermon, tea, prayer, sermon; 2 coach, at brother Gard[iner's] christened, dinner; 7 Highb[ury], prayed, tea, sermon; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Saturday 12

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, walk; 9.30 sermon, letters; 1 at brother Da's., dinner, conversed; 2.30 sermon, prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6 prayers; 1 Thess. iv. 7! supper, Pen[ry], on business; 9.30.

Sunday 13

- 4 Prayed, on business, letter, walk, Chap[el], prayers, John i. 29, communion, at Mrs. Key's; 1.30 dinner; 2.30 sleep, the leaders; 3.30 prayers, 1 Thess. ii. 19, society; 6 walk, society, supper, on business, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Mon. 14.—I took a little journey into Oxfordshire,¹ and found the good effects of the late storms. The thunder had been uncommonly dreadful, and the lightning had tore up a field near High Wycombe and turned the potatoes into ashes. In the evening I preached in the new preaching-house at Oxford, a lightsome, cheerful place, and well filled with rich and poor, scholars as well as townsmen.

Tues. 15.—Walking through the city, I observed it swiftly improving in everything but religion. Observing narrowly the hall at Christ Church,² I was convinced it is both loftier and larger than that of the Stadhuis in Amsterdam. I observed also the gardens and walks in Holland, although extremely pleasant, were not to be compared with St. John's³ or Trinity gardens; much less with the parks, Magdalen water-walks, &c., Christ Church meadow, or the White Walk.

Wed. 16.—I went on to Witney. There were uncommon

Monday 14

- 4 Prayed, tea; 5 chaise, with Mr. Brackenb[ury], at Uxbr[idge], tea; 10.30 Wyc[ombe], on business; 11 Acts ix. 31, dinner, visited; 1 chaise, Tetsw[orth], chaise; 6 Oxon, tea, Rom. i. 16! walk, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 15

- 4 Prayed, Matt. xix. 6! on business, letters; 7.30 tea, conversed, within, visited; 10 walk; 11.30 visited, read narrative; 1 dinner, within, 3.30 prayed; 4.30 walk; 5.30 tea, conversed; 6.30 1 Cor. xiii. 1 to 3! walk, [—], supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 16

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. 13, in talk, tea, prayer; 7 chaise; 9 Witn[ey], within, writ Dutch Grammar; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 3 read narrative; 4 garden, [—]; 5 prayed, tea; 6.30 Matt. xxv. 31, society, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

¹ The Oxfordshire circuit still extended over the greater part of Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Buckinghamshire; even as late as 1787 there were only four Methodist chapels—at Oxford, Wycombe, Wallingford, and Witney. At Aylesbury the Methodists preached in the Baptist chapel, at Newbury in an iron-founder's shop, and elsewhere in private houses. The new preaching-house in Oxford was in New-Inn-Hall Lane, and would seat from 150 to 200. It has now been converted into two dwelling-houses

(*Meth. Rec.* Sept. 22, 1904). The Oxford home of the two unmarried preachers, Joseph Entwisle and Richard Reece, was a garret in the house of a journeyman shoemaker, for which the society paid 6*d.* per week rent. (Entwisle's *Memoir*, p. 26; see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 29.)

² The hall is 115 ft. by 40 ft., and 50 ft. high, the oak roof being elaborately carved.

³ St. John's gardens, formed by Sprat in 1612, consist of five acres, and are exceedingly fine.

thunder and lightning here last Thursday, but nothing to that which were there on Friday night. About ten the storm was just over the town, and both the bursts of thunder and lightning, or rather sheets of flame, were without intermission. Those that were asleep in the town were waked, and many thought the day of judgement was come. Men, women, and children flocked out of their houses and kneeled down together in the streets. With the flames, the grace of God came down also in a manner never known before; and, as the impression was general, so it was lasting: it did not pass away with the storm, but the spirit of seriousness, with that of grace and supplication, continued. A prayer-meeting being appointed on *Saturday* evening, the people flocked together, so that the preaching-house was more than filled, and many were constrained to stand without the door and windows. On *Sunday* morning, before the usual time of service, the church was quite filled. Such a sight was never seen in that church before. The rector himself was greatly moved, and delivered a pressing, close sermon, with uncommon earnestness. When I came on *Wednesday* the same seriousness remained on the generality of the people. I preached in the evening at Wood Green, where a multitude flocked together, on the Son of Man coming in His glory. The word fell heavy upon them, and many of their hearts were as melting wax.

Thur. 17.—At five they were still so eager to hear that the preaching-house would not near contain the congregation. After preaching, four-and-thirty persons desired admission into the society, every one of whom was (for the present, at least) under very serious impressions; and most of them, there is reason to hope, will bring forth fruit with patience. In the evening I preached to a lovely congregation at Stroud, and on *Friday* afternoon came to Bristol.¹

Thursday 17

- 4 Prayed, Mark iv. 3, etc., society, tea; 7 chaise with A. B. conversed, Bibur[y]; 10 tea; 11 chaise; 3 Stroud, dinner, writ narrative, prayed; 5.30 tea, conversed within; 7 John v. 8! at brother Freeb[—]'s, supper, read, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 18

- 4 Prayed, 2 John 8! tea, conversed, prayer; 7 chaise; 9.15 Newport, tea; 10.15 chaise; 1.30 Bristol, prayer; 2.30 dinner, conversed, prayer;

¹ On July 20 he wrote from Bristol to Miss Elizabeth Ritchie (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 63).

Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday I spent at Bath.

Thur. 24.—I went with a few friends to Blaise Castle.¹ The woods on the side of the hill, cut through various directions, are the pleasantest I ever saw, little inferior to the Leasowes, and, by the beautiful prospects, far superior to Stowe gardens. After-

3.15 letters ; 5 prayer, tea, Conf[erence] ; 7.45 supper, within ; 8.30 prayer, Matt. xix. 6, prayer, in talk ; 12.

Saturday 19

4.45 Prayed, letters ; 7 in the [—] ; 8 tea, within, prayer ; 10 letters ; 12.30 visited ; 1 at brother Pine's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 letters ; 4.45 prayer, tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.30 writ narrative ; 7.30 Pen[ry], at Mr. Ca[stleman's] supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.45.

Sunday 20

4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayed ; 9.30 prayers, John viii. 12, communion ; 12.45 dinner, conversed, chaise ; 2 at the S[chool], Mark iv. 3, chaise ; 3.30 prayed, tea ; 5 Psa. ciii. 13, society, letter ; 8 supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 21

4 Prayed, Eph. vi. 11, letter ; 7 in the [—] ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 writ for Conf[erence] ; 12 select society ; 1 at R. Lewis's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 chaise ; 4.30 at brother Tim[b—]'s ; 5 prayed, tea ; 6.30 Job iii. 17, society, conversed, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Matt. xix. 6, Psa. lv. 6.

Tuesday 22

4 Prayed, Psa. cvi. 24, the leaders ; 7 Conf[erence] ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 Conf[erence] ; 12 visited ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2.15 Conf[erence] ; 4.15 prayed, visited, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 2 Cor. iv. 18 ! society, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.45.

Wednesday 23

4.15 Prayed, 1 Cor. vii. 35, chaise ; 8.15 at Mr. Thomas's, tea, conversed, prayer, coach ; 10 writ for Conf[erence] ; 1 at brother Stock's, dinner, conversed, within ; 4 prayed ; 5.15 at brother Fr[—], tea, conversed, visited ; 6.30 John v. 8 ! visited ; 8 at Miss J[ohnson's], supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 24

4 Prayed, letter ; 6 coach, Blaise Castle, walk, tea, coach, K[ings] Westo[n] ; 10 walk ; 11 coach ; 12 on business, visited some ; 2.15 at Mr. Durb[in's], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 4 on business ; 5 prayer, tea, conversed ; 5.30 on business, prayer ; 6.30 read Account, Clifton, supper, prayer ; 9.45.

¹ For another visit to Blaise Castle, seat at King's Weston, see below, including an account of Lord de Clifford's Sept. 27, 1788.

wards we took a view of Lord de Clifford's woods at King's Weston. They are amazingly beautiful: I have seen nothing equal to them in the west of England, and very few in any other parts. In the evening I read to the congregation an account of our brethren in Holland, and many thanksgivings were rendered to God on their account.

Tues. 29.—Our Conference began, at which two important points were considered: first, the case of Birstall House,¹ and, secondly, the state of Kingswood School.² With regard to the

Friday 25

- 4 Prayed, writ Conf[erence]; 8 tea, conversed, Conf[erence], letters; 3 dinner, Dr. Coke, etc.; 4 within; 5 tea, garden; 9 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Saturday 26

- 4 Prayed, Dr. Coke, in talk for Conf[erence]; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, writ Conf[erence]; 11 visited many; 1 at J[ohn] Ell[ison's] [his nephew], dinner, conversed; 3 on business, prayer; 5 tea, conversed, letters, within; 8 at Mr. Ca[sstleman's] supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Sunday 27

- 4 Prayed, on business; 6 chaise, Bris[ing]t[on], tea, coach; 9 Bath, Conf[erence], prayers, Matt. v. 20, communion; 1.30 at brother Sims, dinner, sleep, prayed; 2.30 Tit. ii. 12, tea within chaise, visited; 7.45 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30. Hot.

Monday 28

- 4 Prayed, Zech. vi. 8! writ Conf[erence] in the [—]; 8 tea, Conf[erence], letter; 1 at brother Colmer's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2 read, letters; 5 prayer, tea, prayed; 6.30 Jer. vi. 16, at sister Jo[h]nson's, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 29

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. vii. 35, Conf[erence]; 8 tea, conversed; 9 Conf[erence]; 12 in the [—]; 1 dinner; 2 Conf[erence]; 4.30 tea, conversed; 5.30 prayed; 6.30 Acts ii. 4, the leaders; 8 at sister Jo[h]nson's, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ For an account of this remarkable case see above, p. 364. See also below, pp. 443–4, for his mission to Birstall.

² For a full description of the deplorable state of Kingswood School at this time see Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 397; *Minutes of Conference*, 1783;

Life of Adam Clarke, 1833, vol. i. pp. 153–68; and *Hist. of Kingswood School*, pp. 71–9. John Valton was the clerk to this Conference. See *E.M.P.* vol. vi. p. 112, or *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. vi. p. 92. See also excerpts from Valton's manuscript Journal (*W.H.S.* vol. viii. pp. 33, 34).

former, our brethren earnestly desired that I would go to Birstall myself, believing this would be the most effectual way of bringing the trustees to reason. With regard to the latter, we all agreed that either the school should cease or the rules of it be punctually observed, particularly that the children should never play, and that a master should be always present with them.¹

AUG. 5, *Tues.*²—Early in the morning I was seized with a most impetuous flux. In a few hours it was joined by a

Wednesday 30

- 4 Prayed, Acts ii. 4, Conf[erence]; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 Conf[erence]; 12 on business; 1 at brother Green's, dinner, conversed, letters; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 Isa. v. 4, on business; 8 at sister Jo[hanson's] supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 31

- 4 Prayed, writ narrative; 6 Conf[erence], tea, Conf[erence]; 12 letters; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 Conf[erence]; 4.30 within to many; 5 tea, prayed, writ narrative; 6.30 Mark iii. 35, the bands; 8.30 at sister Jo[hanson's] supper, together; 9.30.

AUGUST 1, *Friday*

- 4 Prayed, writ Conf[erence]; 6 Conf[erence]; 8 writ narrative; 9 Conf[erence]; 12.30 writ Conf[erence]; 1 prayer; 2 dinner, together; 3 Conf[erence]; 4.15 writ Conf[erence]; 5 tea, conversed, prayed, writ narrative; 6.30 2 Tim. iii. 5! within, to many, at sister Jo[hanson's], supper, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 2

- 4 Prayed, letter; 6 Conf[erence]; 8 tea, conversed; 9 Conf[erence]; 12 writ narrative; 1 dinner, writ letters; 4.15 visited some; 6 at Miss Jo[hanson's], writ letters; 8 supper, conversed, prayer, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 3

- 4 Ill, prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, on business; 9.30 prayers, Acts i. 5! communion; 1 at brother Ewer's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 sleep, prayed, tea; 5 Heb. vi. 1, society, at Mr. Ca[stleman's] supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30 lay down; 1 ill.

Tuesday 5

- 4 Ill; 5 Col. i. 26, ill, Mr. Dyer, lay down, [—]; 11 class, took jalap, Dr. Drummond, within, Mr. Gold; 6 tea, within; lay down.

¹ On Sunday, Aug. 3, Adam Clarke heard seven sermons; he also heard Wesley read in the society meeting, held after the service in the new room, a part of his Journal relative to his late visit to Holland. See Etheridge's *Life of Clarke*, p. 69.

² Pawson says: 'We were obliged to do a considerable part of our [Conference] business without him' (*Wesley's Veterans*, vol. iv. p. 57, or *E.M.P.* vol. iv. p. 50). The Dr. Drummond who attended Wesley is named in a letter of Charles Wesley's (*Journal*, vol. ii. p. 261).

violent and almost continual cramp, first in my feet, legs, thighs, then in my side and my throat. The case being judged extreme, a grain and a half of opium was given me in three doses. This speedily stopped the cramp, but at the same time took away my speech, hearing, and power of motion, and locked me up from head to foot, so that I lay a mere log. I then sent for Dr. Drummond, who from that time attended me twice a day. For some days I was worse and worse, till on *Friday* I was removed to Mr. Castleman's.¹ Still my head was not affected, and I had no pain, although in a continual fever. But I continued slowly to recover, so that I could read or write an hour or two at

Wednesday 6

- 6 Many called, tea, within, Dr[ummond], Mr. Gold, stupefied ! 2 lay down ; 4 tea, within, Dr. Drummond, Gold ; 8.30 prayer, lay down. [The entries are confused ; but the sense, no doubt, is as above].

Thursday 7

- 7 Tea, within, on business, Dr. Drummond, Mr. Goole [—], within, several called, read Mr. Smyth's letters ! 4.30 tea, conversed, broth ; 9.

Friday 8

- 7 Prayed, tea, conversed, writ to A. B. ; 8 writ diary ; 11 chaise ; 1 dinner, read, sister S[—] ; 5 tea, within, supper ; 8.30 prayer, lay down.

Saturday 9

- 7 Tea, within ; 11.30 chaise, with sister Boon ; 12.30 within ; 1 dinner, writ letters ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 8 supper, conversed ; 9.30.

Sunday 10

- 6 Prayed, sleep, tea, writ letter, sleep ; 11.30 chaise, with Mr. Brackenb[ury] ; 1 dinner, sleep ; 4 conversed ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.30 sleep ; 8.30 supper ; 9.

Monday 11

- 5 Prayed ; 6 sleep ; 8.30 tea, within, sleep ; 12.30 chaise, with Mr. Brackenb[ury] ; 1.45 dinner ; 3 read ; 3.30 sleep ; 4.30 prayed, tea, conversed, read ; 8.30 supper, prayer ; 10.

Tuesday 12

- 5 Prayed ; 6 sleep ; 7.30 within, tea, conversed, read ; 10 lay down ; 12 chaise ; 2 dinner, conversed, sleep ; 5 prayed, tea, read ; 8 supper, conversed ; 9.45.

¹ No. 6, Dighton Street, King Square. He was one of the surgeons of the Bristol Infirmary. See *W.H.S.* vol. ii. p. 103.

a time. On *Wednesday* the 13th I took a vomit, which almost shook me to pieces ; but, however, did me good.¹

Sunday the 17th, and all the following week, my fever gradually abated, but I had a continual thirst and little or no increase

Wednesday 13

- 5 Prayed ; 6 sleep, walk ; 8 conversed, tea, read ; 11 walk, coach, sleep ; 2 dinner, within ; 3.30 sleep ; 4.15 vomit ; 5.30 sleep, ill ; 8.30 supper ; 9.

Thursday 14

- 5 Prayed ; 6 sleep ; 7 read, walk ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 read ; 10 sleep ; 11 read, within to many ; 12 chaise, Hotwells, chaise ; 2 dinner within, sleep ; 4, read, walk ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, read ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9 could not sleep ; 12.

Friday 15

- 6 Prayed, walk ; 8 tea, conversed, sleep ; 9 read ; 10.30 visited ; 11.45 chaise ; 2 dinner ; 3.30 sleep ; 4 prayed, walk ; 5.15 tea, within, read ; 8.15 supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 16

- 5 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, chaise ; 9.30 letters, within to many ; 2 dinner, within ; 3 letters, prayer, walk ; 5 at brother Hick's, Mr. Sulger, etc., tea, conversed ; 6.30 letters ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Sunday 17

- 5.15 Prayed, letter ; 8 tea, conversed, chaise ; 10.30 letters, read ; 1.30 dinner, letter ; 3.30 prayed ; 4 tea, conversed, Mag. ; 6.30 walk ; 7.30, supper, within to many ; 9 prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 18

- 4.30 Ill, sleep ; 6 Mag. ; 8 at brother White's tea, conversed, prayer, chaise, with sister Ca[stleman] ; 10.45 Mag. ; 1 at sister Johnso[n's] dinner, conversed, prayer, letters ; 4 at sister Chapman's ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 read, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 19

- 4.15 Prayed, writ Journal ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, chaise, visited ; 11 letters, sermon ; at 1 brother Powel's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 prayed, letter ; 4.30 chaise ; Bedm[inste]r, tea, within, walk ; 7.30 prayed, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 20

- 4 Prayed, sleep, sermon ; 7.30 chaise ; 8.30 at Mr. Ireland's, tea, conversed, garden ; 10, prayer ; 10.15 chaise ; 11.30 at home, writ sermon, letter ; 2 dinner, conversed, sermon, prayed ; 4.30 walk, at brother Lewis's, tea, conversed, prayer, read, meditation ; 8 supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ On Aug. 15 he wrote from Bristol to Thomas Welch of Coventry, who had applied for an English mastership at Kingswood (*Meth. Mag.* 1817, p. 324).

of strength. Nevertheless, being unwilling to be idle, on *Saturday* the 23rd I spent an hour with the penitents, and, finding myself no worse, on *Sunday* the 24th I preached at the New Room morning and afternoon. Finding my strength was now in some measure restored, I determined to delay no longer, but, setting out on *Monday* the 25th, reached Gloucester in the afternoon. In the evening I preached in the town-hall, I believe not in vain.

Tues. 26.—I went on to Worcester, where many young people are just setting out in the ways of God. I joined fifteen

Thursday 21

- 4 Sleep, prayed ; 6 sermon ; 8 tea ; 8.30 chaise, Hotwells ; 10 sermon ; 11 letter, sermon ; 1 at sister Dyer's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 sleep ; 3.15 prayed ; 4 chaise, with sister Roberts ; 5 the Cupolas, garden ; 5.30 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 chaise ; 7.30 at Mr Cas[tleman's], prayed, supper, conversed, Dr. Coke, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 22

- 4 Prayed, sleep ; 6 sermon, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, sermon, within to many ; 2 chaise, Bedm[inste]r ; 2.30 dinner, conversed, garden, tea, chaise ; 6.30 prayed ; 8 supper, prayer.

Saturday 23

- 4 Prayed, sleep ; 6 sermon, letter ; 8 at brother Gee's, tea, conversed, prayer, visited ; 9.30 sermon, sleep ; 12 read ; 1 at John Ell[ison's], dinner, conversed, prayer, visited ; 3 letters, prayed ; 5 tea, conversed ; 6 read narrative ; 7.30 Pen[ry] ! supper, conversed, prayer, on business ; 10.

Sunday 24

- 4 Dress, sleep ; 5.30 prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, on business ; 9.30 prayers, Acts xxii. 16, communion ; 1 at Mr. Ca[s]tleman's], dinner, sleep ; 2 prayed, letters ; 4 tea, conversed ; 5 *Psa. cxvi. 12* ! society ; 7 at sister Ca[s]tleman's], visited ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 25

- 4 Prayed ; 5 chaise ; 6.30 Amesbury [Almondsbury], tea, conversed, prayer ; 7 chaise, Newp[ort], coffee ; 9.45 chaise ; 1 Glo[u]c[este]r, at sister Con[—]b[—], read narrative ; 2 dinner, conversed ; 3 read narrative, prayed ; 5 at brother Da[—]'s, tea, conversed ; 6 *Isa. lv. 6* ! supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 26

- 4 Prayed, 2 *Cor. ii. 2*, tea, prayer ; 7 chaise, Tewkesb[ury], tea, conversed, prayer, chaise ; 1.30 Worc[este]r, dinner, letters, prayed, tea, conversed ; 6 *Eph. iii. 14*, society ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

of them this afternoon to the society; all of them, I believe, athirst for salvation.

Wed. 27.—I preached at Birmingham, and had a comfortable season.

Thur. 28.—I paid another visit to the amiable family at Hilton Hall.¹

Fri. 29.—About ten I preached for the first time at Stafford² to a large and deeply attentive congregation. It is now the day

Wednesday 27

- 4 Prayed, Judges i. 27! letter, tea, prayer; 7.15 chaise; 9.45 tea, conversed; 10.45 chaise; 1.30 Birm[ingham], at Mr. Holden's, dinner, within; 3 within, prayed; 5 at sister Jones's, tea, conversed; 6 2 Tim. iii. 5, society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 28

- 4 Prayed, Psa. cvi. 24, letter, tea; 7.15 the chaise; 8.45 Wedn[esbury]; 9 tea, conversed, prayer; 10 chaise; 12.15 Hilton Hall, within; 4 dinner; 5 conversed, prayed together; 7 tea together; 10 supper, prayer; 11.

Friday 29

- 5 Prayed, tea, Miss G., conversed! 6.30 chaise; 9.30 Stafford, tea, 2 Cor. viii. 9! 11 chaise; 2.45 Newc[astle], dinner; 3.15 [—] chaise; 5.30 Congl[eton], tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Eph. iv. 1, society, supper, conversed; 9.30.

¹ See above, p. 401.

² At this date, apparently, a small society was in existence, the history of which may be in part ascertained and in part surmised from the very interesting story of Jeremiah Brettell. With his elder brother John he had been itinerating for nearly three years in Ireland, when he was appointed by Wesley to the Macclesfield circuit. It was a part of the country with which he and his family must have been quite familiar, for he was a Staffordshire man. It was a wide round, including the mountains of Derbyshire, the borders of Staffordshire, and all Cheshire. He was so far successful that Wesley took the somewhat unusual step, at that time (1779), of reappointing him, with his elder brother John, who was a true pioneer. They were successful in the old places of the circuit, and they introduced preaching

into new places. In passing through Stafford with Dr. Coke, who had a natural affinity for enterprising and romantic pioneers, they dined at an inn, and sent the bellman about the town to announce that the Rev. Dr. Coke, from Oxford, was going to preach in the market-place. Jeremiah Brettell borrowed a table from the innkeeper, which the little doctor mounted. The people stood afar off; but they listened, and some came to the inn afterwards asking that the preaching might be repeated. A little society was formed, which on at least three occasions Wesley visited. For the subsequent history of Methodism in Stafford see a note on John Kelsall, one of the first Methodists there, *W.M. Mag.* 1826, p. 427; *Meth. Rec.*, April 30, 1908; and, for Jeremiah Brettell, *W.M. Mag.* 1830, p. 649.

of small things here, but the grain of mustard-seed may grow up into a great tree. Hence I rode to Congleton. I had received abundance of complaints against the assistant of this circuit—James Rogers.¹

Sat. 30.—I heard all the parties face to face, and encouraged them all to speak their whole mind. I was surprised; so much prejudice, anger, and bitterness, on so slight occasions, I never saw. However, after they had had it out, they were much softened, if not quite reconciled.²

Sun. 31.—I preached in the new church at Macclesfield,³ both morning and afternoon. I believe we had seven hundred communicants.

SEPT. 1, Mon.—We clambered over the mountains to Buxton. In the afternoon I preached in Fairfield church,⁴ about

Saturday 30

4 Prayed, 1 Cor. vii. 35! letters; 8 tea, in talk; 10 chaise; 12.30 Mac[clesfield], writ narrative; 1.30 dinner, read; 4.30, prayed, visited, tea; 6.15 Isa. xxxviii. 15, within; 8, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Sunday 31

4.15 Prayed, writ narrative; 6 in talk! 9 tea; 10 prayers, 1 Kings v. 11! communion; 2 dinner; 3 read prayers, Rom. i. 16; 4.30 tea, in talk! 6.45 society, supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

SEPT. 1, Monday

4 Prayed, Mark iv. 27, writ narrative; 8 at brother Jo[hn]son's, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 visited some; 10.30 chaise; 1 Buxton, on business, dinner, conversed; 3 prayed; 4 prayers, Heb. ix. 27! tea, conversed; 6 walk, supper, prayer; 9.30.

¹ Acting under Wesley's instructions, with the approval of the Conference, James Rogers and his colleagues had divided the unwieldy Macclesfield circuit. 'But this, with some other amendments, such as furnishing the preacher's dwelling-house by subscription, changing the stewards, &c., gave deep offence to a few individuals; but the hearts of the people were united to their preachers.' See *Wesley's Veterans*, vol. vii. p. 163, or *E.M.P.* vol. iv. p. 315. It was during this appointment that James Rogers's first wife died, leaving him with two little boys. A year later he married Hester Ann, daughter of the Rev. James Roe.

² Wesley also preached on 'The Raising of the Ruler's Daughter,' with 'results beyond the society in Macclesfield. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 32.

³ Christ Church, of which the Rev. David Simpson was incumbent.

⁴ This 'church was removed in 1838 and a new one built in its place. Queen Elizabeth ordained that 'there should be one perpetual church at Fairfield.' Tradition says that Wesley preached also, probably in the early morning of the next day, in the home of Sawyer Smith, nearly opposite the church. (*Meth. Rec.* Winter No., 1899, p. 31.)

half a mile from the town ; it was thoroughly filled with serious and attentive hearers.

Tues. 2.—We went to Leeds, where I was glad to find several preachers.

*Wed. 3.*¹—I consulted the preachers how it was best to proceed with the trustees of Birstall House to prevail upon them to settle it on the Methodist plan. They all advised me to begin by preaching there. Accordingly, I preached on *Thursday* evening, and met the society. I preached again in the morning.

Fri. 5.—About nine I met the nineteen trustees, and, after exhorting them to peace and love, said : ‘ All that I desire is that this house may be settled on the Methodist plan ; and the same clause may be inserted in your Deed which is inserted in the Deed of the new chapel in London, viz. “ In case the doctrine or practice of any preacher should, in the opinion of the major part of the trustees, be not conformable to Mr. W[esley]’s *Sermons* and *Notes on the New Testament*, on representing this² another

Tuesday 2

3 Prayed, tea ; 4.15 chaise ; 6.30 Middleton ; 7.30 chaise ; 10 Shef[ield], 10 tea, conversed ; 11 chaise ; 1 Barns[ley], dinner ; 2 walk, chaise, Burnet ; 5.15 Leeds, tea, within, prayed ; 6.30 *Psa. cxvi. 12*, the preachers ! 1.30 at Mr. Hey’s, supper, within, prayers ; 9.45.

Wednesday 3

4.15 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 the preachers ! 11.30 writ narrative, at brother Flo.’s ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 3 prayed ; 4 E[lizabeth] R[itchie] ! ; 4.45 tea, conversed, prayer ; 5.45 prayed ; 6.30 *Matt. xxii. 37* ; 7.30 society, supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

Thursday 4

4 Prayed, 1 *Cor. vii. 35*, the leaders, letters ; 8.30 tea, prayer, letters ; 11 chaise ; 1 at John Tayl[or’s], dinner, within ; 3 letters, prayed, tea, chaise ; 6 *Psa. cxvi. 12* ! 7 chaise, Gom[ersal], supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 5

4 Prayed, *Eph. iv. 1*, etc., letters ; 7.30 tea, conversed ; 9 the Trustees ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2 the Trustees ! within to many ; 5 tea, prayed ; 6 *Matt. vii. 16* ! 7.30 prayed, supper, within, prayers ; 9.30.

¹ He wrote from Leeds to John Atlay (Tyerman’s *Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 404) ; and on the 6th to Robert Hall, junr., of Nottingham (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² In early editions the extract reads, ‘ To the nearest Assistants, after a proper hearing.’

preacher shall be sent within three months."'¹ Five of the trustees were willing to accept of our first proposals; the rest were not willing.²

Saturday 6

- 4 Prayed, Eph. iv. 30, writ Journal; 7 tea, within, chaise; 9 Leeds, letters; 1 at sister Claph[am's], dinner, conversed, prayer, chaise; 4 Leeds, prayed, tea, conversed, prayed; 6.30 Acts ii. 5, select society, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Sunday 7

- 4 Prayed, letter; 7 Phil. i. 21 ! on business, tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 chaise; 11 Birst[all], writ narrative; 12 dinner, conversed; 1 Matt. viii. 2, chaise; 4.30 Halifax; 5 tea, Rom. viii. 33, society, prayed, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Monday 8

- 4 Prayed, tea, prayer; 5 chaise; 9 Rochdale, tea, conversed; 10.30 chaise; 12.45 Manc[hester], letters; 2 dinner, conversed; 3 writ narrative; 4 prayed; 5 tea, conversed; 6 2 Tim. iii. 5, society within, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 9

- 4 Prayed, 2 Tim. iii. 4, on business, tea, conversed, prayer; 7.30 chaise; 9 at [—], M[—], tea, conversed, prayer; 10 chaise; 12.15 Mac[clesfiel]d, dinner, conversed; 2 chaise; 4.15 Co[n]gleton, tea; 5 chaise; 6.30 New[castle], tea, Heb. ix. 27, supper, prayer; 9.30.

¹ The Deed of the original chapel (1751) gave the right of appointment to John and Charles Wesley in succession, and then to Grimshaw of Haworth. After their decease the trustees were to elect their own preachers monthly. The Deed of the new chapel (1782) gave the pulpit, also the right of appointment, to John and Charles Wesley. After their death the power of appointment was given to the trustees and to class-leaders of three years' standing within nine neighbouring villages. 'Provided always that the said preachers preached no other doctrine than is contained in Mr. Wesley's notes upon the Old and New Testament.' See an article of the highest importance, by the Rev. Dr. J. S. Simon, with facsimile illustrations, on 'Wesley's Notes on the New Testament' (*W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 97); also, in the same number, an article by the Rev. A. W. Harrison (p. 105) on the Greek text of Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament*.

² Ten days later Coke wrote to Benson

referring to this meeting, at which both Benson and Coke were present. Wesley told the trustees that he wished the chapel to be settled according to the Methodist plan contained in the *Minutes of Conference*. He offered to allow the City Road clause to be inserted in the Deed; to relieve the trustees of their three hundred and fifty pounds debt; to give a hundred pounds himself, and to give the piece of ground which Dr. Coke had purchased for the site of another chapel. The dissentient trustees took time to think. Eventually Wesley's good temper and gracious generosity conquered, and on Jan. 13 in the year following the trustees consented, and a new Deed was drawn giving to the Conference the power to appoint preachers. But the final and greatest result—a result affecting for good the whole future of Methodism—was the Deed of Declaration. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 373–82; also above, p. 364.

Although I could not obtain the end proposed, and in that respect had only my labour for my pains, yet I do not at all repent of my journey. I have done my part; let others bear their own burden. Going back nearly the same way I came,¹ on *Saturday* the 13th I reached Bristol. I had likewise good

Wednesday 10

- 4 Prayed, tea; 5 chaise, Staff[ord], chaise; 1.15 Wedn[esbury], dinner, Acts i. 5; 3 chaise; 4.30 Bu[rslem], tea, conversed, prayed, letters, tea, prayed; 7 Matt. vii. 16! 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30. Luke x. 37, Job vii. 18.

Thursday 11

- 4 Prayed, letter; 5 2 Tim. iii. 4, letters, tea; 7.30 chaise, Bromsgro[ve]; 10 tea, conversed, chaise; 2 Worc[este]r, dinner, conversed; 3 on business, within, prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Acts i. 5! society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 12

- 4 Prayed, tea; 5 15 chaise; 8.45 Tewk[es]b[ury]; 9 1 Pet. iv. 18; 10 chaise; 1 Glo[uce]ster, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 chaise; 4.45 letter, prayed; 6.30 1 Cor. i. 23, society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 13

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. 8, chaise, Dr[—]ford, tea, conversed, prayer; 8 chaise, Newp[ort]; 10 tea; 11 chaise; 1 Amesbury [Almondsbury], dinner, conversed, prayer, chaise; 4 at home, on business, prayed; 5 prayer, at Miss Jo[h]nson's, tea, conversed; 6 prayed, letters, supper, prayer, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 14

- 4 Prayed, letters, Journal, tea; 9.30 read prayers, Luke x. 24! communion; 1 at sister Jo[h]nson's, dinner, conversed; 2 Journal, sleep, prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 5 Luke x. 37, society, read narrative, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 15

- 4 Prayed, Edwards, writ narrative; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 Mag.; 12 select society; 1 at Mr. Pine's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 sleep, Journal; 3.30 prayed; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 5 at sister Coll[inson], conversed, prayer; 6 within, prayed; 6.30 1 John ii. 15, leaders, supper, prayer; 9.30.

¹ Benson writes in his unpublished diary:

Sept. 7.—Mr. Wesley preached a useful Sermon on 'Who shall lay anything to the

charge of God's elect?' and afterwards gave an account of his tour through Holland. . . . Mr. Wesley baptized our little child, whom we have named John, after my father. (*Manuscript Life of Benson.*)

reward for my labour, in the recovery of my health, by a journey of five or six hundred miles.¹

On *Wednesday* the 17th and the two following days I visited several of the country societies, and found most of them, not only increasing in number, but in the knowledge and love of God.

Tuesday 16

1 at brother S[—], dinner, conversed, prayer, Mag., visited ; 7 Job vii. 18, at Mr. Ca[stleman's], supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 17

4 Prayed, letters ; 8 at brother Rob., tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.30 chaise ; 12 Ba[th], dinner, conversed ; 1 Eph. ii. 12, chaise ; 4 Bradf[ord], within, tea, prayed ; 6 Matt. vii. 6, society, at Mr. Ball's, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 18

4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 15 ! within, tea, conversed, chaise ; 8 Trowbridg[e], tea, conversed ; 9 Luke x. 42, society, chaise ; 4 Hanna[m], dinner, conversed, prayer, chaise ; 4.30 on business ; 5 prayer, tea, prayed ; 7 Luke xviii. 25 ! the bands, at brother Ca[stleman's], supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 19

4 Prayed, letters, tea, letters ; 12 the females ; 1 prayer, at Mr. Durb[in's], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 4 chaise ; 5 at the S[chool], within, tea, prayed ; 8 supper ; 8.30 Acts i. 5 ! coffee, prayer ; 10.

Saturday 20

6 Prayed, the leaders, children ; 7 the accounts ; 8.15 chaise ; 9.30 at home, letters, walk ; 1 at sister Morg[an's], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 visited some, prayed ; 5 at sister Marsto[n]'s, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 2 Cor. iv. 7 ! Pen[ry], conversed, at sister Jo[hanson's], supper, on business, prayer ; 9.30.

Luke xviii. 25 ; Matt. xi. 10 ; Matt. vi. 22 ; Luke x. 37.

Sunday 21

4.30 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayed, [cipher] ∞ ; 9.30 read prayers, 2 Cor. iv. 2 ! communion ; 1 at sister Ew[—], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 sleep, prayed, tea, conversed ; 5 2 Cor. iv. 5, society, Taylor, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 22

4 Prayed, Edwa[rds] ; 6 class ; 8 tea, conversed ; 9 class ; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 class ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, read narrative, prayed ; 7 Jam. ii. 5 ; 8.30 at Mr. Ca[stleman's], supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.45.

¹ He refers to his journey to Birstall, undertaken at the request of the Conference. See above, July 29.

Fri. 26.—Observing the deep poverty¹ of many of our brethren, I determined to do what I could for their relief. I spoke severally to some that were in good circumstances, and received about forty pounds. Next I inquired who were in the most pressing want, and visited them at their own houses. I was surprised to find no murmuring spirits among them, but many that were truly happy in God; and all of them appeared to be exceeding thankful for the scanty relief which they received.

Sun. 28.—It being a fair day, I snatched the opportunity of

Tuesday 23

- 4 Prayed, read narrative; 6 class; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 class; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2 class; 4.30 on business; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6.30 read the letters, the leaders, at sister Jo[hnson's]; 9 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Wednesday 24

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 at brother Cap.'s, tea, letters; 11 class; 1 dinner; 2 class, tea; 5 Ja[cob's] Well, Matt. viii. 2! class, chaise, prayed; 8 at brother Ca[stleman's], supper, conversed; 9 prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 25

- 4 Prayed, writ society; 8 tea, conversed, writ society; 10 sat the [—], chaise; 12 Ames[bury] [Almondsbury], Acts xxii. 16, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 chaise; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer, at Co[lston's] Sc[hool]; 6.15 prayed; 7 Mic. ii. 10, the bands, at Sister Jo[hnson's], supper, prayer; 9.45.

Friday 26

- 4 Prayed, writ society; 12 the females, writ society; 1 prayer, visited, at brother Sand[ers]; 3 dinner, visited some; 4.30 tea, conversed, chaise; 6.15 at the S[chool] in talk, prayer, writ society; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 27

- 4 Prayed, writ society; 6 the children, writ society, tea; 8 chaise, writ the bands, letters; 1 at brother Green's, dinner, prayer; 2 visited man; 5 at sister Ledia[r'd's], tea, conversed, prayer; 6 Matt. vi. 22! Pen[ry], at sister Ca[stleman's], supper, prayer, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 28

- 4 Prayed, writ narrative, letters, tea, on business, prayed; 9.30 read prayers, Mark i. 15! communion; 1 dinner; 2 sleep, writ narrative, prayed; 4 tea, prayed; 5 Gal. vi. 15, society, read; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ See Latimer's *Bristol*, p. 454.

preaching abroad to twice or thrice as many as the room would have contained.

OCT. 1, *Wed.*—I preached at Bath, to such a congregation as I have not seen there of a long season. All my leisure hours this week I employed in visiting the remaining poor, and in begging for them. Having collected about fifty pounds more, I was enabled to relieve most of those that were in pressing distress.¹

Monday 29

- 4 Prayed, Jer. xxxv., letters, tea, letters ; 11.30 read, select society ; 1 at brother Burgess's, dinner, conversed, visited many ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 preached ; 7 Matt. vi. 23, singers ; 8.30 at sister Jo[h]nson's], supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.45.

Tuesday 30

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 letters ; 12 on business ; 1 at sister Lewis's, dinner, within ; 2.30 visited many ; 5 at sister R——, tea, conversed, prayer ; 5.30 prayed ; 6.30 Matt. vi. 22, the leaders ; 8.15 at sister Ca[stleman's], supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Matt. vi. 33 ; Jas. ii. 5.

OCT. 1, *Wednesday*

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters, on business ; 12 chaise, Hannam, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3.30 chaise ; 5 at brother Timbr., prayed, at brother Rog[ers's], christened, tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.15 Mic. ii. 10 ; 8 at brother Syme's, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 2

- 4 Prayed, Matt. vi. 22, read B[isho]p Wilso[n] ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, read ; 10 chaise, Keyn[sham] ; 11.30 at Miss B[ishop's], read ; 12 1 Pet. iv. 18, conversed ; 2 dinner, the children, prayer ; 3 chaise, at Mr. J., visited ; 4 tea, chaise ; 5 visited, prayed ; 7 Matt. vi. 34, the bands, at sister J[ohnson's], supper, prayer ; 9.45.

Friday 3

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, visited, letters ; 12 the females [cipher] ♀ ; 1 prayer, within to many ; 2.30 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3.30 visited, chaise, at the S[chool, i.e. Kingswood], within, the chaise ; 6 at sister Hodg[es'], tea, conversed ; 6.30 1 Cor. xiii. 13 ! 8 at Mr. Ca[stleman's], supper, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ On Oct. 2 he wrote from London a pastoral note to an unnamed member of society (new ed. *Wesley Letters*) ; on the 3rd from Bristol to Mrs. Howton, of Worcester : 'It is the glory of the people called Methodists that they condemn none for their opinions or modes of worship. They think and let think'

(*W.H.S.* vol. ii. p. 121). On the same day he wrote to the Preachers in America, through Mr. Jesse Lee (see Strickland's *Life and Times of Asbury*, Eng. ed. p. 56, or *Stevens's Hist. of the M.E. Church*, vol. ii. p. 131), a remarkable encyclical ; and about the same date to Robert Hopkins (*W.H.S.* vol. vi. p. 41).

Mon. 6.—Leaving the society in a more prosperous way than it had been for several years, I preached in the Devizes about noon, and at Sarum in the evening. Captain Webb lately kindled a flame here, and it is not yet gone out.¹ Several persons were still rejoicing in God, and the people in general were much quickened.

Tues. 7.—I found his preaching in the street at Winchester had been blessed greatly. Many were more or less convinced of sin, and several had found peace with God. I never saw the preaching-house so crowded before with serious and attentive hearers. So was that at Portsmouth also.

Wed. 8.—We took a wherry for the Isle of Wight. Before we were half over, the sea rose, and the water washed over us. However, we got safe to Wootton Bridge, and then walked on to

Saturday 4

- 4 Prayed, letters, on business ; 8 tea, conversed, visited ; 9.30 writ Journal ; 12.30 visited ; 1 at sister Lank ; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer, visited ; 2.30 on business, prayed ; 4 visited many ; 6 Jer. xxxv. ult., Pen[ry] ; 8 at sister Jo[hanson's], supper, conversed, on business prayer ; 9.30.

Sunday 5

- 4 Prayed, letters, at brother Chapm[an's], conversed, tea, prayer, on business, prayed ; 9.30 read prayers, Eph. iii. 14 ; 11 communion ; 1 at brother Cross's, dinner, conversed, sleep, letter, prayed ; 4 tea, prayed ; 5 Mal. iv. 2 ; 6 society, the singers ; 8, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 6

- 3.15 Prayed, coffee ; 4 chaise ; 6 B[—], tea ; 6.45 chaise ; 10 Devizes, within ; 11 1 Sam. xxi. 8, at Mr. Bail[ey's], dinner ; 1 chaise ; 4.30 Sarum ; 5 tea, prayed ; 6.30 Mic. ii. 10, society, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.45.

Tuesday 7

- 4 Prayed ; 5 tea ; 6.30 chaise ; 10 Winch[ester], on business, letters ; 11 Matt. vii. 24 ! dinner, prayer ; 1.30 chaise ; 5.45 Portsm[outh], at brother Sing[er's], tea, conversed ; 6.30 Matt. vi. 22 ! society ! supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 8

- 4 Prayed, Job vii. 18 ; on business ; at sister Paulb[y]'s, tea, conversed ; 8.30 boat ; 11 Woodden Bri[dge], walk ; 12.30 at Mr. Clark's, conversed ; 2 dinner ; 3 prayed, letters ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.30 Matt. xi. 28 ! society, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ See above, p. 295.

Newport. There is much life among the people here ; and they walk worthy of their profession.

Thur. 9.—I went to Newtown¹ (two miles from Newport), supposed to be the oldest town in the isle ; but its glory is past ! The church lies in ruins, and the town has scarce six houses remaining. However, the preaching-house was thoroughly filled ; and the people appeared to be all of one rank—none rich and none extremely poor ; but all were extremely serious and attentive.

Fri. 10.—I crossed over to Southampton, and found two or three there also who feared and loved God. Then I went to Winchester, and had the pleasure of dining with Mr. Lowth² and supping with Mrs. Blackwell. Her six lovely children are in admirable order ; it is a pleasure to see them. A clergyman having offered me his church, I purposed beginning at five ; but the key was not to be found, so I made a virtue of necessity, and preached near the Cross Street ; probably to double the congregation which would have been in the church.

Many of the Dutch prisoners³ remaining here, I paid them a short visit. When they were brought hither first, one of them prayed with as many as desired it, and gave them a word of exhortation. Presently one found peace with God, and joined him in that labour of love. These increased, so that they have now five exhorters ; many are justified, and many more con-

Thursday 9

- 4 Prayed, Matt. xii. 43 ! letters ; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, letters ; 12.45 dinner, chaise ; 3 Newtown, ruins ; Isa. lv. 6, chaise ; 6 at Mr. W. Clark's, tea, conversed ; 6.30 Matt. vii. 14 ; society ! supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 10

- 4 Prayed, Heb. viii. 10, tea, coach, Cowes ; 7.30 boat ; 10.30 South[ampto]n ; 11 chaise ; 12 Winton [the ecclesiastical name for Winchester], letters ; 2 at Mr. Low[th]'s, dinner, conversed, visited ; 5 2 Cor. viii. 9 ; 6 at Mrs. Blackw[ell]'s, tea, within ; 8 supper ; 8.30 at brother W[—]'s ; 9 prayer ; 9.30.

¹ Anciently called Franchville, on a bay between Yarmouth and West Cowes. It was burnt down twice, by the Danes, and, later, by the French. But until the Reform Bill of 1832 it continued to send two members to Parliament.

² Cf. above, p. 175, when he dined with Bishop Lowth. Mr. Lowth may

have been a brother of the Bishop of London (whose birthplace was Winchester) and the father of Mrs. Blackwell. The Bishop's father was a prebendary of Winchester.

³ They were confined in the incom-
pleted royal palace.

vinced of sin. About two hundred of them were met together when I came. They first sung a hymn in their own language; I then gave them a short exhortation in English, for which they were extremely thankful.

Sat. 11.—Just at twelve (the same hour as at Bristol), I was taken exceeding ill, and so continued till three. I then took chaise, as I had appointed, and was better and better every stage, and quite well when I came to London.

Mon. 13.—I preached at Wallingford.¹

Tues. 14.—I went on to Oxford, and found both the congregation and society increased in zeal as well as in number.

Wed. 15.—I came to Witney. The flame which was kindled here by that providential storm of thunder and lightning is not

Saturday 11

2.30 Prayer; 3 chaise, ill, Farnham, tea, chaise; 11 Stayn [Staines], Charles [—], within; 12.45 dinner; 2 coach; 5.30 at home, tea, letters; 7.45 supper, within, prayer, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 12²

4 Prayed, letter, on business; 7.30 walk, Cha[pe]l³; 9.30 prayers, Eph. iv. 3, communion; 1.30 at brother Horton's, dinner, conversed, coach, the leaders, tea, prayed; 5 read prayers, Ez. xviii. 32; 6 society, writ narrative, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 13

4 Letter, tea; 6 coach, Colebrook, tea, conversed, coach, Shakesp[ea]re; 2.30 Wallingford, dinner, within; 3.30 letters; 5 tea, prayed; 6.30 Gal. vi. 14! 8 supper, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 14

4 Prayed, Matt. xii. 43! letters; 8 tea, letters; 12 dinner, conversed; 1.30 chaise; 3 Oxon, on business, walk; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6.30 Phil. iii. 8; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 15

4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xii. 31, letter; 7 walk; 8 tea, read, walk; 11 chaise; 12.45 W[itney]; 1 within to A. B., letter; 2 dinner, conversed, letters; 4 prayed, garden; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6.30 Phil i. 21, Mal. ii. 10! society, at sister [—], supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ He wrote to Jasper Winscom (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² He wrote from London to 'A Member of Society' who had recently voyaged to a situation in Dublin (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

³ After the building of City Road Chapel, Wesley's almost invariable rule in his diary was still to write the word 'Chapel' for 'West Street.' When he wishes to indicate City Road Chapel he uses the phrase 'new chapel.'

extinguished, but has continued ever since, with no discernible intermission. The preaching-house is still too small for the congregation.

Thur. 16.—I preached at High Wycombe, and on *Friday* returned to London.

Sun. 19.—I took the diligence for Norwich, and preached there the next evening to more than the house would contain; and both this night and the following we sensibly felt that God was in the midst of us.

Wed. 22.¹—I went to Yarmouth. Often this poor society

Thursday 16

- 4 Prayed, Job vii. 18, chaise, Oxon, tea, chaise; 12 Wycomb[e], letters; 2 dinner, letters; 4 prayed, tea, prayer; 6.30 Mic. ii. 10, society supper, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 17

- 4 Prayed, Psa. cvi. 24, tea, conversed, prayer; 7 chaise; 11.30 at home, letters; 3 dinner; 3.30 letters; 5 tea, prayed, letters; 8 supper, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 18

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 letters; 12 conversed to Ch[arles], walk; 1 dinner Charles [senior], Cha[rl]es [junior], and Sam[uel] together; 3 letters; 4.30 tea, prayed, Mag.; 8 supper, Mag., on business; 9.30.

Sunday 19

- 4 Prayed, on business, letters, Sp[italfields]; 9.30 prayers, Matt. xxii. 39, communion, at brother Dup[lex's]; 1 dinner, conversed, sleep, letter, prayed, the leaders; 4 tea, prayed; 5 Gal. v. 5, society; 7 on business, at brother Wal[—], supper, conversed; 9.30 dilig[ence].

Monday 20

- 5.30 Prayed, read narrative; 7 New[m]arket, tea, dil[igence], Shakesp[eare]; 3 at Dr. H[unt's], dinner, conversed, Mag.; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Psa. cxvi. 12! 8 at Dr. Hu[nt's], supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 21

- 4 Prayed, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 sermon; 12 walk; 1 dinner; 2.15 sermon, prayed; 5 tea, prayed; 6.30 Matt. xix. 6, the leaders; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.
Luke xii. 7.

Wednesday 22

- 4.30 Psa. cvi. 24! sermon, tea; 8 coach; 12 Yarmouth, walk; 1 at brother Hindm[arsh's]! dinner, conversed; 2 sermon, prayed; 4.45 at brother Warre[n's]; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 1 Cor. i. 24! society, supper conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ He wrote to Mrs. Bradburn (*W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 90).

had been wellnigh shattered in pieces; first, by Benjamin Worship, then a furious Calvinist, tearing away near half of them; next, by John Simpson turning Antinomian, and scattering most that were left. It has pleased God, contrary to all human probability, to raise a new society out of the dust; nay, and to give them courage to build a new preaching-house, which is well finished, and contains about five hundred persons. I opened it this evening; and as many as could get in seemed to be deeply affected. Who knows but God is about to repair the waste places, and to gather a people that shall be scattered no more? ¹

Thur. 23.—We went to Lowestoft, where the people have stood firm from the beginning. Observing in the evening that forty or fifty people were talking together, as soon as the service was over (a miserable custom that prevails in most places of public worship throughout England and Ireland), I strongly warned the congregation against it; as I had done those at Norwich and Yarmouth. They received it in love; and the next evening all went silently away. But this warning must be given again and again in every place, or it will not be effectual.

Thursday 23

- 4 Heb. vii. 25, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 sermon; 10 chaise; 11.30 Lostoffe [Lowestoft]; 12 read, on business, walk; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 sermon, [cipher] ♫; 3.30 read narrative, prayed, visited, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayed; 6.30 2 Cor. iv. 18! society; 8 supper, together, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 24

- 4 Prayed, Journal; 6 Eph. vi. 11, Journal; 10 accounts, Mag.; 12 walk; 1 at brother Maliet's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 Mag.; 4 prayed; 5 tea, conversed; 6 prayed, Matt. v. 20! society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ James Wood, writing in the *W.M. Mag.* (1825, p. 308), tells the story of Yarmouth Methodism from the day when Howell Harris, as an officer in command of a company of volunteers attached to a regiment of the line, tricked the mob and preached surrounded by his armed men. The first chapel, Benjamin Worship the attorney, John Simpson the

woollen draper, King, a brazier, the new beginning in 1780 under James Wood himself, and the subsequent history down to the building of this new preaching-house, these are all fully treated in an account which is a model of exact and interesting local history. See above, p. 338; vol. v. p. 153; and Wadmough's *Yarmouth Methodism* (1825).

Sat. 25.—I preached in Lowestoft at five ; at eight to an earnest, lively people at Cove ; and at one to a more numerous, but not more lively, congregation at Loddon. The most numerous was that at Norwich¹ in the evening, many of whom were truly alive to God.

Sun. 26.—I gave the sacrament at seven ; at nine I preached at Ber Street, where I am in hopes considerable good will be done. The most serious congregation in our house we had at two, but the most numerous at six ; though not above half of those that came could get in. Those that could hear did not lose their labour ; for God ‘satisfied the hungry with good things.’

Mon. 27.—I talked at large with M. F. Such a case I have not known before. She has been in the society nearly from the beginning. She found peace with God five-and-thirty years ago ; and the pure love of God a few years after. Above twenty years she has been a class and a band leader, and of very eminent use. Ten months since she was accused of drunkenness, and of revealing the secret of her friend. Being informed of this, I wrote to Norwich (as I then believed the charge), that she must be no longer a leader, either of a band or a class. The preacher told her further that, in his judgement, she was unfit to be a member of the society. Upon this she gave up her ticket, together with the band and her class-papers. Immediately all her friends (of whom she seemed to have a large number) forsook her at once. No one knew her, or spoke to her. She was as a dead thing out of mind !

Saturday 25

- 4 Prayed, Acts i. 5, tea ; 6.45 chaise ; 8 Cove, tea, Mark i. 15 ; 9 chaise ; 11.30 at brother Cro[ss's], conversed, dinner ; 1 Hos. xiv. 4, chaise ; 4.30 at Dr. H[unt's], tea, prayed ; 6.30 Mark iii. 35, society, supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

Sunday 26

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 7 communion, 161, tea ; 9 Rom. viii. 34 ! letters ; 12.30 at Mr. Th[urston's] ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 1.45 meditation ; 2 Luke xii. 20, letters, tea ; 6 Luke xii. 7 ; 7 Mag. ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ Tyerman, in his *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 405, quotes an incident which Everett says ‘occurred on Mr. Wesley

leaving Norwich on the occasion of the present visit’ (*Adam Clarke Portrayed*, vol. i. p. 94).

On making a more particular inquiry, I found that Mrs. W—— (formerly a common woman) had revealed her own secret to Dr. Hunt¹ and twenty people besides. So the first accusation vanished into air. As to the second, I verily believe the drunkenness with which she was charged was, in reality, the falling down in a fit. So we have thrown away one of the most useful leaders we ever had, for these wonderful reasons!

Wed. 29.—I crossed over to Lynn, and found things much better than I expected. The behaviour of Mr. G——, which one would have imagined would have done much harm, had rather done good. People in general cried, ‘Let that bad man go; they will do better without him.’ And the house was sufficiently crowded with serious hearers.

Monday 27

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. vii. 35, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 sermon, letters; 11.30 visited; 1 at Mr. Ashl[ey]’s, dinner, conversed; 2.15 Mag. prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6.30 Luke ii. 4, Mag.; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 28

- 4 Prayed, 1 Pet. iii. 8! sermon, 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 sermon; 12.15 walk, at Dr. H[unt]’s; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 2.30 sermon; 3 prayed, tea; 6 prayed, Matt. xxii. 39! [—] 7.30 the leaders, supper, on business; 9.30.

Wednesday 29²

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. 19, sermon, tea; 8 diligence, Sher[ingham], Lynn, dinner; 4.30 prayed; 5 tea, conversed; 6 Matt. vii. 24! society! 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 30

- 4 Prayed, Heb. vi. 1, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 sermon; 12 walk; 1 at sister Register’s, dinner, conversed; 2.30 sermon; 4 prayed, tea, conversed, prayed; 6.30 2 Tim. iii. 5; 7 society; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 31

- 4 Prayed, Zech. iv. 7, sermon; 9 read Clarkson, etc.: 12 walk; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.15 writ narrative; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6.30 Matt. vii. 16! 7.30 communion, supper, conversed, prayer; 10 in the coach.

¹ Dr. Hunt was Wesley’s host in Norwich.

² He wrote to Miss Padbury (*Meth. Rec.* 1883, p. 459).

NOV. 1, *Sat.*—I returned to London.

In the two following weeks I visited the classes both in London and the neighbouring societies.¹

Nov. 1, *Saturday*

- 6 Within, prayed, read Thomas Baker *On Learning*²; 7 New[market], tea, coach; 2.30 Epping, dinner; 3.15 coach, Baker, together; 6 at home, letters; 8 supper, within, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 2

- 5 Prayed, letters, the preachers; 9.30 prayers, Matt. xxii. 4! communion; 1.15 at brother Deavy's, dinner, conversed; 3 sleep, the leaders, tea, prayed; 5 prayers, Eph. v. 15; 6 society, letters, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 3

- 4 Prayed, Jer. xxxv. 19! select society; 7 class, tea, class; 12 at brother Wi.; 1 class, dinner; 2 class, tea; 6 prayers, Col. iii. 11! class; 8.30 supper, prayers; 9.30.

Tuesday 4

- 4 Prayed, letters; 6 class, tea, class, at brother Raw[—], dinner; 1 class; 4.30 christened Jas. Dornford, tea, prayer, on business, prayed; 6.30 prayers, Luke xii. 7! the leaders! supper, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 5

- 4 Prayed, letters! 6 class, tea, class; 1 dinner, class; 3 coach; 5.15 Brentf[ord]; 5.30 tea, conversed; 6 Eph. iv. 1, etc.! 8 at brother Blake's, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 6

- 4 Prayed, tea; 4.45 chaise; 6.30 at home, letters; 7 class, tea, class; 1 at sister Westr., dinner; 2 class; 4 coach, Wandsw[orth], tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Matt. xxii. 4; 7 society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 7

- 4 Prayed; 5 chaise; 6.30 at home, writ narrative; 7 class, tea, class; 1 at brother Park's, dinner, class; 3 chaise; 4.45 Hadley, tea, prayed; 6 Luke xii. 7! 7 society, read narrative, supper; 9.45.

Saturday 8

- 4 Prayed, tea; 5 chaise; 6.30 letters; 7 class; 11 letters; 12 walk, dinner, prayer; 1.30 letters, [cipher] ~; 4 prayed, walk, at Mr. Collinson[s], tea, conversed; 6 prayers, 1 Thess. iv. 1; 6 communion, supper, Pen[ry] on business; 9.30.

¹ On Nov. 5 he wrote from London to Mr. Langley, at Mr. Dobsinn's in Derby, advising on a case of discipline; on the 6th to a lady at Beverley; on the 9th to Capt. Richard Williams, in Poldice, near

Truro, who had sent him 'lines on slavery,' which he approves as 'sensible and poetical' (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² *Reflections upon Learning and its Insufficiency, &c.*, published in 1700.

Sun. 16.—Being much importuned, I preached in the evening at Mr. Maxfield's chapel. But I dare not do so again, as it cannot contain one-third of the congregation at the new chapel.

Sunday 9

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 Chapel ; 9.30 prayers, Eph. vi. 10, etc., communion ; 1.30 at Highbury, christened [probably the infant son of John Horton],¹ dinner ; 3.30 prayers, 1 Thess. v. 19 ; 6 society, coach, society, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 10

- 4 Prayed, Eph. ii. 8 ! select society, class, tea, class ; 12 select society ; 1 dinner ; 2 class ; 5 tea, within, prayed ; 6.30 prayers, Luke xii. 7 ! supper, the bands, prayer ; 9.30 lay down.
Matt. xxii. 4 ; Eph. ii. 8 ; Jer. xxiii. 25.

Tuesday 11

- 4 Prayed, letter, class, tea, class ; 1 at brother Bower's, dinner ; 2 class ; 4.30 at sister Hales, tea, conversed, class, prayed ; 6.30 Heb. vii. 25 ! coach ; 8 Chapel, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 12

- 4 Prayed, letters, class, tea, class : 1.30 at Mr. Brock's, dinner, christened ; 3.30 chaise ; 4.30 Brentf[ord], brother Blak[e's], tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 Mic. ii. 10 ! class, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 13

- 4 Prayed, Mark iii. 35, read narrative, tea, prayer ; 8 coach ; 10.30 at home, letters ; 12.30 coach ; 1 Lambeth, writ society ; 2 dinner, writ society ; 5 prayed, tea, society ; 6.30 Mic. ii. 10, class, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 14

- 4 Prayed, Eph. ii. 8, writ society, tea, the children, society ; 11.30 coach ; 1 at brother Staniforth's, dinner, writ society ; 4 class, tea ; 6.30 Luke xii. 7 ; 8 society, at P. Lieur's, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 15

- 4 Prayed, at sister Purn[ell's], tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 chaise ; 7 Snows[fields], class, tea, class ; 1 dinner, conversed, class ; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 prayers, 1 Tim. iv. 8 ! society, coach ; 8.15 supper, on business ; 9.30.

¹ See above, p. 295, for Mr. Horton's marriage. 'John Horton' appears on the Islington rate-books at this period as the occupier of No. 25 Highbury Place. We are thus able, by the Diary and other evidence, to locate another of the houses at which Wesley was a frequent visitor, and to which he retired

for rest and literary work. The house is still standing (see above, p. 393). For the 'three amiable sisters' of Highbury Place see below, Jan. 20, 1787, and note ; and for the death of the child mentioned above, *W.H.S.* iii. 24. No. 25 was also the residence of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain during nine years of his boyhood.

Mon. 17.—I preached at Sevenoaks, and on *Tuesday* the 18th at Mount Ephraim,¹ near Tunbridge Wells. *Wednesday* the 19th, I came once more to the lovely family at Shoreham. A little longer that venerable old man is permitted to remain here, that the flock may not be scattered.²

Sunday 16

- 4 Prayed, Mag. ; 8 Sp[italfields] ; 9.30 prayers, John viii. 12 ! communion, at Mr. Maxfield's ; 1.30 dinner, conversed, prayer, the leaders ; 4 tea, conversed, at Mr. Max[field's], conversed ; 5.30 prayers, Psa. lxxxiv. 1, society, lovefeast, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 17

- 4 Prayed, Matt. vi. 34 ! select society ; 7 chaise, Farnbor[ough], tea ; 10.30 chaise ; 12.30 Seveno[aks], writ society ; 1.30 dinner ; 2.30 writ society ; 4 prayed ; 5 tea, conversed ; 6 Matt. xxii. 4 ! society, writ narrative, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 18

- 4 Prayed, writ society ; 6 Eph. ii. 8, society ; 8 tea, conversed, society ; 11 chaise ; 1.30 at Miss Boon's within ; 2 dinner together ; 3 society ; 4.30 tea, prayed, society ; 6.30 Jer. xxiii. 27 ! society, supper, prayer ; 9.45.

Wednesday 19

- 4 Prayed, society ; 7 1 Cor. xiii. 8, etc. ; tea, conversed, prayer ; 9.15 chaise, Seveno[aks] ; 12.15 chaise ; 1.15 Shoreham, dinner ; 2 society ; 4 tea, conversed, prayed, society ; 6 1 Pet. i. 13, etc., society ; 7.30 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 20

- 4 Prayed, writ society, within ; 7 Rev. xxi. 6, tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 chaise ; 10.30 Broml[ey] ; 11 chaise ; 1.30 Hi[gh]bur[y], writ society ; 2.30 dinner ; 3.30 writ society ; 5.30 tea, prayed, society, supper prayer ; 10.

*Friday 21*³

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, prayer, letters ; 3 dinner, within ; 4 letters, prayed, tea, letters ; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

¹ Here the Countess of Huntingdon had a permanent home. There is no indication, however, in the Diary of a meeting between the old friends.

² R. Miller, who writes his experience in the *Meth. Mag.* 1801, p. 193, says that he visited Shoreham in 1790, and had to face the mob, led by two men who had been made drunk for the purpose of raising a riot. Vincent Perronet's life was prolonged until May 9,

1785. It is to be feared that when he passed away the flock was to some extent scattered.

³ On Nov. 21 he wrote to Mrs. Downes, to Walter Churchey, and to Mr. Alexander (*Works*, vol. xii. pp. 210, 436 ; vol. xiii. p. 93), and to James (Mr. Alexander's son), to whom he offers a year at Kingswood with schooling and board (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 93).

When I was at Sevenoaks I made an odd remark. In the year 1769 I weighed a hundred and twenty-two pounds. In 1783 I weighed not a pound more or less. I doubt whether such another instance is to be found in Great Britain.

Mon. 24.—I preached at Canterbury, and again on *Wednesday*¹; on *Tuesday* the 25th at Dover; *Thursday* the 27th at Sheerness, where Mr. Fox read prayers and I preached on those words in the Second Lesson, 'To-day, if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts.'

Fri. 28.—I returned to London.

Saturday 22

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, prayer, letters; 12.15 at Charles's, within; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 3 music; 3.45 walk; 5 at brother Sop [—]'s, tea, within, prayed; 6 read the letters; 8.30 supper, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 23

- 4 Prayed, letters, chaise, the Chapel; 9.30 prayers, Jer. xxiii. 7, communion at Mr. Brackenb[ury's]; 1 dinner, conversed, visited; 3 the leaders, Titus ii. 11, tea, society; 6 coach, society, on business, supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 24

- 4 Prayed, tea; 5.15 chaise, Dartford, tea, chaise; 12 Chatham, tea; 1 chaise; 5.30 Canterb[ury], at brother Blackly's, dinner, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 Luke xii. 7, society, at supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 25

- 4 Prayed, Psa. cvi. 24! writ society, tea, conversed, prayer, society; 10 chaise; 1 Dover, dinner, conversed, society; 4 walk, prayed, tea; 6 Matt. xxii. 4! supper; 8 conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 26

- 4 Prayed, letters; 6 Eph. iv. 1, tea, conversed, prayer; 8 chaise; 11.30 Canterb[ury]; 12 society; 1 dinner, conversed; 2.30 society, prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6 ; 7 communion, at Mrs. Simmond's, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

*Thursday 27*¹

- 4 Prayed, tea; 5.15 chaise, tea; 9 K[ing]'s Ferry, chaise; 11 Sheerness, [cipher] ~ society; 1.30 dinner, society, prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, Heb. iii. 7; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Friday 28

- 4 Prayed, letter; 5.30 1 Cor. xv. 58, communion, tea, prayer; 8 chaise; 11.30 Cha[tha]m; 12 tea, conversed, prayer, writ society; 1 dinner, society; 4 prayed, tea, conversed; 6 2 Tim. iii. 5; 7.30 communion, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ He wrote from Sheerness to Samuel Bradburn (*W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 71).

DEC.¹ 2, *Tues.*—I married Mr. Rutherford and Miss Lydia Duplex.²

Wed. 3.—I took a little journey into Hertfordshire, and,

Saturday 29

- 4 Prayed; 5 Matt. xxii. 37, tea; 6 chaise; 9.30 Welling, tea, within, prayer; 10.30 chaise; 12.30 at home, letters; 1 dinner, within prayer; 2 letters, tea, prayed, letters; 8.45 on business; 9.30.

Sunday 30

- 4 Prayed, letters, the preachers; 9.30 prayers, Rom. xiii. 11 ! communion ! dinner, conversed; 2 sleep, prayed, the leaders, tea, prayed; 5 prayers, Heb. vi. 1, 2 ! society; 7 supper, within, prayer; 9.30.
Rom. xiii. 11; 1 Pet. i. 3.

DEC. 1, Monday

- 4 Prayed, 1 Pet. iii. 8, select society, tea, letters; 11 chaise, writ society, select society; 1.30 at brother Clulo[w's], dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 writ society; 4 visited, tea, conversed, within; 6.30 prayed, Heb. vii. 25 ! supper, the bands; 9.30.

Tuesday 2

- 4 Prayed, 1 Pet. iii. 8, writ society, visited, on business; 9 with Jo[hn] Dup[lex], tea, within; 10 married Lyd[ia] Dup[lex] [to Mr. Rutherford. See text of Journal], coach; 1 Richmond, walk, dinner, conversed; 3 coach, writ narrative ! 6.30 read prayers, Heb. viii. 10 the leaders, supper, on business, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 3

- 4 Prayed, tea; 5 chaise, with Mr. Brackenb[ury], conversed; 8 tea, conversed; 9 chaise; 12.30 Baldock, Miss Har[vey], chaise; 2 Hinxwor[th], writ society; 2.30 dinner, conversed; 3.30 writ society, prayed, tea; 6 Eph. ii. 8, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ The Diary shows that during December the correspondence was considerable. So far, however, only one letter has survived, a letter of warning to Mrs. Loxdale on a contemplated marriage (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² In the Diary it is noteworthy that whilst the bride's name is given with some emphasis, the bridegroom's, contrary to Wesley's almost (if not quite) invariable custom in such cases, is not given. The insertion of the name in the Journal may suggest that its omission in the Diary was accidental. A Mrs. Rutherford is named in the *Dublin*

Meth. Mag. (1820, pp. 221-3) as a Methodist in London from 1777 to 1817; but there is no proof that she was in any way connected with this bridegroom. Thomas Rutherford, the Irish itinerant (see *Arm. Mag.* 1786, p. 629), who married Miss Young, Mrs. Henry Moore's sister, is also out of the question. Mr. John Duplex, father or near relative of the bride, was one of the original trustees of City Road Chapel, and is frequently named in the records of the time. In Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, p. 250, he is described as of 'the parish of Christ Church, weaver.'

having preached at Hinxworth and Wrestlingworth, on *Friday* the 5th I preached at Barnet, and on *Saturday* the 6th returned to London.

I now inquired more carefully and particularly into the strange case of poor Mr. M[axfield]. But the more I inquired, the worse the matter appeared to be. It was plain, by the evidence of many unexceptionable witnesses, that he had told innumerable lies; affirming, denying, and affirming again! And this man, who has lived above twenty years in a constant course of lying and slandering, tells you he enjoys constant communion with God, and that nothing can make him happier but heaven!

Thursday 4

- 4 Prayed, writ society, tea, conversed, prayer, society; 10.30 visited, walk; 1 dinner, letters; 3 chaise; 4.30 at Mr. Hick's, conversed, tea, prayed; 6 prayers, 2 Cor. viii. 9! 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 5

- 4 Prayed, read; 6.45 tea, conversed; 8 chaise; 9.30 Hinxw[orth], tea, conversed, prayer, chaise; 3 Old Bell, dinner, chaise; 4.45 Hadl[ey], tea, prayed; 6 Matt. xxii. 4! communion; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 6

- 4 Prayed, writ Preface, tea; 6.15 chaise; 8.15 at home, letters, Preface; 12.30 dinner, prayer; 1 Preface; 4 prayed, walk; 5 tea, conversed; 6 read prayers, Heb. xii. 28! communion, supper, Pen[ry], on business; 9.30.

Sunday 7

- 4 Prayed, Preface; 8 the preachers, prayed; 9.30 prayers, Rom. xv. 4, 5; 12 communion; 1 dinner, conversed; 3 the leaders, tea, prayed; 5 prayers, Heb. xiii. 22! 6 society, within to many, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 8

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. 9, select society, letter; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, visited, letters; 12 select society; 1.30 at brother Brann's, dinner, conversed, visited; 3.30 writ narrative, tea, conversed, prayed; 6.15 prayers; 7 Jam. i. 27! supper, the bands; 9.30.

Tuesday 9

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. 9! letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9.30 at home, letters; 1 at brother S[—], dinner, conversed; 2.30 letters, prayed; 6.30 prayers, Jam. ii. 5! the leaders; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 10

- 4.15 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, letters, acc[oun]ts, Mag. ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2.30 Mag. ; 5 tea, within, the Adelphi ; 9.30 chaise, supper, prayer ; [cipher], ♀ ; 11.

Thursday 11

- 5 Prayed, Journal ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 letter to T. M[axfield] ; 2 at brother Folgham's ; 3 dinner, christened ! conversed, chaise ; 4.15 tea, conversed, prayer ; 5.30 prayed, Luke xviii. 25 ; 7.30 the bands, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 12

- 4 Prayed, letter, Mag. ; 12.45 visited ; 1.30 prayer ; 3 at brother Wri[ght], dinner, conversed ; 5 at home, tea, prayed ; 6 the Committee ! read Barr[ing]ton ! 8 supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 13

- 4 Prayed, Barrington ; 8 tea, within, prayer, Barr[ington] ; 1 at brother Thornton's, dinner, conversed ; 2.30 letters, prayer ; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed ; 6 read prayers ; 7 1 Pet. i. 3, communion, supper, Pen[ry] on business ; 9.30.

Sunday 14

- 4 Prayed, writ narrative, Chapel, prayers, 1 Cor. iv. 2 ! communion ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2 sleep, prayed ; 3 the leaders ; 3.30 prayers, Jam. ii. 5, society, St. Swithin's, prayers, 1 Pet. iii. 22 ; 7.30 supper, conversed read ; 9.30.

Monday 15

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. viii. 1, select society, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Barr[ington] ; 11 chaise, visited ; 12 select society, at brother Wilson's, dinner, prayer ; 2.30 Barr[ington], prayed ; 4.45 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 A. B. — ; 6.30 read prayers, Luke xviii. 25 ! supper, the bands ; 9.30.²

Tuesday 16

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. viii. 1, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, walk ; 9.30 at home, letters, Barr[ington] ; 12.30 visited ; 1 at T. Rank[in's], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 Barr[ington], prayed ; 4 tea, conversed, prayer ; 5.30 prayed ; 6.30 prayers, Acts xvi. 31 ! the leaders, society ! supper, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ Daines Barrington was the fourth son of Viscount Barrington (1727–1800). In 1764 he was Recorder of Bristol (see Barrett's *Bristol*, 1789). It is said that he influenced White to write the *Natural History of Selborne*, a large part of which consists of letters written by White to Barrington. Probably the book which Wesley read during these days from the

12th to the 17th was his volume of *Miscellanies*, which contained Charles Wesley's account of his musical sons. See Charles Wesley's Journal, vol. ii. p. 151 ; *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, vol. x. pp. 304, 331 ; or Stevenson's *Wes. Fam.* p. 495.

² For an interesting article on Wesley's reading in his 'scraps of time,' see *W.M. Mag.* 1913, p. 866.

Thur. 18.—I spent two hours with that great man, Dr. Johnson,¹ who is sinking into the grave by a gentle decay.

Wednesday 17

- 4 Prayed, Barr[ington]; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Barr[ington]; 1 writ the bands; 2.30 at Mr. Wolf[fs], dinner, conversed, at Mr. Rutherf[ord's], tea, conversed, prayer; 6 read prayers, 1 Pet. v. 6 ! communion, coach, supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 18

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8.15 tea, conversed, prayer, corrected Mag.; 2 at Dr. Johnson's, dinner together; 4 buried, christened, tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 prayed; 6.30 read prayers, 1 John i. 3, the bands, supper, within, prayer; 9.30

Friday 19

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 Mag.; 12 the females; 1.30 prayer, at brother Owen's, dinner, conversed, prayer, Mag.; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 5.30 prayed, Mag.; 8 supper, within, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 20

- 4 Prayed, letters, Mag.; 8 at G. Clar[k]'s, tea, within, prayer, Mag.; 1 at sister Shak[espeare's], dinner, letters, walk, visited, tea, conversed; 6 read prayers, 1 John ii. 12 ! communion, supper, Pen[ry] on business; 9.30.

Sunday 21

- 4 Prayed, letters, Sp[italfiel]ds, read prayers, Matt. xxiv. 27 ! communion, at brother Teulon's; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer, visited; 3 the leaders, buried, prayed, within, tea, conversed; 6 St. Swit[hin's], prayers, 1 John i. 3 ! 8 supper, prayer ! 9.30.

Monday 22

- 4 Prayed, Matt. xxiv. 27, select society, tea, chaise; 9 Camb[er]well, texts; 3 dinner, conversed, Mag., prayed; 6 tea, conversed, Mag.; 8.15 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Tuesday 23

- 4 Prayed, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag.; 12 walk; 1 dinner, conversed, Mag.; 4.45 at brother Smi[th's], tea, conversed, prayer; 7 prepared Mag.; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

¹ There is no reference in Boswell's *Life* to this visit, but all the closing pages of the *Life* show that the venerable man, for whose opinions Wesley entertained so high a regard, was still in the possession of his great faculties, and that he fully appreciated the presence of

those friends who, like Wesley, could converse. He was busy at the time founding the Essex Head Club and carrying on correspondence, political as well as friendly. One year later, almost to the day, he died in his own house in London (Dec. 13, 1784).



DR. JOHNSON'S HOUSE IN BOLT COURT, FLEET STREET.

Lent by Mr. G. Brownson, of Teignmouth.

From an old print.

Wed. 24.—While we were dining at Mr. Blunt's his servant-maid, ill of a sore throat, died.

Sat. 27.—I dined at Mr. Awbrey's, with Mr. Wynantz,¹ son of the Dutch merchant at whose house I met with Peter Böhler and his brethren, forty-five years ago.

Wednesday 24

- 4 Prayed, Mag., tea, prayer ; 7 chaise ; 8 at home, read narrative, letters, Mag., visited ; 3 at brother Blunt's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 4 read prayers ; 5 at brother Garr., tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 prayers, 1 John iv. 15 ! communion, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

CHRISTMAS DAY, *Thursday 25*

- 3.30 Prayed, prayer, Gen. iii. 15 ! 6 sleep, Mag., tea, chaise ; 9.30 prayers, Gen. iii. 15 ! communion ; 1.30 at brother Bat., dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.45 Mag., prayed, tea, together ; 5 Tit. iii. 4, etc., society, Mag., supper, prayer, read ; 9.30.

Friday 26

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 10 Sno[wsfields], prayers, Acts vii. 55 ! communion, at brother Col[lins, or Collinson]'s, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3.30 prayed, at brother Rank[in's], tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 prayers, John iv. 24 ! supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 27

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, within, letters, Mag. ; 1 at brother Awbr[ey's], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3 prayed ; 4 chaise, at sister Bowman's, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 prayers, Rev. xxii. 20, communion ; 7.45 supper, conversed, on business ; 9.30.

Sunday 28

- 4 Prayed, Mag., Chapel ; 9.30 prayers, Rev. xiv. 1, etc., communion, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.15 sleep, prayed, the leaders ; 3.30 prayers, 1 John v. 11, society, chaise, society, supper, conversed ; 8.30 Mag. ; 9.30.

Monday 29

- 4 Prayed, Jer. iii. 12, select society, within ; 8 tea, within, prayer ; 10 Pu. ; 12 select society ; 1.30 at sister Shorla[nd's], dinner, conversed, prayer, visited ! at sister Jacob['s], tea, conversed ; prayer, prayed ; 6.30 prayers, John iv. 24, supper, the bands ; 9.30.

Tuesday 30

- 4 Prayed, Matt. xxiv. 21, communion, Mag., visited ; 8 tea, within, prayer ; 9.30 on business, Pu. [Pu— probably was a business man], letter, Mag. ; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer, visited, Workhouse, tea, conversed, prayer ; 5 on business, prayed ; 6.30 prayers, 1 John iv. 19 ! the leaders, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ See above, vol. i. p. 436.

Wed. 31.¹—We concluded the year at the new chapel, with the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

1784. JAN. 1,² *Thur.*—I retired for two or three days to Peckham.

Sun. 4.³—Though it rained violently, we had, I believe, upwards of eighteen hundred people at the renewal of the

Wednesday 31

4 Prayed, Mag. ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag. ; 1 dinner, visited, letters, tea, prayer, prayed, Mag. ; 8 tea ; 8.30 Jer. iii. 12 ! prayer, 9.15 ; 12.30.

Acts vii. 55 ; John iv. 24 ; Jer. iii. 12 ; 1 John iv. 19 ; Gen. iii. 15.

JAN. 1, 1784, *Thursday*

6.30 Prayed, tea, conversed, prayer ; 10 prayers, 2 Cor. v. 15 ! communion ; 1 at brother Ball's, dinner, conversed ; 3 Peckham, Mag. ; 5 prayed, tea ; 6.30 Mag. ; 8.30 supper ; 9 conversed, prayer ; 10.

Friday 2

4.30 Prayed, Mag., texts ; 8.30 tea, conversed, prayer, texts ; 2.30 dinner ; 3 conversed, prayer ; 4 Mag., prayed ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 1 John iv. 19 ! Mag. ; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.30.

Saturday 3

5 Prayed, texts ; 8.30 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag., chaise, at brother D[—] ; 1 dinner, letters, prayers ; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 read prayers, Rom. ii. 29, communion ; 8 supper, Pen[ry] on business ; 9.30.

Sunday 4

4 Prayed, letters, the preachers, prayed ; 9.30 prayers ; 2 K[ings] xxiii. 3, communion, at sister Box's ; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 within, sleep ; 3 prayed, tea, prayed ; 5 the Covenant ! supper, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ He wrote from London to Zechariah Yewdall (*Wesley Banner*, vol. iv. p. 314).

² On Jan. 1 Wesley wrote the Preface to the *Arm. Mag.* It had then extended to the beginning of a seventh year ; the number of subscribers had increased continually—six hundred copies more than the year before being printed, and the demand rising at the same ratio. He defends the character of the Magazine, particularly the extracts. (*Works*, vol. xiv. p. 291.) On the 10th he wrote to

Robert Carr Brackenbury (Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 408), and the same day to Walter Sellon (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 46, which, in error, dates this letter June 10).

³ He wrote from City Road to Mr. Andrews, of Bethnal Green ; on the 6th to an unnamed brother on 'his health, and on the baptism of children by unordained preachers.' 'I shall shortly be obliged to drop all who will not drop this.' (New ed. *Wesley Letters*.)

covenant. Many found an uncommon blessing therein. I am sure I did, for one.

Tues. 6.—At noon I preached at Barking, and in the evening at Purfleet, to a people that were all alive. *Wednesday* the 7th I went on to Colchester; and on *Friday* the 9th returned to London.

Mon. 12.—Desiring to help some that were in pressing want, but not having any money left, I believed it was not improper,

Monday 5

- 4 Prayed, Matt. vi. 22! select society, letters; 8 tea, letters; 1 select society; 1.30 dinner, visited; 3.30 letters, tea, conversed, prayer, Mag.; 6.30 read prayers, Rom. iv. 9, supper; 8 the bands, Mag.; 9.30.

Tuesday 6

- 4 Prayed, Matt. vi. 22! letter, walk; 7.30 at home, tea, letters; 10 chaise, Barking; 12 1 John iv. 19! visited, dinner; 2 chaise; 4 Rainha[m], tea; 5 chaise, Purfleet, Matt. viii. 2! Rainha[m], supper, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 7

- 4 Prayed, tea, prayer; 5 chaise, Inगतstone, tea, chaise, Ariosto [his *Orlando Furioso*]; 11.30 Witham; 1.30 chaise; 3 Colch[este]r, dinner, Mag., tea, prayed; 7 Jer. iii. 12! Mag., supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Thursday 8

- 4.15 Prayed, Mag.; 6 Luke xii. 7! the leaders, writ society; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 Mag.; 1.30 dinner, Mag.; 3 visited, tea, prayer; 5 Mag.; 6.30 Matt. xxiv. 4! communion, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 9

- 4 Tea, prayer; 5 chaise; 8.30 Chelmsf[ord], tea, walk, chaise; 1 Romf[ord], chaise; 3 at home, dinner, letters, tea, prayer, letters, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 10

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 1 at brother Marsden's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 sorted letters, prayed; [—], tea; 6 prayers, Rom. viii. 3; 4 communion, supper, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 11

- 4 Prayed, letters, Chapel, prayers, Rom. xii. 1! communion, at Mr. Bracken[bury's]; 1.30 dinner, sleep, the leaders; 3.30 prayers, Rom. xii. 2! society, chaise, society; 7 prayed, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 12

- 4 Prayed, Luke ii. 51, select society, writ narrative; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 letters; 10 Pu.; 12 select society, at Mr. Brooks's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 letters, tea, prayed; 6.30 prayers, Rom. x. 4, supper, the bands, Mag.; 9.30.

in such a case, to desire help from God. A few hours after one from whom I expected nothing less put ten pounds into my hands.

Tuesday 13

- 4 Prayed, Luke ii. 52, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, walk; 9 letters; 1.30 at brother Bird's; 2 dinner, conversed, prayer, visited; 3.30 letters, tea; 5 prayed, letters; 6.30 prayers, Rom. xi. 33; 7 the leaders, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 14

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 1 at brother Lovis's, dinner, conversed, prayer, at home; 3 prayed, letters; 5 at brother L. A[—], tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, Rom. xii. 1, communion, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 15

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 10 Pu., Mag.; 1 at T[homas] O[livers'] [Wesley's 'corrector of the press'], dinner; 2 prayed; 2.30 Mag., on business; 5 Mrs. Tighe, tea, conversed, prayed; 6.30 prayers; 7 Rom. xiii. 10! the bands, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 16

- 4 Prayed, letters, Mag., letters; 10 Pu., letters; 12 the females, letters; 1.30 prayer; 2.30 at brother S[—]; 3.30 letter; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayed, letters; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 17

- 4 Prayed, acc[oun]ts; 8 tea, conversed, Mr. Collins's, prayer, conversed! 10 Pu. on business; 11.30 Mag.; 1 at brother Huss[ey], dinner, prayer; 2 Mag., prayed; 4.30 tea, visited; 6 prayers, Rom. xv. 2! society, communion, supper, Pen[ry] on business; 9.30.

Sunday 18

- 4 Prayed, letters, Sp[italfields]; 9.30 prayers, Matt. xvi. 23! communion, dinner, conversed, prayed; 2.30 sleep, prayed; 3 the leaders, tea, prayed; 5 prayers, Isa. liii. 4, 5! society! 7 the lovefeast, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 19

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xv. 2, select society, within, on business, tea, prayer; 9 letters, Pu., within; 12 select society, at Mr. Atwood's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 Chapel, prayed; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayers, prayed; 6.30 Psal. cxc. [sic] 12! prayer, bands; 9.30.

Tuesday 20

- 4.45 Rom. xv. 2! Mag., chaise; 8 at sister Cheesem[ent's], tea, conversed, prayer; 10 chaise, New[ing]ton, letters; 1.30 dinner, within; 2.30 letters, prayed, tea, writ narrative; 7 Dan. ii., supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wed. 21.¹—Being vehemently accused by a well-meaning man of very many things, particularly of covetousness and uncourteousness, I referred the matter to three of our brethren. Truly in these articles 'I know nothing by myself. But He that judgeth me is the Lord.'²

Sat. 24.—I began visiting the classes in the town and country.

Sun. 25.—I preached in the afternoon in St. George's, Southwark—a very large and commodious church.

Wednesday 21

- 4 Prayed, letters, Mag. ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag. ; 12 walk with T[homas] Rank[in], visited ; 1 at sister Cheesem[ent's], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3.30 at home, prayed, tea ; 6 Mr. Smy[th] ; 7 H[—] Cron[—]f[—], Riley, supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.15.
Rom. xi. 33 ; Rom. xv. 2 ; Ps. xc. 12.

Thursday 22

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, letters ; 10 Pu. ; 11 Mag., chaise ; 1 Hi[gh]gate, conversed ; 2 dinner, conversed ; 3 read narrative, prayed ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.30 Rev. xx. 12 ! 7 read ! 9 supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.30.

Friday 23

- 5 Prayer, Mag. ; 7 1 Pet. i. 24, tea, prayers ; 9 chaise ; 10 Pu., letters 12 the females, letters ; 1.30 prayer, at brother Willan's, dinner, conversed, prayer, visited ; 4 prayed, letters, tea ; 6 Mr. Smi[th's], etc. ! 9 supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

Saturday 24

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 7 class, tea, class ; 12 at brother Collinson's, class ; 1 dinner ; 2 class ; 4 prayed, at brother Trigg's, tea, conversed, prayer, prayed ; 6 prayers, 1 Cor. vi. 20 ! society, communion, coach ; 8.15 supper, on business ; 9.30.

Sunday 25

- 4 Prayed, read narrative ; 6.30 within with Charles, chapel ; 9.30 prayers Acts xxii. 16 ; 11 communion, visited, at brother Dobson's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.15 sleep, prayed, the leaders ; 3.30 prayers, Acts xxvi. 18, society, chaise, society, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ He wrote to Mrs. Mary (or Anne) Parker of Fakenham, reasoning with her at length for discarding the Methodist preachers (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² On Jan. 22 he wrote from London

to Robert Hopkins (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 92), and on Feb. 1 to Mr. Victory Purdy (see *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 139, and above, vol. ii. p. 166, where the letter is given).

Monday 26

- 4 Prayed, Matt. vi. 34, select society, class ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2 class, tea, class ; 6 prayers, 1 Cor. viii. 1 ! class, in talk ; 8 coach, supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 27

- 4 Prayed, writ narrative ; 6 class, tea, class ; 1 at brother Hudson's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 class ; 5 at home, prayed, on business ; 6.30 read the letters, the leaders, supper ; 9 prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 28

- 4 Prayed, letter ; 6 class, tea, class ; 12 letters ; 1 at brother Kemp's, dinner ; 2 class ; 3.15 letters, tea, Mag., prayed, Mag. ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 29

- 4 Prayed, letters, class, tea, class ; at sister Wes., dinner ; 2 class ; 5 tea, within ; 5.30 chaise ; 6.30 at Charles's, within to General O[glethorpe], etc., concert ; 10.30 supper ; 11.

Friday 30

- 5 Prayed ; 6 class ; 8 the leaders, class ; 1 dinner, at brother Park[er's] ; 2 class ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 brother Dew[ey], etc., prayed : 8 supper, conversed ; 9.30.

Saturday 31

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 7 class, tea, class ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2 class, letters, walk ; 5 visited, tea ; 6 prayers ; 1 Cor. xii. 31, communion, supper, Pen[ry], on business ; 9.30.

FEB. 1, *Sunday*

- 4.15 Prayed, letters ; 8 the preachers ; 9.30 prayers, Matt. viii. 13 ! communion, dinner, conversed ; 2.30 sleep, prayed, the leaders, buried ; 4 tea, prayed ; 5 1 Cor. xiii. 1, etc., society ; 7 prayed, [met the] married [Society] ! 8 supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 2

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. 8, etc. ! select society ! 7 class, tea, class ; 12 select society, at brother Nelson's, dinner, conversed ; 2 class, tea, class ; prayers, 1 Thes. iv. 7 ! supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 3

- 3 Prayed, sleep ; 5 letters ; 7 class, tea, class, at brother K[—], dinner ; 2 class ; 5 Westmin[ster], tea, class ; 6.30 Heb. xii. 14 ! Chapel ; 8.15 supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 4

- 4 Prayed, read narrative ; 7 class, tea, class, at brother Treble's, dinner, conversed ; 2 class ; 4.30 chaise, Brent[for]d, at brother Blake's, tea, prayed ; 6.30 Acts xxvi. 18 ! class, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

FEB. 5, *Thur.*¹—I went down to Nottingham and preached a charity sermon for the General Hospital. The next day I

Thursday 5

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. 8, etc. ! prayed, tea ; 7 chaise ; 9 at home, letters ; 1 at Mr. Judd's, dinner, conversed, prayer, visited, prayed ; 4 chaise, Highgate, letters, tea, conversed ; 6 letter ; 6.30 1 Thess. iv. 7 ! letters ; 9 supper, conversed ; 10.30.

Friday 6

- 4.45 Prayed, letters ; 8 Mic. ii. 10 ! tea, conversed, letters ; 1 dinner, conversed, the children ; 3 chaise ; 4.30 Hadley, prayed, read *Orlando*, tea ; 6 Heb. vi. 1 ; 7 class, *Orlando* [*Furioso*], supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.15.

Saturday 7

- 4.45 Prayed, letters, tea ; 7 chaise ; 9 at home, letters ; 1 at John Param[ore's], dinner, conversed ; 2 on business ; 3 within, *Orlando*, letters ; 5 tea, prayed, *Orlando* ; 8 supper, read narrative, on business ; 9.30.

Sunday 8

- 4 Prayed, sermon ; 8 Chapel ; 9.30 prayers, Matt. xx. 16 ! communion, coach ; 1 at Mr. Pigeon's, within, dinner ; 3 St. George, prayers, 1 Cor. xiii. 1, etc. ; 5 tea, conversed ; 6 St. Swithin's, prayers, 2 Cor. iv. 5, at home ; 8 supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 9

- 4 Prayed, 1 Cor. xiii. *ad finem*, select society, on business, tea ; 8 chaise, with brother S[—] ; 9 Shakespeare ; 1 Dork[ing], writ narrative ; 2 dinner, writ narrative ; 5 prayed, tea ; 6 Col. i. 10 ! communion, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 10

- 4 Prayed, writ narrative ; 6 Gal. v. 5, class, tea, prayer ; 9 chaise ; 1.15 a Mr. Dorn[for]d's ; 2 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 4 class, tea, class ; 6.30 Eph. iii. 14, etc. ! society, at Mr. Holbrook's, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 11

- 5 Prayed, sermon ; 7 tea, conversed, prayer ; 8 chaise ; 9.30 at home, writ sermon ! 12 chaise ; 1 Lamb[eth], dinner, letters ; 5 prayed, tea, letters ; 6.30 Luke x. 42 ; 7.30 class, supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

Thursday 12

- 5 Prayed, letter ; 7 children, tea, conversed ; 8 chaise, Shakes[peare] ; 9 letters ; 10 chaise, Bow, class ; 12 1 John iv. 19 ! chaise ; 2 at brother Senol's, dinner, conversed ; 3 visited, chaise ; 4.30 Wands-w[orth], tea, prayed ; 6.30 1 Thess. iv. 7 ! class ; 8.30 supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

¹ On this date he wrote from near London to Alexander Knox. (*Remains*, vol. iv. p. 18.)

returned to London. In the following week I visited the country societies. *Saturday* the 14th I desired all our preachers to meet and consider thoroughly the proposal of sending missionaries to the East Indies. After the matter had been fully considered, we were unanimous in our judgement that we have no call thither yet, no invitation, no providential opening of any kind.¹

Friday 13²

- 4.30 Prayed, writ sermon ; 6 1 Cor. xiii. 13, at brother Bark[er]'s, tea, within, prayer ; 8 chaise ; 9 letters, chaise ; 12 Pop[lar], Acts xxvi. 18, class, dinner, conversed ; 2 chaise ; 3 at home, letters ; 5 tea, prayed ; 6 the Committee ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 14

- 4 Prayed, letters, Mag. ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 E. Ell[ison], sister Hall's! read narrative ; 11 Dr. Coke,³ etc. ! 1 at Sam. Bail[ey]'s, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 Mag., prayed ; 4.30 tea, conversed ; 6 prayers, Psa. lxxiv. 13, communion, supper, Pen[ry], on business ; 9.30.

Sunday 15

- 4 Prayed, read narrative ; 8 Sp[italfields] ; 9.30 prayers, John xv. 7, etc., communion, visited, at Mr. Wil[—] ; 2 dinner, conversed ; 2.45 prayers, Rev. xx. 12 ; 5 prayers, Gen. vi. 5, society, single women ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 16

- 4 Prayed, Psa. lxxiv. 13, select society, read narrative ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 letters ; 12 select society, communion ; 1.15 at Mr. Clulow's, dinner, in talk ; 3 *Orlando*, Mag., prayed, at brother Davison's ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 read prayers, 2 Cor. xii. 7, supper, conversed, the bands ; 9.30.

Tuesday 17

- 4 Prayed, Psa. lxxiv. 13, *Orlando*, Mag. ; 7.30 tea, conversed, chaise ; 8.30 at home, Mag. ; 11 writ narrative ; 1 at brother Collinson's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 letters ; 5 ! conversed, prayer ; 6 prayed, prayers, 2 Cor. xiii. 11, the leaders, supper, prayer, *Orlando* ; 9.30.

¹ The financial responsibilities of Methodism at this time were so serious as to forbid costly enterprises, unless there was a clearly defined call of God, when it might be expected that He who gave the call would provide the means. Cf. above, p. 206.

² On the 13th he wrote to Samuel Bardsley at Macclesfield, and on the same day to Robert Carr Brackenbury, who

was then in the Channel Islands, and to whom, in the interests of health, he suggests a return to England (new ed. *Wesley Letters*, and *Works*, vol. xiii. p. 5).

³ This was probably the interview at which Wesley introduced to Dr. Coke the subject of ordination. See Drew's *Life of Coke*, p. 63 ; Etheridge's *Life*, p. 100.

Thur. 19.¹—I spent an agreeable hour with the modern Hannibal, Pascal Paoli,² probably the most accomplished general that is now in the world. He is of a middle size, thin, well-shaped, genteel, and has something extremely striking in his countenance. How much happier is he now, with his moderate pension, than he was in the midst of his victories!

On *Saturday*, having a leisure hour, I made an end of that strange book, *Orlando Furioso*. Ariosto³ had doubtless an uncommon genius, and subsequent poets have been greatly indebted to him: yet it is hard to say which was the most out of his senses, the hero or the poet. He has not the least

Wednesday 18

- 4 Prayed, Journal; 8 at Mr. Creigh[ton's], tea, conversed, prayer; 9 letters, Mag.; 2 at Mr. Wolff's, dinner, conversed; 4.15 at R. Whitf[eld's], tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, 2 Cor. — 5! communion, supper, prayer, Ariosto; 9.30.

Thursday 19

- 4 Prayed, writ letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Ariosto, letters; 1 at sister Mull[—]'s, dinner, conversed; 2 prayer; 2.30 Mag., prayed; 4.30 chaise, at Charles's, tea, conversed, prayed, Ariosto; 7 concert, P[ascal] Paoli; 11.

Matt. iv. 10; John xv. 7; Psal. lxxiv. 13; Acts xi. 26; Psal. xc. 12.

Friday 20

- 5.30 Prayed, writ my will; 10 Mag.; 12 the Temple, within; 1.30 prayer; 2.30 at George Clark's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 4 prayed, *Orlando*, at sister Butcher's, tea, conversed; 5 prayer, prayed; 6 Quarterly Meeting! 8 supper, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 21

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 letters, Mag.; 1 at brother Thurgood's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 prayer, Mag.; 3.30 prayed, at Mr. Waldron's, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, Acts xi. 26, communion, supper, Pen[ry], on business; 9.30.

¹ He wrote from London to Mr. John Baxendale, of Wigan (*Works*, vol. xiii. p. 40). On this date, and also on the 25th, he wrote to Samuel Bradburn (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² See above, vol. v. p. 342.

³ The poet took eleven years for the preparation of his great work, which appeared in 1516. It celebrates the semi-mythical achievements of the

Paladins of Charlemagne in the wars between the Christians and the Moors. It has been translated into all European languages, reaching innumerable editions. It is said that there is 'not an artisan, not a boy, girl, or old man, ignorant of the *Orlando Furioso*.' Wesley seems to forget that Ariosto's object was to set forth the romance of chivalry, not its history. The true comparison is with Spenser, not Tasso.

regard even to probability ; his marvellous transcends all conception. Astolpho's shield and horn, and voyage to the moon, the lance that unhorses every one, the all-penetrating sword, and I know not how many impenetrable helmets and coats of mail—leaves transformed into ships, and into leaves again—stones turned into horses, and again into stones—are such monstrous fictions as never appeared in the world before, and, one would hope, never will again. Oh who, that is not himself out of his senses, can compare Ariosto with Tasso !¹

Sunday 22

- 5 Prayed, Mag. ; 8 the [—] ; 9.30 prayers, Acts xi. 26, communion ;
 1 at sister Okerblums, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 sleep, prayed ;
 3 the leaders ; 3.30 prayers, Eph. vi. 3 ; 5 tea, society, chaise, society,
 the single men ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 23

- 4 Prayed, Psal. xc. 12, select society, Mag. ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag. ;
 11.30 read narrative ; 12 select society ; 1.45 at Mr. Griffith's, dinner,
 conversed, prayer ; 4 prayed, read narrative, at sister Hayne's ; 5
 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 read prayers, Gal. vi. 15 ! in talk,
 supper, the bands ; 9.30.

Tuesday 24

- 4 Prayed, Psal. xc. 12, Mag. ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, visited some ; 10
 Ariosto ; 11 Knightsbridge, prayers, Matt. xi. 28 ! sister B[—],
 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 4 prayed ; 5 tea, prayer, in talk ; 6.30
 prayers, Eph. i. 13 ! the leaders ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 25 (Ash Wednesday)

- 4 Prayed, sermon ; 10 read prayers, Matt. vi. 17, communion, sermon ; 1
 at T[homas] Rankin's, dinner, within, prayer ; 2.30 sermon ; 4 prayed ;
 5 at brother Wri[ght's], tea, within, prayer ; 6 prayers, Phil. ii. 12,
 communion, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 26

- 4 Prayed, sermon ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, sermon ; 11 visited, walked,
 Mr. Best, visited ; 1 at Mr. Goslin's, dinner, conversed, prayer ;
 3.30 at Mr. Beardmore's, writ sermon ; 5 prayed ; 5.30 tea, within,
 sermon ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

¹ On Feb. 29 George Cussons, of West Street, afterwards of Hinde Street Chapel, wrote in his Diary :

This afternoon our aged, venerable minister, the Rev. John Wesley, preached an excellent sermon on Abraham offering up his son Isaac. I felt myself much affected in

hearing him, as I am persuaded many others did. He afterwards set off on his journey for the west.

The collection and subscription for the poor on that memorable Sunday in West Street Chapel was £12 11s. 8d. (Telford's *Two West-End Chapels*, p. 24.)

1784

Dated Febry 28th 1784

The Rev.^d John Wesley

Declaration & Appointment

of the conference of the people called Methodists
enrolled in his Majesty's High Court of Chancery the Tenth day of March
in the Year of our Lord 1784 being first duly stamped according to the tenor
of the Statutes made for that purpose.

A. D. 1784

John Wesley

31

John



Wesley

{ Taken and Acknowledged by The Rev^d
John Wesley Party here to this twenty
eighth of February 1784 at the Public
Office before me }
Edw. Mordaunt

MARCH 1, *Mon.*—I went to Newbury and preached in the evening to a large and deeply affected congregation. *Tuesday* the 2nd and *Wednesday* the 3rd I preached at Bath, and on *Thursday* the 4th went on to Bristol.¹

Friday 27

4.30 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, prayer, sermon; 2 dinner, conversed; 3 sermon, prayed; 5.30 tea, conversed; 6.30 sermon; 8.15 prayed, supper, within, prayer; 10 T. Ten[n]ant, ill.

Saturday 28²

4.45 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, prayer, sermon; 11 at Mr. Clulow's on business [signing the Deed of Declaration], coach, Hamp[stea]d; 1 visited; 2.30 at brother Wilson's, dinner, prayer, prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayers, Eph. v. 1, 2! communion; 7 Pen[ry] on business; 9.45.

Sunday 29

4 Prayed, sermon, the preachers, prayers, Matt. iv. 10! communion, at brother Clulow's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 sleep, the leaders, prayers, Gen. xxii. 12; chaise; 6 Brentwood, tea; 6.30 Acts xi. 26, communion, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

MARCH 1, *Monday*

4 Prayed, tea, prayer; 5 chaise, with G. Wh[itfield], Shakespeare; 8.15 the Crown [inn]; 9 tea, conversed, walk, chaise; 12 Read[ing], Matt. vii. 24, dinner; 2 chaise; 5 Newb[ury], tea, conversed, prayed, writ narrative; 7.15 2 Cor. iv. 5! supper, prayer; 9.30.

¹ Wesley was entertained by Elizabeth Johnson, Hillgrove Street. She often appears in the Diary as Wesley's hostess. Elizabeth Ritchie wrote her biography. For more than half a century she lived a saintly life. Of the Bristol society she herself wrote: 'For these ten years I have enjoyed this haven of rest. It has been to me as a day without a cloud.' Her early godliness cost her a home and a fortune, but in the first year of the surviving Bristol roll she became possessed of means. On the roll her name lies side by side with that of the poorest. For years she was the living centre of a group of refined Christian gentlewomen in the old city. (*W.M. Mag.* 1901, p. 128.)

² On this day the Deed Poll, otherwise the Deed of Declaration, was signed and sealed by John Wesley (being first duly stamped in the presence of William

Clulow, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London, and Richard Young, clerk to the said William Clulow). The attested copy, printed on five folio pages, and dated Feb. 28, 1784, was sent to the Preachers, and, no doubt, to the Trustees also. One of these copies, yellow with age, the gift of an old Methodist family in the city of Chester, lies before us. The endorsement succinctly explains the purpose of the document: 'The Rev. John Wesley's Declaration and Establishment of the Conference of the People called Methodists. Enrolled in his Majesty's High Court of Chancery.' The Conference, as it exists to-day, is clearly described in this admirably drawn Deed, the validity of which has been tested again and again in the highest courts of law. The original deed is in the safe at the Conference Office.

*Fri. 5.*¹—I talked at large with our masters in Kingswood School, who are now just such as I wished for. At length the rules of the house are punctually observed, and the children are all in good order.

Sat. 6.—I spent a few melancholy minutes at Mr. Henderson's with the lost Louisa.² She is now in a far more deplorable

Tuesday 2

- 4 Prayed, the people ; 5 chaise ; 9 Marlbor[ough], tea ; 10 chaise ; 1.30 Chipp[enham] ; 2 dinner ; 2.15 chaise ; 4.15 Bath, at brother Sym[es's], within, tea, prayed, within ; 5.30 Acts xi. 11, 26 ! writ narrative, supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 3

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 6 Matt. vi. 34, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters ; 12 the leaders, tea, in talk ; 1 at brother Timbr., dinner, conversed ; 2.15 letters ; 4.45 at brother Ta[—]t's, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6.30 Matt. iv. 10, society, Mag., supper, prayer, Mag. ; 9.30.

Thursday 4

- 4 Prayed, letter ; 6 Heb. ii. 14, Mag. ; 8 tea, conversed, visited ; 9.30 chaise ; 11.30 Bristol ; 12 on business, letters ; 2 at Mr. Durb[in's], dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3.30 letters ; 5 prayer, tea, conversed, prayer ; 5.30 prayed ; 6.30 Psal. xc. 12 ! the bands, at Mr. Ca[stleman's], supper, within, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 5

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea, prayer, letters, Accounts ; 12 the females, prayed ; 1 prayer ; 2 at sister Ewer's ; 2 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2.30 prayed ; 4 chaise, at the School, within ! 5.30 tea, conversed, prayed, Mag. ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 6

- 4 Prayed, Mag., the children ; 6.30 within, tea, conversed, Mrs. — chaise ; 8.30 Hann[am], tea, within, Louisa ! chaise ; 10 on business, letters ; 1 at brother Green's, dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 Mag., prayed ; 4 visited, tea ; 6 John xv. 7, etc., Pen[ry] ; supper, prayer, on business ; 9.30.

¹ On March 4 he wrote from Bristol to William Percival, at Manchester, warning preachers not to talk against the Church or clergy, and against reading the Church prayers or baptizing children, &c.

² See above, March 15, 1782 ; below, Sept. 15, 1785 ; *Arm. Mag.* 1782, p. 321 ; and *W.H.S.* vol. iii. p. 161. Also the *Tale*

of Louisa, in Miss Bowdler's *Poems and Essays*. In the Richmond Interleaved Journal, p. 267, appears the following account :

Shortly after poor Louisa had been discovered in this country, a narrative made its appearance on the Continent, and was read with great avidity, in which there are certain striking coincidences with the facts that have been culled from the afflicted girl

case than ever. She used to be mild, though silly ; but now she is quite furious. I doubt the poor machine cannot be repaired in this life.¹ The next week I visited the classes at Bristol.²

Sunday 7

- 4 Prayed, letter, Journal ; 8 tea, conversed, prayed ; 9.30 read prayers, 1 Thess. iv. 7 ! communion, dinner, conversed ; 3 T[emple] C[hurch] prayers, Matt. iv. 10, tea, prayed ; 5 1 Thess. iv. 8, society ; 7 the singers, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 8

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xiii. 11, etc. ! writ narrative ; 7 class, tea, class ; 1 at brother Rober., dinner, conversed ; 2 class, prayer ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed ; 7 Matt. viii. 13, at Mr. Ca[stleman's], supper, within ; 9.45.

Tuesday 9

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 6 class, tea, within ; 9 class ; 1 at sister Staff[ord's], within ; 2 class, visited ; 5 tea, within, prayed ; 6.30 Psa. lxxiv. 13, the leaders, Jo[hanson], supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 10

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 8 tea, letters ; 10 prayer, class, visited some ; 1 dinner ; 2 class, visited some ; 5 tea, visited ; 6.30 Matt. xxii. 4 ! at sister Thom[pson], supper, within, prayer ; 10.

Thursday 11

- 4.15 Prayed, letters, Mag. ; 8 at brother White's, tea, conversed, prayer, visited ; 9.30 letters ; 1 at brother Pine[ls], dinner, conversed, prayer, letter ; 3 brother Simpson's, on business, letter ; 5 at brother Gee's, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 prayed.

which warrant the probability that La Fruëlen and Louisa are the same person, especially when it is considered that the scars described on the one exactly correspond with those discovered on the other, with other circumstances which sufficiently corroborate her identity, and the assumed fact that Louisa was a natural daughter of Francis I, Emperor of Germany.

¹ On the 11th he wrote from Bristol to the Rev. Brian Bury Collins, then at Bath, proposing a journey with him, long or short, and offering the pulpit in Temple Church, morning or afternoon. (*W.H.S.* vol. ix. p. 57.)

² About sixty-two years ago (says a writer in the *Christian Witness*) Mr. Gough had occasion to travel through various parts of the kingdom, and among other places he visited Bristol. It was

winter (and an unusually severe and prolonged winter). He then heard Mr. Wesley announced to preach on a given morning at a room in Broadmead at 5 o'clock. An unusually heavy storm of snow fell the preceding night, and continued that morning, so that the streets were almost literally blocked up. At 5 o'clock, however, Mr. Gough entered the room. Mr. Wesley and one individual were there. No sooner was Mr. Gough seated than, the time for service being arrived, Mr. Wesley arose. 'We are now,' said he, 'within the compass of the promise, and I will preach.' He did so, to a congregation consisting of only two persons. See Richmond Coll. Interleaved Journal, vol. xi. p. 267.

Friday the 12th, being at Samuel Rayner's, in Bradford, I was convinced of two vulgar errors: the one that nightingales will not live in cages; the other that they only sing a month or two in the year. He has now three nightingales in cages; and they sing almost all day long, from November to August.

Sat. 13.—About nine I preached at Trowbridge, where a large congregation quietly attended. Returning to Bristol, I lodged once more at E[lizabeth] J[ohnson]'s,¹ a genuine old Methodist. God has lately taken away her only brother, as well as her beloved sister. But she was still able to say, 'It is the Lord: let Him do what seemeth Him good.'

Mon. 15.—Leaving Bristol after preaching at five, in the evening I preached at Stroud; where, to my surprise, I found

Friday 12

- 4 Prayed, letters; 7 chaise, with E. Mor[gan]; 8 Keinsh[am], tea, conversed, Matt. viii. 2; 10 chaise, Cullen; 1.15 Bradf[ord], at brother Rainer's, dinner; 2.30 read narrative; 4 prayed, tea, conversed; 6 Matt. iv. 10, society, at Mr. B[——], supper, prayer; 10.

Saturday 13

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xiii. 11, etc., at Mr. Shrab[—]'s, tea, chaise, Trowbridg[e]; 8 tea, Job xxii. 21, chaise; 1.30 at Jo[hn] Ell[ison]'s, dinner, letters; 5 tea, visited some; 6 Rom. xi. 33, Pen[ry], at Miss Jo[h]nson's, supper, conversed, prayer, on business; 9.30.

Sunday 14

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, on business; 9.30 read prayers, Luke xi. 14, etc., communion, christened; 1.30 at brother Cross's, dinner, conversed; 2.30 on business; 3.30 sleep, prayed; 4 tea, prayed; 5 Matt. iv. 10; 6 society, the singers; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 15

- 4 Prayed; 5 John iv. 24! chaise; 9.30 Newport, tea, within; 10.30 chaise, Atterb[y]; 1 Stroud, writ plan; 2 dinner; 3 plan; 5 tea, conversed; 6 prayed, Luke xii. 7! society, at brother Freeby, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ A letter from M. and E. Johnson to John Valton, Bristol, 1779, and one from E. Johnson herself appeared in the *Arm. Mag.* 1798, p. 594. Miss Johnson briefly records the death of her sister on Sept. 25, 1780, in her 92nd or 93rd year; also the death of Mrs. Lydiard and sister Hall.

For detailed information respecting many of the early Methodist families in the city of Bristol see the Rev. Henry J. Foster's articles in the *W.M. Mag.* 1901, entitled, 'The Bristol Methodist Society Roll Books,' pp. 35 and 125. This might now receive several additions.

the morning preaching was given up, as also in the neighbouring places. If this be the case while I am alive, what must it be when I am gone? Give up this, and Methodism too will degenerate into a mere sect, only distinguished by some opinions and modes of worship.¹

Tues. 16.—I preached in Painswick at noon, and at Gloucester in the evening. The room was full at five in the morning, and both the preachers and people promised to neglect the early preaching no more.

Wed. 17.—We went to Cheltenham, which I had not seen for many years.² I preached at noon to half a houseful of hearers, most of them cold and dead enough. I expected to find the same at Tewkesbury, but was agreeably disappointed. Not only the congregation was much larger, but I admired their teachableness. On my mentioning the impropriety of standing at prayer, and sitting while we were singing praise to God, they all took advice; kneeling while we prayed, and stood up while we sung psalms.

Tuesday 16

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xiii. 11, plan; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, texts, chaise; 12 Painswick, Luke xi. 14, etc., dinner; 2 chaise; 3.30 Glo[uce]ster; 4 on business, tea, prayed; 6 Acts xi. 26, society! supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Wednesday 17

- 4 Prayed, Heb. xii. 14! letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 chaise, Atterby, Cheltenham; 12 on business; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 chaise; 3.30 Tewkes[bury], prayed, tea, conversed; 6 Matt. vii. 24, society! supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ It was abandoned, even in London, within a few years after Wesley's death, and London Methodism, in this and other respects, had always set the example for all parts of the country. The 'Morning Chapel,' burnt down in 1879, was only separated from the main building by a partition, hence such references as the following: 'On May 25, 1801, there were between three and four thousand children present . . . the Chapel and the Morning Chapel were exceedingly crowded' (see Telford's *Wesley's*

Chapel, p. 76). In this building the early morning services were held. For interesting allusions to the time (1803) when Jabez Bunting was appointed at City Road, and reluctantly saw, and through sheer weariness took part in, the dying of the old order, see *Life of Dr. Bunting*, vol. i. p. 172.

² Most of the towns, from Bristol to Peabworth, mentioned in these paragraphs were visited in March 1778, and almost in the same order.

Thur. 18.—We passed over to Bengeworth, where Mr. Cooper read prayers and I preached.

Fri. 19.—Being informed that my chaise could pass part of the way to Broadmarston, I went boldly for a while, and then stuck fast. I borrowed a horse, and went on. At five I preached in Pebworth church, and at five in the morning in our own chapel at Broadmarston. As we rode back to Bengeworth the cold was so intense that it had an effect I never felt before—it made me downright sick. However, I went on, and preached in the church at eleven, and in the evening at Worcester.

Sun. 21.—I preached to a crowded audience in St. Andrew's church. The vicar read prayers,¹ and afterwards told me I should be welcome to the use of his church whenever I came to Worcester.

Thursday 18

- 4 Prayed, Heb. iii. 7 ! letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 chaise ; 12.30 Bengewor[th] ; 1 on business, dinner ; 2 Mag. ; 4 prayed, visited, tea, conversed, prayer, at Mr. Beale's, conversed ; 6 prayers, 1 Tim. i. 5 ! supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 19

- 4 Prayed, Mag. ; 6 2 John 8 ! Mag., tea, conversed, at Mr. Bea[le's], conversed ; 10 chaise ; 11 visited ! read ; 12 Marston, Mag. ; 1 dinner ; 2 Mag., prayed, tea, walk ; 5 read prayers, 1 Sam. xxi. 8, walk, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.45.

Saturday 20

- 4 Prayed, Mic. ii. 10, Mag., tea, conversed, prayed ; 8.15 rode ; 10 Bengew[orth], at Mr. Bea[le's], conversed ; 11 prayers, John vii. 37, within, dinner ; 1.30 chaise ; 4 Worc[ester], letters, tea, visited ; 6.30 Matt. iv. 10 ! letter, supper, prayer ; 10.

Sunday 21²

- 4 Prayer, letters ; 7 Psa. lxxiv. 12, at brother King's, tea, conversed, prayer, visited ; 9 writ narrative ; 11 prayers, writ narrative ; 1 dinner, conversed, sleep, prayed ; 3 prayers, 1 Cor. xiii. 1, etc., tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 2 Cor. iv. 5 ! society, visited ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ The incumbent of St. Andrew's church was the Rev. W. Wormington. He seems to have been highly favourable to the Methodist movement. One of the earliest Worcester Methodists was William Hathaway, Leech Street.

² On the 21st he wrote from Worcester to one of the assistants, giving judgement in a case of buying uncustomed goods, and on other disciplinary matters (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

Mon. 22.—In the evening I preached at Birmingham.

Tues. 23.—I preached in the church at Quinton¹ to a congregation gathered from all parts. Not many appeared to be unaffected, for the power of God was eminently present.

After preaching at various outer places,² on *Saturday* the 27th

Monday 22

- 4 Prayed, Psa. cvi. 24, select society, tea, conversed, prayer ; 7 chaise, Crab Inn ; 9.30 tea, conversed ; 10.30 chaise ; 1 Birm[ingham], at brother Jones, dinner, conversed ; 2 letters ; 4 prayed, tea ; 6.30 Matt. xxii. 4 ! society, supper ; 9.30.

Tuesday 23

- 4 Prayed, Matt. vi. 34, letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters ; 10.30 coach ; 11.30 Quinton ; 12 John iv. 24, dinner, conversed, walk, garden ; 2.45 coach ; 3.30 read [cipher], $\hat{\alpha}$; 4 prayed, tea, conversed ; 6.30 Acts xvii. 30, communion ; 9 supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.

Wednesday 24

- 4 Prayed, Psa. l. 23, Journal ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 Journal ; 1 at brother Und[—] ; 1.30 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3 chaise ; 4.30 tea, conversed, letter ; prayed ; 6.30 John iv. 14, society ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 25

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xiii. 11, Mag. ; 8 tea, conversed, Mag. ; 10 chaise, Darl[aston] ; 10.30 visited ! read prayers, Rom. iii. 22 ! chaise ; 1 Wedn[esbur]y, dinner, conversed ; 3 chaise, Dudley, prayed, tea, Mag., Matt. viii. 13, society, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 26

- 4.15 Prayed, Psa. cvi. 24, Mag. ; 7.30 tea, prayer, Mag. ; 10.30 chaise, W[olverham]pton, Dan. ix. 24 ! chaise ; 1.30 Hilt[on] Park ; 2 within ; 3 dinner ; 4 Mag., prayed, tea together ; 10.30 supper, prayer ; 11.

Saturday 27

- 5.30 Prayed, read, tea, conversed, prayer ; 7.45 chaise ; 8.30 W[olverham]pt[on], tea ; 9 Matt. vii. 24, chaise, Upton, chaise ; 1.15 Madeley, dinner, conversed, Mr. Fletch[er] ; 2 prayed ; 6 tea, conversed ; 7.30 Ja. iii. 17, prayer, supper ; 9.30.

¹ This entry is somewhat obscure from this fact that in Wesley's time there was no church at this Quinton, which is in the ancient parish of Halesowen. It must be distinguished from Quinton, Glos., of which Samuel Taylor was vicar. See above, p. 306, and *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 92.

² An account of the Jeffrey ghost disturbances, which he published in three numbers of the *Arm. Mag.* 1784, is dated Hilton Park, March 26, 1784. Referring to his school-days and to letters read by his brother Samuel, then an usher in Westminster School, he says that when he was very young he

I went to Madeley; and, at Mr. Fletcher's desire, revised his Letters to Dr. Priestley.¹ I think there is hardly another man in England so fit to encounter him.

Sun. 28.—Notwithstanding the severe weather, the church was more than filled. I preached on part of the Epistle (Heb. ix. 13, &c.); in the afternoon on 'the grace of God that bringeth salvation,' and I believe God applied it to many hearts.

Mon. 29.—I gave an exhortation at Sheriffhales in my way to Stafford. When I came thither I found no notice had been given, so I had only a small company, in a deplorable hole, formerly a stable. Hence we went to Lane End,² a village two

Sunday 28

- 4 Prayed, Mag.; 8 1 Cor. xiii. 8, etc., tea, conversed; 9 Mag.; 10 prayer, Heb. ix. 13! 12.15 dinner, conversed, letters; 2.30 prayers, Titus ii. 13! 4 tea, conversed, Mag.; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Monday 29

- 4 Prayed, letters; 6 conversed, prayer; 7 chaise; Sher[iff] Hales, tea, conversed, prayer; 9 chaise; 12 Stafford, Prov. iii. 17! dinner; 2 chaise; 5 Lane End, tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Eph. ii. 8; 7.30 within, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

heard letters which told the story of the ghost in 1720 (he was then at Christ Church, Oxford). He went home to Epworth, made careful inquiry into the details of the famous story, and took down the statements of all the persons who could testify from their own knowledge. In 1784 he unearthed these records of more than sixty years before, and copied them for the *Arm. Mag.* pp. 548, 606, 654.

¹ Dr. Joseph Priestley, F.R.S. (1733—1804), the most distinguished of the English Presbyterian ministers who, in the eighteenth century, passed out of the orthodoxy of their Puritan ancestors—the ejected Nonconformists of 1662—through Arminianism, into Unitarianism. Priestley's celebrity as a writer was increased by his scientific investigations in electricity. His theological writings attacked the doctrines of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ. In defence of these doctrines Fletcher engaged to

write; but the brave vicar of Madeley overtaxed his strength and died before his reply to Priestley was finished. Wesley asked Benson to edit and publish what was written. This Benson did, under the title of *A Scriptural Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, with large additions of his own. See Fletcher's *Works*, vol. vii.; and Tyerman's *Life of Fletcher*, p. 533. In a letter to Walter Churchey (Oct. 10, 1791) Joseph Benson refers to this publication, and adds:

Dr. Priestley has lately published *Original Letters by the Rev. Mr. Wesley and his Friends*, to which he has prefixed an *Address to the Methodists*. This publication I had intended to answer, but the Mob having made such destruction to his and other houses and chapels I thought it a pity to say anything against him at this time. I would not advise you to give 3s. for the Dr.'s publication; but if it lye in your way to get a sight of it I think it would greatly amuse you.

² Now known as Longton.



THE ENOCH WOOD BUST OF WESLEY (*see NOTE ON PAGE 309*).
(*From the Botteley Collection at the Conference Office, City Road, London.*)

or three miles from Newcastle-under-Lyme. It was still piercingly cold, but the preaching-house would not hold a fourth part of the people. So I preached in the open air, the moon giving us clear light, though not much heat. The house was filled at five in the morning, and God again applied His word.

Tues. 30.—I preached in the new preaching-house at Hanley Green, but this was far too small to hold the congregation. Indeed, this country is all on fire, and the flame is still spreading from village to village. The preaching-house at Newcastle just held the congregation, many being kept away by the election, especially the gentry. But still, the poor heard the gospel preached, and received it with all readiness of mind.

Wed. 31.—I reached Burslem,¹ where we had the first society in the country; and it is still the largest, and the most in earnest. I was obliged to preach abroad. The house would but just contain the societies at the love-feast, at which many, both men and women, simply declared the wonderful works of God.

I did not find so lively a people at Congleton. Although the wounds made by prejudice were nearly healed, yet a faintness and deadness remained. I found the same sad effects of prejudice at Macclesfield. But there are so many here truly alive to God that His work goes on still, only not in so rapid a manner as it might otherwise have done.

Tuesday 30

- 4 Prayed, Isa. lxvi. ; 7 letters ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters ; 12 dinner, chaise ; 1 Hanley Green, Heb. viii. 11, chaise ; 3 Newca[stle], Mag. ; 5 tea, conversed ; 6 prayed, Mark ix. 23, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 31

- 4 Prayed, Mark ix. 29, letters, chaise ; 8 Burslem, tea ; 9 visited ; 10 Mag., texts ; 1 dinner, prayer ; 2 writ Journal ; 4 prayed, tea, conversed ; 5.30 Isa. lix. 1, 2 ! lovefeast ! supper, prayer ; 9.45.

¹ It has been argued that on this occasion Enoch Wood moulded the famous bust dated 'aged 81,' which is the parent of the many busts collected by Mr. James Botteley, presented by him to the Conference, and housed in the committee-

room of the Conference Office, City Road (see *W.M. Mag.* 1913, p. 86). For a statement of the conflicting theories see above, p. 309; and, for a full discussion of the subject, *W.H.S.* vol. vi. p. 17.

APRIL 4, *Sun.*—I preached at the new church, morning and evening, to a London congregation.

Mon. 5.—About noon I preached at Alpraham to an unusually large congregation. I was surprised when I came to Chester to find that there also morning preaching was quite left off, for this worthy reason: 'Because the people will not come, or, at least, not in the winter.' If so, the Methodists are a fallen people. Here is proof. They have 'lost their first love,' and they never will or can recover it, till they 'do the first works.'

As soon as I set foot in Georgia I began preaching at five in the morning, and every communicant, that is, every serious

APRIL 1, *Thursday*

- 4 Prayed, Acts xxii. 16, letter; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 chaise; 11 Congleto[n], Mag., E. Ro[e]'s! 1 dinner; 2 Mag., prayed, tea, conversed; 6.30 Luke xii. 7; 8 society; 8.15 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 2

- 4 Prayed, Phil. iii. 13! Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 8.45 chaise; 11 Mac[clesfiel]d, within, Mag.; 1.30 dinner; 2.30 Mag.; 5 tea, prayed, Mag.; 6.30 1 Pet. i. 24, society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 3

- 4 Prayed, Isa. lvii. 1, 2, within, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, Mag.; 12 visited; 1 dinner, conversed, Mag., prayed; 5 tea, conversed, visited some; 6.30 Psa. clxvi. 4, 5; 7 select society, supper, within; 9.30.

Sunday 4

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea, letters; 10.15 prayers, Titus ii. 11, etc.; 1 dinner, conversed, sleep; 3 prayers, Matt. iv. 10, tea, conversed, letter, walk; 7 the lovefeast! supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Monday 5

- 4 Prayed, tea, within; 5 chaise; 8.15 Middlewich, tea; 9.15 chaise; 12 Alpraham, dinner; 1 Heb. vi. 1! 2 chaise; 4.30 Chester; 5 within, tea, prayed; 6.30 Heb. ix. 13! the leaders, supper, prayer; 10.

Tuesday 6

- 4 Prayed, writ Journal; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters, walk; 1 dinner, prayer; 2 writ [—] of preachers; 4.30 walk, tea, conversed, prayed; 6.15 John iv. 24! 7 lovefeast, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

person in the town, constantly attended throughout the year ; I mean, came every morning, winter and summer, unless in the case of sickness. They did so till I left the province. In the year 1738, when God began His great work in England, I began preaching at the same hour, winter and summer, and never wanted a congregation. If they will not attend now, they have lost their zeal, and then, it cannot be denied, they are a fallen people.

And, in the meantime, we are labouring to secure the preaching-houses to the next generation¹ ! In the name of God, let us, if possible, secure the present generation from drawing back to perdition ! Let all the preachers that are still alive to God join together as one man, fast and pray, lift up their voice as a trumpet, be instant in season, out of season, to convince them they are fallen, and exhort them instantly to 'repent, and do the first works'; this in particular—rising in the morning, without which neither their souls nor bodies can long remain in health.²

¹ He is undoubtedly thinking of the Deed of Declaration, which was then being distributed.

² In the sphere of religious observance and personal habit there was nothing on which Wesley so persistently insisted as early rising and morning devotions, which, according to his scheme, were both private and public. The first Methodists in Oxford and Georgia he trained on this plan. Writing years afterwards to preachers, to ladies of rank, like Lady D'Arcy Maxwell, and to his own kith and kin, he urged the cultivation of this habit in the interest of health, and of a robust type of spiritual religion. It was a deep-rooted conviction that to sleep late, and not to begin each day with God in meditation and prayer, was to give scope to habits of self-indulgence and to rob the soul of its best springs of spiritual energy. This was not the conviction of a saintly old age merely. We find it equally pronounced in the Oxford Cipher Diary. The regimen he prescribed for the individual he prescribed

even more earnestly for the community. And what he taught he practised, as his last Diary proves, to the end of his long and strenuous life.

For Wesley's Georgia Rule for daily worship, see above, vol. i. pp. 211, 212. It should be remembered that, in dividing the day, beginning at five in the morning, he followed the original appointment of the early Church, which prescribed matins, lauds, vespers, and compline. See Hickes's *Devotions*, which Wesley used in Georgia, and from which he drew more than one of the hymns still in use among the Methodists. At the same time it should be noted that the devotions on which he insisted, even for busy colonial farmers and artisans, were brief—as he himself argued in writing to General Oglethorpe—not more than seven minutes. Probably long prayers, long hymns, and long, prosy sermons more than anything else destroyed the early morning services of the Methodists in the last years of the eighteenth century.

Wed. 7.—I crossed over the water to Liverpool. Here I found a people much alive to God, one cause of which was that they have preaching several mornings in a week, and prayer-meetings on the rest, all of which they are careful to attend.

On *Good Friday*, the 9th, I went to Warrington. In the morning I read prayers, preached, and administered the Lord's Supper to a serious congregation. I preached at five again, and believe few were present who did not feel that God was there of a truth.

Sat. 10.—I preached to a huge congregation at Manchester, and to a far larger at ten in the morning, being *Easter Day*. It was supposed there were near a thousand communicants.¹ But hitherto the Lord has helped me in this respect also; I have found no congregation which my voice could not command.

Wednesday 7

- 4 Prayed, Matt. xii. 43, letter; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letter, within, prayer; 10 chaise, Eastham, dinner; 1.30 boat; 3 Liv[erpool], read narrative, prayed, tea, conversed, prayed, Dan. ix. 24, society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 8

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xiii. 16, Mag.; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, Mag.; 12 walk, visited; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 Mag.; 3.45 prayed, tea, conversed; 6 Matt. iv. 10, the bands, supper, prayer; 9.30.

GOOD FRIDAY—*Friday 9*

- 4 Prayed, Psal. lxxiv. 13, within, chaise; 9.30 Warr[ing]ton, on business, read prayers; 11 Gen. xxii. 1, 2, communion, dinner; 2 christened, prayed; 4 tea, conversed; 5 Heb. iv. 13, society! Mag., supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 10

- 4 Prayed, Psal. cvi. 24, Mag., tea; 9 chaise; 12 Manc[heste]r, letters; 2 dinner, conversed; 2.15 letters; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 Rom. viii. 13, supper, prayer, communion, on business; 9.45.

EASTER DAY—*Sunday 11*

- 4 Prayed, letters; 8 christened, prayed; 10 prayers, Luke xxiv. 34, communion; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 2.30 sleep, read sermon; 4 tea, conversed; 5.15 Col. iii. 1, etc., society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ Thomas Taylor, in his manuscript Diary, says there were twelve hundred. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 411.

Mon. 12.—I found a lovely congregation at Stockport, much alive to God. So was that at Oldham the next day, which was not perceptibly lessened, though it blew a storm, and poured down with rain. Here a young woman, of unblameable character (otherwise I should not have given her any credit), gave me a remarkable account.¹ She said: 'I had totally lost the sight of my right eye, when I dreamed one night that our Saviour appeared to me; that I fell at His feet, and He laid His hand upon my right eye. Immediately I waked, and from that moment have seen as well with that eye as with the other.'

I applied, to a very large congregation, the case of the Rechabites² (Jer. xxxv.). I asked: (1) Does it appear that these owed to Jonadab more than the Methodists owe to me? (2) Are they as observant of *my* advices (although both scriptural and rational; to instance only in dress and rising early) as the Rechabites were of *his* advices? (Of drinking no wine, and living in tents; which had neither Scripture nor reason to support them!) I think every member of the society at Bolton does take my advice with respect to other things, as well as with respect to dress and rising early; in consequence

Monday 12

- 4 Prayed, writ sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, visited, sermon; 2 at brother Philips's, dinner, visited some, chaise; 4.30 Stockport, sermon, tea; 6 Rom. viii. 33, society, walk, at brother Mar.'s, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Tuesday 13

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, visited! 9 chaise; 11.15 Oldha[m], sermon, John v. 8; 1.15 dinner; 3 chaise; 4.30 Manc[hester], the preachers, tea, conversed; 6 Acts xi. 26, society, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Wednesday 14

- 4 Prayed, Jer. xxxv. ult., sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 chaise, Bolton; 11 sermon; 1 dinner, within, sermon; 4 prayed, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 Matt. viii. 13! 7 society; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ Anne Brookes, of Oldham, was the well-known heroine in this remarkable and well-attested story of faith-healing. Thomas Hanby wrote her memoir in the *Arm. Mag.* 1793. The cure of an attack of ophthalmia, which resisted all

known remedies, is the most graphic feature in Hanby's account.

² See Wesley's Sermons on Catholic Spirit, No. xxxix. (*Works*, vol. v. p. 492), and on Obedience to Pastors, No. xcvi. (*Works*, vol. vii. p. 108).

of which they are continually increasing in number as well as in grace.

Fri. 16.—I preached about ten at Wingates, a village five or six miles from Bolton. I was constrained, by the multitude of people, to preach abroad, though it was exceeding cold, on 'All things are ready; come unto the marriage.' Truly the people were ready too. They drank in every word.

In the evening we had a very uncommon congregation at Wigan. Only one gentlewoman behaved 'as she used to do at church' (so several afterwards informed me); talking all the time, though no one answered her! But the rest were deeply attentive; and, I trust, will not be forgetful hearers. I had designed to go from hence to Blackburn; but, hearing that one of our society near Preston was at the point of death, I turned a little out of my way, to spend half an hour with her. I found Mrs. Nuttal,¹ a lovely, patient creature, praising God continually, though worn away with pining sickness and long-continued pain. Having paid the last office of friendship here, I went to Preston,² and preached to a serious congregation. In the

Thursday 15

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 sermon; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2 sermon, prayed; 4.15 christened ten, tea, conversed, prayed; 6 2 Jo[hn] 8, the bands, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 16

- 4 Prayed, John iv. 24, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, writ narrative; 9.15 chaise; 10.30 Wingates, Matt. xxii. 4, chaise; 1.15 at brother Laland's; 1.30 dinner, sermon, prayed, tea; 6 1 Cor. xiii. 1, etc. 1 supper, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 17

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 6 Rom. xii. 1, tea, conversed, prayer; 8 chaise; 11 at sister Nuttal's, within, chaise; 12 Preston, Heb. ix. 27, dinner, conversed; 3 chaise; 5 Blackburn, tea, conversed; 6 John xvii. 3, society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ See Allen's *Methodism in Preston*, p. 35, or Pilkington's *Makers of Preston Methodism*, p. 19.

² Here he was entertained by Roger Crane, who took the lead in Preston Methodism for many years, devoting his talent and fortune to the cause. Two of

his sisters married Methodist preachers (Charles Atmore and Michael Emmett). 'Tradition tells to this day how the people lined Fishergate to see Wesley pass, leaning on the arm of Mr. Crane and one of his preachers' (*Apostles of Fylde Methodism*, p. 26).

evening I preached at Blackburn, where also the society is lively, and continually increasing.

Sun. 18.—After preaching at five to a numerous congregation (but not one rich or well-dressed person among them, either morning or evening! Poor Blackburn!) I hastened on to Gisburn. The church was so full that a few were obliged to stand without the doors. The word was quick and powerful. So it was afterward at Settle. Sufficient for this day was the labour thereof.

Mon. 19.—I went on to Ambleside; where, as I was sitting down to supper, I was informed notice had been given of my preaching, and that the congregation was waiting. I would not disappoint them, but preached immediately on salvation by faith. Among them were a gentleman and his wife, who gave me a remarkable relation. She said she had often heard her mother relate what an intimate acquaintance had told her, that her husband was concerned in the Rebellion of 1745. He was tried at Carlisle, and found guilty. The evening before he was to die, sitting and musing in her chair, she fell fast asleep. She dreamed one came to her and said, ‘Go to such a part of the wall, and among the loose stones you will find a key, which you must carry to your husband.’ She waked; but, thinking it a common dream, paid no attention to it. Presently she fell asleep again, and dreamed the very same dream. She started up, put on her cloak and hat, and went to that part of the wall, and among the loose stones found a key. Having, with some difficulty, procured admission into the jail, she gave this to her husband. It opened the door of his cell, as well as the lock of the prison door. So at midnight he escaped for life.

Sunday 18

- 4 Prayed, Heb. vi. 1, tea; 7 chaise; 10.15 Gisburn, prayers, Isa. lv. 6, 7; 12.30 dinner, conversed; 1.30 chaise; 4 Settle, on business, tea, letter; 5.15 1 John v. 11; 6.30 society, sermon, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 19

- 4 Prayed, 1 Sam. xxi. 8! tea; 6.30 chaise; 9.30 Kirkby L[onsdale]; 10 tea, sermon; 10.45 chaise; 1 Kendal, dinner; 2.30 chaise; 6.15 Ambleside, sermon; 8 Eph. ii. 8; 8.45 supper, conversed; 9.30.

Tues. 20.—We went to Whitehaven, where there is a fairer prospect than has been for many years. The society is united in love, not conformed to the world, but labouring to experience the full image of God, wherein they were created. The house was filled in the evening, and much more the next, when we had all the church ministers, and most of the gentry in the town; but they behaved with as much decency as if they had been colliers.

Thur. 22.—I preached in the market-house at Cockermouth. In our way thence we had some of the heaviest rain I have seen in Europe. The Sessions being at Carlisle, I could not have the court-house, but we had a good opportunity in our own house.

Fri. 23.—We travelled through a lovely country to Longtown, the last town in England, and one of the best built in it, for all the houses are new from one end to the other. The road from hence to Langholm is delightfully pleasant, running mostly by the side of a clear river. But it was past seven before we reached Selkirk.

Sat. 24.—We had frost in the morning, snow before seven,

Tuesday 20

- 4 Prayed; 4.45 chaise; 8 Keswick, tea; 9 chaise; 12 Cock[ermouth], dinner; 1 chaise; 3.30 Whiteh[aven], at T. Hodge's, letters, prayed, tea, Psa. cxlvi. 4! society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 21

- 4 Prayed, 1 John ii. 12, Journal, tea; 7.30 sermon; 12 walk, dinner; 1.30 visited many; 3 read, letters, prayed; 4.45 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 Rev. xiv. 1, etc. ! the bands, supper, prayer; 9 30.

Thursday 22

- 4 Prayed, Matt. v. 47! chaise; 8.30 Cock[er]m[outh], tea; 9 Luke x. 42! 10.15 chaise; 12.45 Red Dial, dinner, conversed, chaise; 4 Carlisle, on business, tea, conversed; 6.30 Rom. iii. 23! supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 23

- 4 Tea, prayer; 5 chaise, Langholm, tea, chaise; 11 Mus. Paul [Mosspaul]; 12 chaise, Hawick, dinner, chaise; 7 Selkirk, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 24

- 4 Prayed; 5 chaise; 7.15 Stage Inn, tea, chaise; 11 Middleto[n]; 12 chaise; 2.15 Edinb[urgh], inn, dinner; 3 letters; 5 tea, conversed, letters, prayed; 7 Luke xii. 7! at sister Thomps[on's], supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

piercing winds all day long, and in the afternoon vehement hail, so that I did not wonder we had a small congregation at Edinburgh in the evening.

Sun. 25.—I attended the Tolbooth kirk at eleven. The sermon was very sensible, but, having no application, was no way likely to awaken drowsy hearers. About four I preached at Lady Maxwell's, two or three miles from Edinburgh,¹ and at six in our own house. For once it was thoroughly filled. I preached on 'God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.' I am amazed at this people. Use the most cutting words, and apply them in the most pointed manner, still they *hear*, but *feel* no more than the seats they sit upon!

Mon. 26.—I went to Glasgow and preached in the evening to a very different congregation. Many attended in the morning, although the morning preaching had been long discontinued both here and at Edinburgh. In the evening many were obliged to go away, the house not being able to contain them.

Sunday 25

- 4 Prayed, letters; 7 1 John v. 19! tea, conversed, letters; 10.30 prayers; 1 at Lady Max[well's]; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.15 letters; 3.30 prayed, Rev. xx. 12, walk, prayed; 6 John iv. 24, society; 8 at Mrs. Caithness's, supper together; 9.30.

Monday 26

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xiii. 11, letters, tea, conversed; 8 coach; 12 dinner, within; 1 coach; 5.15 Glasgow, tea, conversed; 6 Luke xvi. 31! society! 8 at Mr. Gill[ie]'s; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Tuesday 27

- 4 Prayed, Luke i. 72! letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 letter; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6 Eccl. vii. 29, society! 8 at brother McKie, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ In Nov. 1782 Lady Maxwell removed (see her *Diary*) from Saughton Hall to Gardiner's Hall, which lay between Gardiner's Crescent and the Caledonian Railway. It was probably demolished in the construction of the railway. In May 1783 she removed

thence to Coates Hall, which is now the Song School connected with St. Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of 'our own house,' the Octagon, in Low Calton. Cf. also Sarah Tytler's *Countess of Huntingdon*, p. 261, and below, May 27, 1786.

Wed. 28.—We found the same inconvenience, but those who could get in found a remarkable blessing.

Thur. 29.—The house¹ was thoroughly filled at four, and the hearts of the people were as melting wax. Afterwards I returned to Edinburgh, and in the evening the house was well filled. So that we must not say 'the people of Edinburgh love the word of God only on the Lord's Day.'

Fri. 30.—We went to Perth, now but the shadow of what it was, though it begins to lift up its head.² It is certainly the sweetest place in all North Britain, unless perhaps Dundee. I preached in the Tolbooth to a large and well-behaved congregation. Many of them were present again at five in the morning, MAY 1. I then went to Dundee, through the Carse of Gowrie, the fruitfulest valley in the kingdom.³ And I observe a spirit of improvement prevails in Dundee, and all the country round about it. Handsome houses spring up on every side.

Wednesday 28

- 4 Prayed, Luke xii. 7! letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 writ Journal; 12 walk; 1 at brother Richard's, dinner, conversed, prayer, visited; 2.30 writ logic; 4 prayed, at Mr. ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 Luke xiii. 23, 24! society, at brother Tassie; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 29

- 4 Prayed, 1 John iv. 19, letter; 7 tea, conversed, prayer; 8 walk, diligence; 9 read Spence [Joseph Spence, Professor of Poetry, and afterwards of Modern History, at Oxford], sermon; 1 at Mrs. Hen[der]son's, dinner; 1.45 dil[igence]; 5 [—]; 5.30 Edinb[urgh], at brother Ross, tea, conversed, prayer; 6 on business, prayed; 7 1 John iv. 19, at Mrs. Thompson's, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Friday 30

- 4 Prayed, writ narrative; 4.45 chaise; 6.30 Queen's Ferry, tea, within, in the boat; 7.30 chaise, Caesar, Greek Test[ament] [cipher], ☩; 10.30 Kinross; 11.45 chaise, G[reek] T[estament], C[esar]; 2.15 Perth, dinner, writ narrative, prayed; 5 tea, within; 6 Tolboo[th], 1 Cor. xiii. 1, etc.! society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.15.

¹ The Barber's Hall in Stockwell Street (at the corner of Howard Street), was the preaching-room for over twenty years, until 1787, when John Street Chapel was opened (*Meth. Rec.* March 28, 1912).

² See Chapter I of Sir Walter Scott's

romance, *The Fair Maid of Perth*.

³ The Carse may be considered as the finest alluvial or delta land in Scotland, similar to those fertile tracts adjacent to the mouths of the Nile, the Ganges, Indus, or the Mississippi. See above, vol. v. p. 258.

Trees are planted in abundance. Wastes and commons are continually turned into meadows and fruitful fields.¹ There wants only a proportionable improvement in religion, and this will be one of the happiest countries in Europe. In the evening I preached in our own ground to a numerous congregation; but the next afternoon to one far more numerous, on whom I earnestly enforced 'How long halt ye between two opinions?' Many of them seemed almost persuaded to halt no longer; but God only knows the heart.

Mon. 3.—I was agreeably surprised at the improvement of the land between Dundee and Arbroath. Our preaching-house at Arbroath² was completely filled. I spoke exceeding plain on the difference of building upon the sand and building upon the rock. Truly these 'approve the things that are excellent,' whether they practise them or no.

I found this to be a genuine Methodist society. They are all thoroughly united to each other; they love and keep our

MAY 1, *Saturday*

- 4 Prayed, read narrative; 6 1 Cor. xiii. 13! tea, conversed, prayer; 7.45 chaise, Ra[—]; 10 chaise; 12.30 Dundee, writ narrative, dinner, conversed; 2.30 texts; 4 letters; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 Heb. iv. 13, society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Sunday 2

- 4 Prayed, writ letter, tea; 7 Heb. viii. 10, letter; 9.30 garden; 10.15 prayers; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2 sleep, prayed; 3 prayers; 4.15 at sister Kay's, tea, conversed; 5.30 1 K[ings] xviii. 21, society, read; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 3

- 4 Prayed, Matt. xii. 43, etc., letter; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, visited; 9.15 chaise; 12.15 Arbroath, Logic; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 2 Logic; 3.15 prayed, walk; 6 Matt. vii. 24! society, within! supper, prayer; 9.30.

¹ A few years later the plantations of Forfarshire included twelve thousand acres.

² On the tombstone of Mr. Alexander Patterson, of Arbroath, who died June 12, 1761, the following lines are inscribed. They are said to have been written by John Wesley at the dinner-table on this day. He was the guest of David Patter-

son, merchant of Arbroath, and son of Alexander. The authenticity of the document containing the lines is avouched by John Rhind, nephew to Mr. David:

Reader, awake, in time repent;
Thine hours or mine are only lent;
The day is hastening when, like me,
Thou too shalt dust and ashes be;
Forsake thy sins, in Christ believe,
And thou shalt with Him ever live.

Rules; they long and expect to be perfected in love; if they continue so to do, they will and must increase in number as well as in grace.

Tues. 4.—I reached Aberdeen between four and five in the afternoon.

*Wed. 5.*¹—I found the morning preaching had been long discontinued, yet the bands and the select society were kept up. But many were faint and weak for want of morning preaching and prayer-meetings, of which I found scarce any traces in Scotland.

In the evening I talked largely with the preachers, and showed them the hurt it did both to them and the people for any one preacher to stay six or eight weeks together in one place. Neither can he find matter for preaching every morning and evening, nor will the people come to hear him. Hence he grows cold by lying in bed, and so do the people. Whereas, if he never stays more than a fortnight together in one place, he may find matter enough, and the people will gladly hear him. They immediately drew up such a plan for this circuit, which they determined to pursue.

Thur. 6.—We had the largest congregation at five which I have seen since I came into the kingdom. We set out immediately after preaching, and reached Old Meldrum about ten.

Tuesday 4

- 3 On business; 4 chaise; 6 Ferry, tea; 7.45 chaise; 10.15 Berv[ie]; 11.15 chaise; 12 Hist[ory] of Perth; 1 Stoneh[aven?] [lit. Stoneh[il]th], dinner; 2 chaise; 4.45 Ab[er]d[ee]n; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 Matt. xxii. 37, society, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 5

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xiii. 11! letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 11 read; 12 walked; 1 dinner; 2 read; 4.30 prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayed; 6.30 Matt. xxii. 37! society, the preachers; 8.30 supper, prayer; 9.45.

Thursday 6

- 4 Prayed, Gen. xlix. 4, tea; 6.15 chaise; 10 O[ld] Meldru[m], tea; 11 chaise; 3 Forglen, conversed, on business; 4 dinner, conversed; 5.30 prayed, tea, conversed, Prov. iii. 17; 8 read letters; 9 supper, conversed, prayer; 10.30.

¹ On Ma 5 he wrote from Aberdeen to James Rogers, objecting to 'a few tart expressions' concerning the clergy, but

approving his restoration of the meetings at five in the morning (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

A servant of Lady Banff's was waiting for us there, who desired I would take post-horses to Forglen.¹ In two hours we reached an inn, which, the servant told us, was four little miles from her house. So we made the best of our way, and got thither in exactly three hours. All the family received us with the most cordial affection. At seven I preached to a small congregation, all of whom were seriously attentive, and some, I believe, deeply affected.

Fri. 7.—I took a walk round about the town. I know not when I have seen so pleasant a place. One part of the house is an ancient castle, situated on the top of a little hill. At a small distance runs a clear river, with a beautiful wood on its banks. Close to it is a shady walk to the right, and another on the left hand. On two sides of the house there is abundance of wood ; on the other, a wide prospect over fields and meadows. About ten I preached again with much liberty of spirit on 'Love never faileth.' About two I left this charming place, and made for Keith. But I know not how we could have got thither had not Lady Banff sent me forward, through that miserable road, with four stout horses.

I preached about seven to the poor of this world. Not a silk coat was seen among them ; and to the greatest part of them at five in the morning. And I did not at all regret my labour.

Sat. 8.—We reached the banks of the Spey. I suppose there are few such rivers in Europe. The rapidity of it exceeds even that of the Rhine²; and it was now much swelled with

Friday 7

4.45 Prayed, letters ; 9 tea, writ letters ; 12 1 Cor. xiii. 8, etc. ! 1 dinner, conversed ; 2 chaise ; 6.15 Keith, at Dr. Ha.'s, tea, Heb. ix. 27 ! society ; 8.15 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.15.

Saturday 8

4 Prayed ; 5 Acts xvi. 31, tea, prayer ; 6.30 chaise ; 8 Spey, tea ; 10.15 walk, chaise ; 12 Elgin, letters, dinner ; 2 chaise ; 5 Dalvey ; 5 within, tea ; 6.30 on business, prayed, Journal, Rev. xiv. 1, etc., supper, conversed, prayer ; 10.30.

¹ Forglen House, a fifteenth-century house rebuilt in 1842, standing on the bank of the Deveron, is the seat of the Abercromby family, a seventeenth-century baronetcy. The widowed Lady

Banff was the mother of Sir George's wife. Wesley visited her again on May 23, 1790.

² Probably a misprint for Rhone.

melting snow.¹ However, we made shift to get over before ten, and about twelve reached Elgin. Here I was received by a daughter of good Mr. Plenderleith,² late of Edinburgh, with whom having spent an agreeable hour, I hastened towards Forres. But we were soon at full stop again; the river Findhorn also was so swollen that we were afraid the ford was not passable. However, having a good guide, we passed it without much difficulty. I found Sir Lodovick Grant³ almost worn out. Never was a visit more seasonable. By free and friendly conversation his spirits were so raised that I am in hopes it will lengthen his life.

Sun. 9.—I preached to a small company at noon on 'His commandments are not grievous.' As I was concluding Colonel Grant and his lady came in, for whose sake I began again, and lectured, as they call it, on the former part of the fifteenth chapter of St. Luke. We had a larger company in the afternoon, to whom I preached on 'judgement to come.' And this subject seemed to affect them most.

Mon. 10.—I set out for Inverness. I had sent Mr. M'Allum⁴ before, on George Whitfield's horse, to give notice of my coming.

Sunday 9

4.30 Prayed, writ upon *Nerv[ous] Dis[orders]*; 9 prayer, tea, conversed, writ *Th[oughts]*⁵; 12.30 prayers, 1 John v. 3, Luke xv. 7; 2 *Th[oughts]*; 3 dinner; 4.30 Rev. xx. 12; 5.30 prayed, tea, *Th[oughts]*; 7.30 conversed, supper, prayer; 10.15.

Monday 10

4.45 Prayed, *Th[oughts]*, garden; 8 tea, prayer; 9 chaise; 10.30 Nairn, walk; 3.30 Pett[y]; 4.15 chaise; 5.15 Invern[ess], at sister Liv[—]'s; 5.15 dinner, conversed, tea; 6.45 *Psa. xxxiii. 1!* society! supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ See Queen Victoria's *Journal in the Highlands*.

² To whom Wesley wrote in 1768. See *Arm. Mag.* 1783, pp. 681-2.

³ See above, p. 237. He died Sept. 1790.

⁴ Duncan M'Allum was one of the self-taught scholars of the Methodist itinerancy in the eighteenth century. Converted through the Methodists in early life, with small assistance except from books, he acquired a knowledge of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac; and was

well informed in civil and ecclesiastical history, and in most branches of mental and physical science. In March 1775 Wesley appointed him to a circuit. His ministry was confined chiefly to Scotland. On Sunday he often preached four times, twice in Gaelic, and twice in English. He died in 1834. It is said that no Wesleyan minister in Scotland was ever better known, more generally esteemed, or more useful. (*W.M. Mag.* 1834, p. 717.)

⁵ See below (note to May 19).

Hereby I was obliged to take both George and Mrs. M'Allum with me in my chaise. To ease the horses, we walked forward from Nairn, ordering Richard to follow us as soon as they were fed. He did so, but there were two roads. So, as we took one and he the other, we walked about twelve miles and a half of the way through heavy rain. We then found Richard waiting for us at a little ale-house, and drove on to Inverness. But, blessed be God, I was no more tired than when I set out from Nairn. I preached at seven to a far larger congregation than I had seen here since I preached in the kirk. And surely the labour was not in vain, for God sent a message to many hearts.

*Tues. 11.*¹—Notwithstanding the long discontinuance of morning preaching, we had a large congregation at five. I breakfasted at the first house I was invited to at Inverness, where good Mr. M'Kenzie then lived.² His three daughters live in it now, one of whom inherits all the spirit of her father. In the afternoon we took a walk over the bridge into one of the pleasantest countries I have seen. It runs along by the side of the clear river, and is well cultivated and well wooded. And here first we heard abundance of birds, welcoming the return of spring. The congregation was larger this evening than the last, and great part of them attended in the morning. We had then a solemn parting, as we could hardly expect to meet again in the present world.

Wed. 12.—I dined once more at Sir Lodovick Grant's, whom likewise I scarce expect to see any more. His lady is

Tuesday 11

- 4 Prayed, Luke xx. 35, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer! 9 letter, Journal, [cipher] ٨٨! 12.30 walk; 1.45 dinner, conversed; 3.15 letters; 4 prayed, tea, conversed; 6.30 1 Sam. xx. 3; 8 read, supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

Wednesday 12

- 4.30 Rev. xiv. 1, etc. ! letter, tea; 7.45 chaise; 10.30 at Mr. Dunbar's; 11 chaise; 1.30 Dalv[ey], within, dinner, conversed; 2.15 chaise; 4.45 Elgin, tea, conversed; 6 prayed; 6.30 Isa. lv. 6! prayed, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ He wrote from Inverness to W. Black, approving his work, advising and reporting on the work at home. See

Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. p. 453.

² See above, p. 238, and vol. v. p. 364.

lately gone to rest, and he seems to be swiftly following her. A church being offered me at Elgin, in the evening I had a multitude of hearers, whom I strongly exhorted to 'seek the Lord while He may be found.'

Thur. 13.—We took a view of the poor remains of the once-magnificent cathedral.¹ By what ruins are left, the workmanship appears to have been exquisitely fine. What barbarians must they have been who hastened the destruction of this beautiful pile by taking the lead off the roof!

The church was again well filled in the evening, by those who seemed to feel much more than the night before. In consequence, the morning congregation was more than doubled; and deep attention sat on every face. I do not despair of good being done even here, provided the preachers be 'sons of thunder.'

Fri. 14.—We saw, at a distance, the Duke of Gordon's new house, six hundred and fifty feet in front. Well might the Indian ask, 'Are you white men no bigger than we red men? Then why do you build such lofty houses?'² The country between this and Banff is well cultivated, and extremely pleasant. About two I read prayers and preached in the Episcopal chapel at Banff, one of the neatest towns in the kingdom.

Thursday 13

- 4 Prayed, Mark i. 15, Th[ough]ts [see below, Wed. 19]; 8 tea, conversed, read, narrative; 12 walk; 1 Th[ough]ts; 2 dinner, conversed; 3 letters; 5 prayed, tea; 6.30 Matt. xvi. 26! society, supper, prayed; 9.30.

Friday 14

- 4 Prayed, Eph. ii. prayer! tea; 6.15 chaise, *Fingal*, Cullen, tea, chaise; 1.15 Banff, on business, dinner; 2 read prayers, Rom. xiii. 10; 3.30 chaise; 5.30 Forglen, tea together; 7 Job xxii. 21! supper, conversed; 10.

¹ See Johnson's visit to Elgin Cathedral (Journal of *Tour*, p. 564, Fitzg. ed.), also Pennant's description. The lead taken off the roof was removed by order of the Privy Council of Scotland in Feb. 1567-8, to pay the soldiers. It was shipped for Holland, but the vessel sank.

² Defoe said that Gordon Castle, near Fochabers, looked more like a town than

a nobleman's seat. To Dr. Johnson on his 'Tour' it had a princely appearance. The front is 560 ft. long, and the main body of the building is of four stories. The park contains 13,000 acres. See Burns's verses on Gordon Castle, written after his entertainment there by the Duchess. For the saying of the Indians see above, vol. i. p. 239.

About ten I preached in Lady Banff's dining-room at Forglen, to a very serious though genteel congregation; and afterwards spent a most agreeable evening with the lovely family.

Sat. 15.—We set out early, and dined at Aberdeen. On the road I read Ewen Cameron's Translation of *Fingal*. I think he has proved the authenticity of it beyond all reasonable contradiction. But what a poet was Ossian! Little inferior to either Homer or Virgil; in some respects superior to both. And what an hero was Fingal! Far more humane than Hector himself, whom we cannot excuse for murdering one that lay upon the ground; and with whom Achilles, or even pious Aeneas, is not worthy to be named. But who is this excellent translator, Ewen Cameron? Is not his other name Hugh Blair?¹

Sun. 16.—I went to Newburgh,² a small fishing town, fifteen

Saturday 15

4.15 Prayed, read, garden; 6 tea, conversed; 6.45 chaise; 2 Aberdeen, letter, dinner, letter; 5 tea, conversed, prayed, letter; 7 Joshua xxiv. 15, society, supper, conversed, prayed; 9.45.

Sunday 16

4 Prayed, tea; 6.15 coach; 9 Newboro [Newburgh], tea, Matt. xxii. 41 chaise; 1.15 Ab[erdeen], dinner, conversed; 2.15 prayers, 1 Cor. xiii. 1, etc.; tea, conversed; 5 2 Tim. ii. 5, 6, society, letters, supper, prayer; 9.15.

¹ Ossian, the reputed writer of *Fingal*, is said to have lived in the third century, and to have been the son of Fingal. Wesley's conjecture respecting the translator was wrong. It was Macpherson who gave to the world *The Poems of Ossian* about the year 1760. But Dr. Blair wrote 'Dissertations' on the Poems of Ossian, in which he contended for the genuineness of the poems. See above, vol. v. p. 217, and below June 22, 1786.

² This was one of many small towns or villages in Scotland in which at the outset Methodist societies were founded, and for some years prospered. The impossibility of supplying in each case an ordained ministry, clashing as it did with Scottish prejudices, prevented the continuance of these village causes. The Scotch people were intolerant of lay

preaching, except as an occasional effort. Newburgh is the best type of these small societies. Mr. C. Diack, of Aberdeen, in a valuable sketch of Methodism in Aberdeen, p. 14, says that the vitality and vigour which Wesley remarked were a feature of the Methodist life at this small village for many years. A poor fishing community!—and it is surprising to find that so early as 1799 (and probably before), an interest was taken in Foreign Missions, collections being regularly made on their behalf and for other connexional purposes. . . . One of the early Methodist worthies in Newburgh was an old woman, 'blind Meggy,' who lived alone in a single room. . . . Her custom was to sally out with her Bible in hand, and call at a neighbour's house to get some one to read a chapter to her,

miles north of Aberdeen. Here is at present, according to its bigness, the liveliest society in the kingdom. I preached here in a kind of Square, to a multitude of people; and the whole congregation appeared to be moved, and ready prepared for the Lord.

At two in the afternoon Mr. Black read prayers, and I preached, in Trinity chapel.¹ It was crowded with people of all denominations. I preached from 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2, 3, in utter defiance of their common saying, 'He is a good man, though he has bad tempers.' Nay, if he has bad tempers, he is no more a good man than the devil is a good angel. At five I preached in our own chapel, exceeding crowded, on the form and power of godliness. I am now clear of these people, and can cheerfully commend them to God.

Mon. 17.—I reached Arbroath, and inquired into that odd event which occurred there in the latter end of the last war. The famous Captain Fall² came one afternoon to the side of the town, and sent three men on shore, threatening to lay the town in ashes unless they sent him thirty thousand pounds. That not being done, he began firing on the town the next day, and continued it till night. But, perceiving the country was alarmed, he sailed away the next day, having left some hundred cannon-balls behind him; but not having hurt man, woman, or child, or anything else, save one old barn-door.

Monday 17

3.30 Prayed, tea; 4.30 chaise; 9.30 Bervie, tea; 10.30 chaise; 1 Montros[e]; 2 dinner; 2.30 chaise; 4.30 Arbro[ath], at Mr. Watson's together, tea; 6 1 Cor. i. 24! society, visited; 8.30 supper, prayer; 9.30.

and return to meditate upon it; and on preaching day she invariably went round the village ringing a large bell . . . then she took her place in the chapel and raised the tunes! The chapel was a humble thatched building, originally a small brewhouse, which the widow of the brewer, himself a member, had presented to the society on his death. . . . The preacher could shake hands with his hearers seated in the front of the gallery . . . His quarters were a small thatched

single room with a mud floor, next to the meeting-house. This story is given as a sample of the village Methodism of Scotland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

¹ This was an English Episcopal church in Shiprow, of which Mr. Black (or Blake) was minister. See *Sketch of Meth. in Aberdeen*, by C. Diack, p. 10.

² A full account is given in *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 201, condensed from Hay's *History of Arbroath*, pp. 346-52.

Tues. 18.—I preached at Dundee.

Wed. 19.—I crossed over the pleasant and fertile county of Fife to Melville House,¹ the grand and beautiful seat of Lord Leven. He was not at home, being gone to Edinburgh as the King's Commissioner; but the Countess was, with two of her daughters, and both her sons-in-law. At their desire I preached in the evening on 'It is appointed unto man once to die'; and I believe God made the application.

Thur. 20.—It blew a storm; nevertheless, with some difficulty, we crossed the Queen's Ferry.²

Fri. 21.—I examined the society, and found about sixty members left. Many of these were truly alive to God, so our labour here is not quite in vain.

Tuesday 18

- 4 Prayed, Matt. viii. 2! writ narrative, visited; 8! tea, conversed, prayer; 9 chaise; 12 Dundee, letter; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 letters; 4 prayed; 5 tea, conversed; 6 2 John v. 8! 8 society, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Wednesday 19

- 4 Prayed, Matt. v. 6! writ narrative; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, writ narrative; 11 boat; 1 walk; 1.30 chaise; 4 Melvil, dinner; 5 walk, conversed; 7 prayed, tea, Heb. ix. 27! 8.45 supper, within; 10.30.

Thursday 20

- 4 Prayed, writ narrative; 5.45 chaise, Kinros[s], tea, chaise; 11.30 Q[ueen's] Ferr[y]; 12.45 walk, chaise; 2.30 Edinb[urgh], at L[ady] Maxw[ell's], conversed; 4 dinner, letters, prayed, tea; 7 2 Tim. ii. 5, chaise, supper, prayer; 10.

Friday 21

- 4 Prayed, 2 Tim. ii. 4, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 class; 2 at Mrs. Cairn's, dinner, together; 3.30 letters; 5 Leith, tea, conversed, prayer, coach, prayed; 6.30 Psa. lxxiv. 12! society; 8.15 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

¹ Erected in 1692. In the gardens was a square tower, one of the retreats of Cardinal Beaton. Wesley dated his *Thoughtson Nervous Disorders*, 'Melville House, May 20, 1784.' From the Diary we learn that he arrived at Melville House on Wednesday between 1.30 and 4, and left for Kinros[s] on Thursday the 20th, at 5.45. Whitefield wrote several of his

published letters in Melville House. See *Scots Mag.* 1754, p. 404, for the death of the former Lord Leven.

² Now Queensferry, so named from being the place where Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore, crossed the Forth on her frequent journeys between Edinburgh and Dunfermline.

Sat. 22.—I had some close conversation with L[ady] M[axwell], who appeared to be clearly saved from sin, although exceedingly depressed by the tottering tenement of clay. About noon I spent an hour with her poor scholars, forty of whom she has provided with a serious master, who takes pains to instruct them in the principles of religion, as well as in reading and writing.¹ A famous actress, just come down from London (which, for the honour of Scotland, is just during the sitting of the Assembly), stole away a great part of our congregation to-night. How much wiser are these Scots than their forefathers!

Sun. 23.—I went in the morning to the Tolbooth kirk; in the afternoon to the old Episcopal chapel. But they have lost their glorying; they talked the moment service was done, as if they had been in London. In the evening the Octagon was well filled; and I applied, with all possible plainness, 'God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.'

Mon. 24.—I preached at Dunbar.

Tues. 25.—I spent an hour with Mr. and Mrs. F[all], a

Saturday 22

- 4.45 Prayed, letters, conversed, walk; 8.15 tea, conversed, prayer, visited; 10.15 letters; 12 at the S[chool]; 2 dinner, conversed, prayer; 3.30 letter, prayed; 5 at brother Ross's, tea, conversed; 6.30 Isa. lvii. 1, 2, chaise, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

Sunday 23

- 4 Prayed, read, tea, chaise; 7 Mal. iii. 1! tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 10.30 prayers; 1 at Mr. Ball's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 prayers, tea, conversed; 4.15 prayed, read, John iv. 1-4, chaise; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 24

- 4 Prayed, walk, Jer. viii. 20! tea, conversed, prayer; 7 chaise; 10 Hadd[ing]ton, tea; 11.30 chaise; 1 Dunbar, read; 2 dinner, conversed, letters; 5 tea, conversed, prayed, Journal; 7 Dan. ix. 24! supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 25

- 4 Prayed, Heb. vi. 1, Journal; 7.30 tea, conversed, Journal; 9 chaise, at L. Hadd[ing]ton's; 10 walk; 11.30 chaise; 12.30 Chester Hall, dinner, conversed, prayer, chaise; 3 at home, prayed, at Mr. Fall's, tea, together; 7 Mark iv. 18! supper, conversed, prayer; 10.

¹ Lady Maxwell's school is referred to on June 1, 1782.

woman every way accomplished. Neither of them had ever yet heard a sermon out of the kirk, but they ventured that evening, and I am in hope they did not hear in vain.

Wed. 26.—We went on to Berwick-upon-Tweed. The congregation in the town-hall was very numerous. So it was likewise at five in the morning.

Thur. 27.—We travelled through a delightful country to Kelso. Here the two seceding ministers have taken true pains to frighten the people from hearing us, by retailing all the ribaldry of Mr. Cudworth, Toplady, and Rowland Hill. But God has called one of them to his account already, and in a fearful manner. As no house could contain the congregation, I preached in the churchyard,¹ and a more decent behaviour I have scarce ever seen. Afterwards we walked to the Duke of Roxburghe's seat, about half a mile from the town, finely situated on a rising ground, near the ruins of Roxburgh Castle.² It has

Wednesday 26

- 4 Prayed, Rev. xiv. 1, etc., tea, prayer; 6.30 chaise, the Press, tea, conversed, prayer; 10.45 chaise; 1 Berwick, at Mr. Tanner's, Mag.; 2 dinner, Mag.; 4.30 prayed, visited, tea, conversed; 6 Heb. vi. 12, 14, society, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 27

- 4 Prayed, 1 Thess. v. 19, tea, prayer; 6.30 chaise; 9.30 tea; 10.45 chaise; 12.45 Kelso, within, Mag.; 3 dinner, in talk; 4 Mag.; 5 prayed, tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 7 Rom. iii. 22, walk, the Fleur! supper, conversed, prayer; 11.

¹ It was here, probably during this visit, that Sir Walter Scott, then a boy, who was on a visit to his aunt, Miss Jane Scott, heard Wesley preach. He writes:

When I was about twelve years old I heard Wesley preach more than once, standing on a chair in Kelso churchyard. He was a most venerable figure, but his sermons were vastly too colloquial for the taste of Saunders. He told many excellent stories. One I remember which he said had happened to him at Edinburgh. 'A drunken dragoon,' said Wesley, 'was commencing an assertion in military fashion, "G—d eternally d—n me," just as I was passing. I touched the poor man on the shoulder, and when he turned round fiercely, said calmly, "You mean, 'God bless you.''" In the mode of telling the story he failed not to make us sensible how much his patriarchal appearance, and mild, yet bold, rebuke, over-

awed the soldier, who touched his hat, thanked him, and, I think, came to chapel that evening. (See Butler's *Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland*, p. 184, and Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. vi. pp. 45, 46.)

² Sir John Vanbrugh was (1718) the architect of Floors Castle, which, however, was much enlarged and improved by Playfair in 1839. (Bartholomew gives 1849 as the date of the remodelling.) Defoe says the rooms were richly furnished. Queen Victoria admired the views from the windows of the mansion. The ancient Roxburgh Castle figured largely in the early history of Scotland, but little of it is now left. The place-name is Roxburgh, but the Duke's title is Roxburghe.

a noble castle; the front and the offices round make it look like a little town. Most of the apartments within are furnished in an elegant but not in a costly manner. I doubt whether two of Mr. Lascelles's rooms at Harewood House¹ did not cost more in furnishing than twenty of these. But the Duke's house is far larger, containing no less than forty bed-chambers. But it is not near finished yet, nor probably will be till the owner is no more seen.

Fri. 28.—I entered into England once more, and in the evening preached in the town-hall at Alnwick.

Sat. 29.—I should have preached in the town-hall at Morpeth, but it was pre-engaged by a company of strolling players. So we retired into our own preaching-house. In the afternoon I went on to Newcastle.

Sun. 30 (being *Whit Sunday*).—The rain obliged us to be in the Orphan House both morning and evening, but in the afternoon I was forced to preach abroad at the Fell by the multitudes that flocked together, partly moved by the death of William Bell and his wife, one so soon after the other.

Friday 28

- 4 Prayed, 2 Cor. vi. 1! tea, conversed, prayer; 6.15 chaise; 10.15 W[—]head; 10.30 tea, walk, coach; 2.30 Aln[wick], at brother Annet[t's], dinner, Mag., tea, conversed; 6 prayed; 6.30 Col. i. 10! society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 29

- 4 Prayed, Luke ix. 62! tea, conversed, prayer; 7 chaise; 11 Morp[eth], within; 12 Isa. lxvi. 8, 9! dinner; 2 chaise; 4.30 Newc[astle], tea, on business, letter, prayed; 7 2 Cor. iv. 18! supper, conversed, prayer, on business; 10.

Whit Sunday 30

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea; 8.30 Acts ii. 4! letters; 12.30 dinner; 1 coach; 2 Jo. xiv. 21! coach; 4 tea, prayed; 5 1 Thess. iv. 8! lovefeast; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 31

- 4 Prayed! John xvi. 8, the singers; 7 letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 12 visited; 1 at brother Batson's, dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 letters; 4 prayed, tea, conversed, letter; 6.30 John ix. 6, 8! within, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ See above, p. 232.

JUNE 1, *Tues.*¹—About nine I preached to a large number of the poor people at Howden Pans, at noon in North Shields, and in the evening at Newcastle, where I had now great satisfaction, the congregation, both morning and evening, being larger than they had been for many years, and the society being much alive, and in great peace and harmony.²

Fri. 4.—I went over to Sunderland, and found the work of God here also in a prosperous state.

Sat. 5.—I saw as many of the people, sick or well, as I could, and was much comforted among them.

JUNE 1, *Tuesday*

- 4 Prayed, letters ; 7 tea, within ; 7.30 chaise, Howden pans, Acts xix. 2 ! 11 chaise, N[orth] Shields, within, John vii. 37 ! dinner, conversed, prayer, chaise ; 5 at home, tea ! 6 prayed ; 6.30 Luke xii. 7, the leaders, supper, together, prayer ; 9.30.

Wednesday 2

- 4 Prayed, John xvi. 8 ! within, texts ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, texts, letters ; 12 visited ; 1 at brother Green's, dinner, conversed, prayer, visited ; 3 letters, prayed ; 5 tea, conversed, prayed ; 6.30 John xvi. 8 ! select society, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Thursday 3

- 4 Prayed, John xvi. ; 8 within, accounts, tea, conversed, prayer ; 8.30 sermon ; 11.30 chaise ; 12.30 at W. Smi[th's] ; 1 garden, conversed ; 1.30 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 3 chaise ; 4 prayed, tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 prayed, Rom. xiii. 11 ! 7.30 the bands, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.45.

Friday 4

- 4 Prayed, Heb. xiii. 1, sermon, prayer ; 10 chaise ; 12.30 Sund[er]la[nd], sermon ; 1.30 dinner, conversed ; 2.30 letters ; 4 [—] ; 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 prayed ; 6.30 Acts xi. 26 ! society ! supper ; 8 conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 5

- 4 Prayed, Acts xx. 23, sermon ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 sermon ; 12 walk ; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer ; 2 visited some ; 3 on business, picture ! 5 tea, conversed, prayer ; 6 prayed ; 6.30 Matt. vii. 14 ! 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ On June 1 he wrote from Newcastle to Simon Day, Oxon : 'Dear Simon, you shall be in Oxfordshire, adieu' (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

² Referring to this visit to Newcastle, Mr. Smith, in a letter to Benson, says :

'We have been favoured lately with Mr. Wesley's company. His visit was highly pleasing, and I hope very profitable. He preached admirably, and was attended with the largest congregation I ever remember. His whole behaviour and temper of mind was truly apostolical' (*MS. Life of Benson*).

Sun. 6.—I preached at eight in the room, at eleven in Monkwearmouth church. I purposed preaching abroad at Newcastle in the evening, but the weather would not permit; so I preached in the house on 'This is the record, that God hath given unto us eternal life, and this life is in His Son.'

Mon. 7.—About noon I preached at Durham, and in the evening in the town-hall at Hartlepool, where I had not been for sixteen years.¹

Tues. 8.—I came to Stockton-upon-Tees. Here I found an uncommon work of God among the children. Many of them from six to fourteen were under serious impressions, and earnestly desirous to save their souls. There were upwards of sixty who constantly came to be examined, and appeared to be greatly awakened. I preached at noon on 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand,' and the people seemed to feel every word. As soon as I came down from the desk I was enclosed by a body of children, one of whom, and another, sank down upon their knees, until they were all kneeling. So I kneeled down myself and began praying for them. Abundance of people ran back into the house. The fire kindled and ran from heart to heart, till few, if any, were unaffected. Is not this a new thing in the earth? God begins His work in children. Thus it has been also in Cornwall, Manchester, and Epworth. Thus the

Sunday 6

- 4 Prayed, communion; 6 sermon, tea, conversed; 8 Gen. i. 27! the leaders; 10 Wearmouth, prayers, 1 John v. 7! 12.30 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2 chaise; 4.15 tea, prayed; 5 1 John v. 11!; 6.30 society, on business, at brother Batson's, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 7

- 4 Prayed, Matt. xii. 43! letters, on business, tea, prayer; 9 chaise; 12.30 Durh[am], Matt. iv. 10! dinner, conversed; 2 chaise; 6 Hartlep[ool], tea, boat; 6.30 Matt. vii. 24! boat, supper, prayer; 10.

Tuesday 8

- 4 Prayed, Heb. vi. 1! boat, sermon, tea, prayer; 8 chaise; 10.30 Stockton; 11 at sister Briscoe's, sermon; 12 Mark i. 15! the children! 1.30 dinner, prayer; 3 chaise, Yarm, letter, tea, letter, prayed; 6.30 Acts xvii. 30! 7.30 society; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ Not (so far as printed Journals show) since July 7, 1766. See above, vol. v. p. 174.

flame spreads to those of riper years, till at length they all know Him and praise Him from the least unto the greatest.

Wed. 9.—I went to Barnard Castle.¹ Here I was informed that my old school-fellow, Mr. Fielding,² and his wife were gone to rest. His son, not choosing to live there, had let his lovely house to a stranger; so in a little time his very name and memory will be lost!

Thur. 10.—After preaching at five, I took horse for the Dales, and about eight preached at Cotherston. Here I had the pleasure of seeing some of our brethren who had been long at variance cordially reconciled. Hence we rode through rain and wind to Newbiggin-in-Teesdale. Being but a poor horseman, and having a rough horse, I had just strength for my journey and none to spare; but, after resting awhile I preached without any weariness.

Having then procured an easier horse, I rode over the great mountain into Weardale. But I found not my old host; good Stephen Watson was removed to Abraham's bosom. So was that mother in Israel, Jane Nattres (before Salkeld); the great instrument of that amazing work among the children. But God is with them still. Most of the leaders and many of the people are much alive to God; as we found in the evening, when we had such a shower of grace as I have seldom known.³

Wednesday 9

- 4 Prayed, John xv. 1, etc., tea, prayer, chaise, Dar[lington], tea; 10 chaise, [cipher], 12.45 Bar[nard] Ca[stle], letter; 1.30 dinner, conversed, prayer, within to many, tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 7 Rev. iii. 20! society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 10

- 4 Prayed, Rev. 24, on business, rode, Cotherston, John v. 8, tea, within, prayer; 10 rode, Newbiggin, dinner, Luke ix. 62; 2 rode; 4 W[e]ard[ale], sermon, tea, prayed; 6.30 Mark i. 15! society, supper, conversed, prayer, 9.30.

¹ His host was Anthony Steele (*Methodism in Barnard Castle*, p. 155).

² See above, vol. v. p. 68.

³ Forty-three children at this time joined the society. For Jane Nattres, or Salkeld, see above, p. 25. Nattres was the eighteenth-century spelling of

this name, says the Rev. J. Conder Nattrass. For John Fenwick's report of the work in Weardale, also for a comparative study of the work in Weardale and Everton by Wesley himself, see above, vol. v. pp. 468-70.

Fri. 11.—About ten, riding through a village called Middleton, I was desired to preach there. So I began in the street without delay. A large number of people came together, and received the word with gladness. Afterwards we rode at leisure to Barnard Castle; and on *Saturday* the 12th to Darlington.

Sun. 13.¹—We had a sound, useful sermon at church. At eight I preached in our own room, designing to preach abroad in the afternoon; but the rain prevented.

Mon. 14.—About noon I preached at Northallerton, and I believe God touched many hearts; as also at Thirsk, where I preached in the evening to an attentive congregation.

Tues. 15.—I preached once more to my old friends at Osmotherley. About noon I preached at Potto; and in the evening at Hutton Rudby, where we had a glorious opportunity.

Friday 11

- 4 Prayed, Matt. xxii. 4, rode; 8 Newbigg[in], tea, sermon, prayer, rode; 10 Middleton, 2 Cor. viii. 9, rode; 12.30 Sandford; 1 sermon, dinner, prayer, rode; 3.30 Ba[rnard Castle], visited, tea, prayed; 6.30 2 Cor. vi. 2, society, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 12

- 4 Prayed, Job vii. 18, communion, on business; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 chaise; 10 Darl[ington]; 12 on business; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 on business, letters; 5 tea, prayed, letters; 6.30 1 Cor. iii. 11, etc., letters, supper, conversed, prayer, on business; 9.45.

Sunday 13

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea; 8 Matt. xviii. 7! letters; 10 prayers; 12 dinner, conversed, prayer; 1.15 letters; 2.15 prayers; 4 prayed, tea, conversed; 5 Luke xvi. ult.; lovefeast! within; 8.15 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 14

- 4 Prayed, Heb. ii. 14, on business; 6.30 chaise; 9 Northallerton, tea, Isa. lxvi. 8! society, letters, sermon; 12.30 dinner, sermon; 2.30 chaise; 4.15 Thirsk, sermon, prayed; 6.30 1 John ii. 12, society, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Tuesday 15

- 4 Prayed, communion, chaise; 8.30 Osmoth[erley], tea; 9 Luke xx. 34, chaise; 12 Potto, dinner, 1 John ii. 12, etc., sermon; 4 tea, conversed, chaise, Hutto[n] [Rudby], sermon; 6.30 Heb. ix. 27! at brother Sugge[—], supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ From Darlington he wrote to Zechariah Yewdall, deferring the consideration of a critical case until the Conference; on the same day to Mr. Suter,

of Inverness—a cheerful and encouraging letter referring to ‘a very friendly letter from Sir Lodowick’ (new ed. *Wesley Letters*).

Some great persons who were present seemed to be struck, and almost persuaded to be Christians.

Wed. 16.—I preached in Stokesley about eight, in Guisborough at noon, and in the evening at Whitby.¹

Thur. 17 and Fri. 18.—The morning congregation filled the house. Indeed the society here may be a pattern to all in England. They despise all ornaments but good works, together with a meek and quiet spirit. I did not see a ruffle, no, nor a fashionable cap, among them ; though many of them are in easy circumstances. I preached at the market-place in the evening, where were at least thrice as many as the house could contain.

Sat. 19.—I met such a select society as I have not seen since I left London. They were about forty, of whom I did not find one who had not a clear witness of being saved from inbred sin. Several of them had lost it for a season, but could never rest till they had recovered it. And every one of them seemed now to walk in the full light of God's countenance.

Wednesday 16

- 4 Prayed, sermon, tea ; 6.15 chaise, Stokes[ey], Psa. cxlvi. 4! prayed, chaise ; 11 Guisbo[rough], Gal. iii. 22, dinner ; 1 chaise, Scal[ing], chaise ; 5.30 Whitby.

Thursday 17

- 4 Prayed, Eccles. ii. 2, writ Journal ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, visited ; 9 Journal ; 1.30 dinner ; 2 prayer, conversed ; 2.30 Journal ; 4.30 visited, tea, conversed, prayer, prayed ; 6 prayed ; 6.30 John iv. 24 ; 7.30 society ! supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Friday 18

- 4 Prayed, Gal. v. 1, letters, within to some ; 11 prayers, visited ; 12 prayers ; 1 dinner, conversed ; 2.30 letter ; 3.30 prayed, visited, tea, conversed, prayer ; 5.30 prayed ; 6.30 Rev. xx. 12 ! 8 the bands, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

Saturday 19

- 4 Prayed, 1 Tim. vi. 20, sermon ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, sermon, prayer ; 10 chaise, the Bay [Robin Hood's] ; 11.30 sermon, 12 Heb. ii. 3, chaise ; 5 Scarbor[ough], tea, conversed, prayed ; 6 Psa. cxliv. 15 ! society, supper, conversed, prayer, on business ; 9.45.

¹ At Whitby lived William Ripley, to whose wife Wesley said on this occasion, ' Sister Ripley, if you want your husband to die, keep him at home, but if you want him to live, let him go and travel with me a few weeks. I will take care

of him.' And he did, until August 3 ; but William Ripley lived only till the following December. ' He was a burning and a shining light,' wrote Wesley on June 13, 1786. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. pp. 127-32, and vol. vi. pp. 37-42.

About one I preached to another congregation of plain people at Robin Hood's Bay. Here was the first society in all these parts, several years before there was any in Whitby. But their continued jars with each other prevented their increase either in grace or number. At present they seem to be all at peace ; so I hope we shall now have joy over them. In the evening I preached to a large congregation at Scarborough.

Sun. 20.¹—The new vicar² showed plainly why he refused those who desired the liberty for me to preach in his church. A keener sermon I never heard. So all I have done to persuade the people to attend the church is overturned at once! And all who preach thus will drive the Methodists from the church, in spite of all that I can do. I preached in the evening on 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2, 3 ; and God mightily confirmed His word, applying it to the hearts of many of the hearers.

Mon. 21.—The rain drove us into the house at Bridlington.

Tues. 22.—We stopped at a little town,³ where Mr.

Sunday 20

- 5 Prayed, letters, tea ; 8 Matt. viii. 13 ! letters ; 10 prayer ; 12.30, dinner, conversed, prayer ! letters ; 2.30 M. T[—]w, etc. ; 4 visited ; 5 tea, 1 Cor. xiii. 1, etc. ! the lovefeast ! supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 21

- 4 Prayed, 1 John v. 19 ! on business, select society ; 7 tea, conversed ; 8 chaise ; 12 Burl[ing]ton Ke[y] ; 12.30 dinner, letters, sermon ; 4.45 chaise, Burl[ing]ton, tea, prayed, 6 Psal. xc. 12 ! 7 society, chaise, the Ke[y], supper, conversed, prayers ; 9.30.

Tuesday 22

- 4 Prayed, Zech. iv. 7 ! sermon, tea ; 7.30 chaise, Inn ; 12 chaise ; 12.30 Beverl[ey] ; 1 dinner, conversed, 1 Cor. xiii. 1, etc. ! chaise ; 4 Newtown,⁴ tea, read, christened, prayer ; 5 chaise, Hull, within ; 6 1 Kings xix. 13 ! society, visited, supper, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ He wrote from Scarborough to Francis Wrigley (see new ed. *Wesley Letters*) ; also on the same day to Joseph Entwisle and David Gordon (*Memoir of Entwisle*, p. 21).

² Rev. John Kirk, A.M., inducted Nov. 30, 1782.

³ The Diary suggests that there is a slight error in the Journal itinerary at this point. The Rev. R. Butterworth, who has had long and intimate acquaintance with this part of the country,

believes that Wesley's visit to Hunmanby (the 'little town') was on the 21st and not the 22nd. This rectification would harmonize more completely with the geography of the itinerary, and the distances travelled would be reasonable. Hunmanby was the ancient seat of the Osbaldestons. The hall is now the property of the Osbaldeston-Mitfords, of Mitford Castle, Northumberland. See *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 249.

⁴ The name should be spelt Newton.

Osbaldeston lately lived, a gentleman of large fortune, whose lady¹ was as gay and fashionable as any; but suddenly she ran from east to west; she parted with all her clothes, dressed like a servant, and scarce allowed herself the necessaries of life. But who can convince her that she is going too far? I fear, nothing less than Omnipotence. About one I preached to a large and remarkably serious congregation at Beverley; about six at Hull. Afterwards I met the society, and strongly exhorted them to 'press on to the prize of their high calling.'

Thur. 24.—I preached about one at Pocklington; and in the evening at York, where I enforced 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.'

Fri. 25.—Many were in tears, and a fire seemed to run through the whole congregation, while I opened that scripture, 'They shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness.' Such another opportunity we had in the evening, while I was explaining the words of our Lord to the centurion, 'Go thy way; and, as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee.'

Sat. 26.—About two I preached at Thorne, and inquired

Wednesday 23

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xiii. 11, etc., letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 sermon, letters; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.30 sermon; 3 prayed, sermon; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, on business; 6.30 2 Tim. iii. 5! society, supper, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 24

- 4 Prayed, Psal. l. 23! chaise; 9.15 Weeton, tea, chaise; 11 Pocklington, on business, letters; 12 dinner, Isa. lix. 1, 2, chaise; 4 York, letters; 5 tea, conversed, prayed, 6 Matt. iv. 10! society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 25

- 4 Prayed, letters; 6 writ Conference: 10 Isa. lvii. 1, 2! letters; 1 dinner, letters; 2 lovefeast, letters, prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, on business; 6.30 Matt. viii. 13! the bands; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 26

- 4 Prayed, 2 Cor. v. 1, etc., tea, chaise; 8.30 at brother D[—], tea, conversed, chaise, Selb[y], conversed, prayer; 10 chaise; 1.45 Thorn[e], dinner, Rev. ii. 5, visited; 2.30 chaise; 4.30 Epworth, on business, tea, conversed, prayer, on business, prayed; 6.30 2 Cor. vi. 1, supper, prayer; 9.45.

¹ She was the daughter of Sir Joseph Penington, Bart., and mother of two daughters. Her mania took the form of

excessive parsimony. Strange stories are still told of her in the village.

what fruit remained of the great work of God there. Some, I found, had drawn back to their sins; but many held fast what they received. Hence I rode to Epworth, which I still love beyond most places in the world. In the evening I besought all them that had been so highly favoured 'not to receive the grace of God in vain.'

Sun. 27.—I preached at Misterton at eight, and at Upperthorpe about one. At four I took my stand in Epworth market-place, and preached on those words in the Gospel for the day, 'There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance.' It seemed as if very few, if any, of the sinners then present were unmoved.

Mon. 28.—I inquired into the state of the work of God which was so remarkable two years ago.¹ It is not yet at an end; but there has been a grievous decay, owing to several causes: (1) The preachers that followed Thomas Tattershall were neither so zealous nor so diligent as he had been. (2) The two leaders to whom the young men and lads were committed went up and down to preach, and so left them in a great measure to themselves; or, rather, to the world and the devil. (3) The two women who were the most useful of all others, forsook them; the one leaving town, and the other leaving God. (4) The factories which employed so many of the children failed, so that all of them were scattered abroad.² (5) The meetings of the children by the preachers were discontinued; so their love

Sunday 27

- 4 Prayed, texts; 6 chaise, Mist[erton], tea; 8 John iv. 14! 9.30 chaise; 10.30 prayers, walk; 1 dinner; 1.30 Luke x. 42! chaise; 3.30 Epw[orth], tea, prayed, Luke xv. 7! society; 6 within, letter; 7 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Monday 28

- 4 Prayed, 1 Pet. v. 10, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, visited, letters; 11.30 garden; 12 the children; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 chaise; 4.45 Gainsbor[ough], on business, tea, conversed; 5.30 prayed; 6.30 2 Cor. 8, 9! 8.15 supper, walk, prayer; 9.30.

¹ The revival at Epworth broke out at Christmas, 1781, and went on through the winter (see above, p. 352). See the account in *Arm. Mag.* 1784, p. 45.

² Doubtless the flax-dressing industry is referred to. Flax and hemp had for centuries been a leading crop in Axholme. See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 116.

soon grew cold ; and as they rose into men and women, foolish desires entered, and destroyed all the grace they had left. Nevertheless, great part of them stood firm, especially the young maidens, and still adorn their profession. This day I met the children myself, and found some of them still alive to God. And I do not doubt but if the preachers are zealous and active, they will recover most of those that have been scattered.

To-day I entered on my eighty-second year, and found myself just as strong to labour, and as fit for any exercise of body or mind, as I was forty years ago. I do not impute this to second causes, but to the Sovereign Lord of all. It is He who bids the sun of life stand still, so long as it pleaseth Him. I am as strong at eighty-one as I was at twenty-one ; but abundantly more healthy, being a stranger to the headache, toothache, and other bodily disorders which attended me in my youth. We can only say, 'The Lord reigneth !' While we live, let us live to Him.

In the afternoon I went to Gainsborough, and willingly accepted the offer of Mr. Dean's chapel.¹ The audience was large, and seemed much affected : possibly some good may be done even at Gainsborough !

Tues. 29.—I preached in the street at Scotter to a large and deeply attentive congregation. It was a solemn and comfortable season. In the evening I read prayers and preached in Owston church, and again in the morning.

Tuesday 29

- 4 Prayed, Mark i. 15, the preachers ; 8 tea, conversed, prayer ; 9 chaise ; 11 Scotter, Mark i. 15 ! dinner ; 12.45 chaise ; 2 Owston, letters ; 4.30 tea, conversed ; 5.30 prayed, walk ; 6.30 read prayers, Acts iv. 31 ! on business ; 8 supper together, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ A 'gentleman's meeting-house.' See *W.H.S.* vol. iv. pp. 127-32, where interesting extracts are given from William Ripley's Journal. Wesley explained the rise and progress of Methodism. 'The preacher of the place desired licence to show his catholic spirit and exhorted us to the same, after Mr. Wesley had done.' For Mr. Dean, the wharfinger, and his chapel, opened in 1774, see

W.H.S. vol. iv. p. 178. In an interesting note on Mr. Dean's chapel, Miss Taylor, of Lealholm, Gainsborough, says : 'Dean is a local name. George Eliot uses it in *The Mill on the Floss*. My own house appears in the book as the residence of Uncle and Aunt Dean and Lucy. I think in 1784 there were probably only two chapels, the Unitarian and the Independent.'

Wed. 30.—In the evening I preached at Epworth. In the residue of the week I preached morning and evening in several of the neighbouring towns.

JULY 4,¹ Sun.—I read prayers and preached at Owston church, so filled as probably it never was before; and believe every one, awakened or unawakened, felt that God was there. The congregation in the afternoon at Epworth market-place was thought to be larger than ever it was before; and great was the Holy One of Israel in the midst of them.

Wednesday 30

- 4 Prayed, letters; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, letters; 10.30 walk; 11 read prayers, Psa. cxlvi. 4, 5, letter; 1 dinner, conversed; 2 chaise; 3 Epworth, writ for Conference, tea; 5.30 prayed; 6.30 Luke xii. 7, select society; 8 supper, within; 9.30.

JULY 1, Thursday

- 4 Prayed, Luke ii. 52, writ Journal, visited; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 letter, Journal; 11 chaise; 12 Crowle, Rom. i. 16, dinner, prayer; 2 chaise; 4 Swin[e]f[leet], on business, tea, accounts; 5 prayed; 6 Heb. ii. 3! society, supper, within; 9.30.

Friday 2

- 4 Prayed, Deu. xxxiii. 26! sermon, tea, prayer; 8 chaise; 11.15 Belton, sermon; 12 dinner, conversed; 1 Titus ii. 14! chaise; 2.30 writ Conference; 5 tea, conversed, prayer; 6 prayed, 2 Tim. iii. 5! supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 3

- 4 Prayed, Mark iv. 26, letters; 8 tea, conversed, prayer; 9 letters, writ narrative; 12.30 garden; 1 dinner, conversed, prayer, visited many; 4.30 walk, tea, conversed, prayer; 6.30 Zech. iv. 6! 7.30 society, at Mr. Ward's, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Sunday 4

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 7 chaise, E. Lan[—]d, tea, conversed, prayer, chaise, Owston, read prayers; 11 Luke xvi. 31! dinner, conversed, prayer; 2.15 chaise, sleep, tea, prayed, 4 Phil. iv. 4; 5.15 the lovefeast; 7 writ narrative; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

¹ On July 3 he wrote from Epworth to Mr. Barry, Shelburn, Nova Scotia, rejoicing in his work among the Blacks and in the little town they have built—'I suppose the only town of Negroes which has been built in America.' He

will send books for them with the preachers—'they never need want books while I live.' The whole letter shows the genial and sympathetic spirit in which he treated his missionary brethren. (New ed. *Wesley Letters*.)

Mon. 5.—At twelve I preached in the elegant house at Doncaster, for once pretty well filled; and spoke more strongly, indeed more roughly, than I am accustomed to do. It was sultry hot (as it has been once or twice before) while we went to Rotherham, where I preached abroad to a larger congregation, both of rich and poor, than even at Epworth; and earnestly enforced on those who are called believers, ‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’

Tues. 6.—I joined again the select society, which was fallen in pieces; and prayed them to be wiser for the time to come. I breakfasted at that amiable old man’s, Mr. Sparrow,¹ elder brother to his twin-soul whom I knew at Westminster. Thence I went on to Sheffield, where the society is increased to near some hundred members. How swiftly does the work of God spread among those who earn their bread by the sweat of their brow!

Wed. 7.—It was supposed there were a thousand persons

Monday 5

- 4 Prayed, Rom. xiii. 11! letter; 7 tea, conversed, prayer; 8 chaise; 11 Donca[ster], Mag.; 12 Acts xi. 26! dinner; 2 chaise; 4.15 Roth[er]h[am], on business; 5 tea, conversed, prayed; 6.30 Matt. vii. 16! society, supper, conversed; 9.30.

Tuesday 6

- 4 Prayed, Eph. iv. 1–4! select society, letters, tea; 9.30 writ Conf[erence]; 1 dinner; 2 Conf[erence]; 4.30 tea, conversed, prayed; 5 Jo. iv. 24! the lovefeast; 8.30 at Mr. Holy’s,² supper, within; 9.45.

Wednesday 7

- 4 Prayed, Acts xxii. 16! writ Conf[erence]; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, visited; 9.30 at brother Holy, writ letters, Conf[erence]; 12 garden; 1 dinner, together; 2 Mag.; 4.30 prayed, tea, conversed; 6.30 Col. i. 10! select society, supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

¹ For a full account of the Sparrow family see *W.H.S.* vol. v. p. 85. Apparently Wesley breakfasted at Wincobank, Mr. Sparrow’s residence. Samuel Sparrow, of Lavenham, co. Suffolk, on Nov. 28, 1699, married Theodosia Smyth, who was born Dec. 13, 1682. They had several children; amongst them two sons, namely, Samuel Sparrow, of London, merchant, who died 1776, unmarried, and who may be identified as the ‘twin-soul’ whom Wesley knew at West-

minster; and John Sparrow, Esq., of London, and afterwards of Wincobank, near Sheffield, where he was living in 1788 (see below, July 9, 1788). Wesley calls this one ‘elder.’ The Mrs. Sparrow of Lewisham, so frequently referred to by Charles Wesley, seems to have been the widow of Valentine Sparrow, and may not have belonged to this family. She died May 26, 1748.

² Thomas Holy. See memoir by Dr. Bunting, *W.M. Mag.* 1832, p. 1 ff.

present at five in the morning. A young gentlewoman was with us at breakfast who was mourning and refused to be comforted. We prayed for her in faith, and in a few hours she was enabled to rejoice in God her Saviour. In the afternoon the heat was scarce supportable, and it seemed to increase every hour; but between two and three in the morning, *Thursday* the 8th, came a violent storm, followed by uncommon thunder and a flood of rain, which continued about three hours; this entirely cooled the air, and, ceasing just as we set out, left us a pleasant journey to Wakefield.¹

I recommended to the congregation here (and afterwards many other places) the example of the people in Holland (at least, wherever I have been), who never talk in a place of public worship, either before or after the service. They took my advice. None curtsied or bowed or spoke to any one, but went out in as decent a manner, and in as deep silence, as any I saw at Rotterdam or Utrecht.²

Fri. 9.—I preached at Huddersfield in the morning, at Longwood House at noon, and in the evening at Halifax.

Thursday 8

- 4 Prayed, Psa. xxix. 10! walk, tea, prayer; 7 chaise, Barnsl[ey], tea, chaise! Wakef[ield], writ narrative; 1.30 dinner, conversed; 2 writ Journal, prayed; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, prayed; 6.15 Jo. iv. 24, society! 8 supper together, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 9

- 4 Prayed, Isa. lvii. 1, 2, letters, tea, conversed, prayer; 8.30 chaise; 10.30 Mirf[iel]d [In the Diary Mirfield at 10.30 is distinctly written; in the Journal Wesley seems to be in Huddersfield in the morning]; 11 Matt. xv. 28, chaise; 1 Longw[oo]d House, on business; 2 dinner, conversed; 3 letter; 4 prayed, tea, conversed, chaise; 6 Heb. xiii. 22! society, chaise, supper, prayer; 9.45.

Saturday 10

- 4 Prayed, texts; 6 Heb. vi. 1, tea, conversed, prayer; 9 texts, Conf[erence]; 12 walk; 1.30 dinner, conversed, prayer; 3 chaise; 4.30 Halifax, tea, conversed, prayed; 6 Psa. cxvi. 12, 27! visited; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.45.

¹ Ripley's Journal (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 129) says that he preached in a new house near Dawgreen at eleven o'clock, on the words of the Canaanitish woman.

² See above, p. 418.

Sun. 11.—I preached in the morning at Greetlands House ; at one, and in the evening, at Halifax. The house would in no wise contain the people ; yet the wind was so high that I could not preach abroad.¹

Mon. 12.—Mr. Sutcliffe read prayers and I preached at Hep-tonstall, where many poor souls were refreshed. Between one and two I preached in Todmorden church ; and, at five, in our own preaching-house, boldly situated on the steep ascent of a tall mountain.

Tues. 13.—I went to Burnley, a place which had been tried for many years, but without effect.² It seems the time was now

Sunday 11

- 4 Prayed, sermon, tea, prayer ; 8 chaise, Gr[ee]tland, Matt. vii. 16 ! chaise ; 11.30 Halifax, letters, dinner ; 1.30 Matt. xxii. 4, prayed, tea, conversed ; 5 2 Tim. iii. 5 ! letters ; 7.30 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Monday 12

- 4 Prayed, letters, tea ; 7 chaise, Heptons[tall], tea ; 9 prayers, Psal. lxii. 1 ! chaise ; 11 at brother Sutcliff[fe]'s, writ narrative, dinner ; 1 prayers, 1 Thes[s]. iv. 7 ! at brother Crosby's, tea ; 5 letters, prayed, Jo. v. 8 ! sermon ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

Tuesday 13

- 4 Prayed, sermon ; 6 tea, conversed ; 8.30 chaise ; 11 Paddih[am], within, dinner, read ; 1 Heb. iv. 14 ! chaise. Burnle[y], sermon, tea, prayed ; 5 Isa. lv. 7 ! 6.15 chaise ; 7.45 Sou[th]field, supper, conversed, prayer ; 9.30.

¹ Joseph Benson, in his unpublished diary, gives the following additional details :

July 9.—This evening I took a ride to Huddersfield to meet Mr. Wesley and hear him preach. I was glad to see him again in the flesh, and to find him so well and so strong at such an age.

July 11.—Having Mr. Wesley with us, my time has been much taken up, and very little to the profit of my soul. Quietness, retirement, and peace are most agreeable to my disposition, and most useful. In the morning I accompanied Mr. Wesley to Greetland, where the chapel was much crowded, and he preached on 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' At noon, at Halifax, the congregation was immense, and no preaching-house would have held half of them ; and therefore Mr. Wesley preached abroad, as he did also in the evening. At noon he was badly placed,

and therefore many went away, not being able to hear. But in the evening he stood upon a table before our garden, and the people (who almost filled the croft) were before him, and, being very still and quiet, all heard the word perfectly well ; and a very suitable sermon it was indeed, on 'Having the form of godliness, but denying the power.'

See also William Ripley's *Journal* (*W.H.S.* vol. iv. p. 130) for other sidelights upon this Yorkshire tour. Wesley's statement that he could not 'preach abroad' at Halifax is not in harmony either with Benson's or Ripley's accounts.

² Moore, the historian of *Methodism in Burnley*, on page 55 says that this statement must not be taken too literally. A society had been formed in 1763, the

come. High and low, rich and poor, now flocked together from all quarters; and all were eager to hear, except one man, who was the town-crier. He began to bawl amain, till his wife ran to him and literally stopped his noise: she seized him with one hand and clapped the other upon his mouth, so that he could not get out one word. God then began a work which I am persuaded will not soon come to an end.

Wed. 14.—I preached at Colne.

Thur. 15.—I retired to Otley, and rested two days.¹

Wednesday 14

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 7.30 tea, conversed, sermon; 12 garden; 1 dinner; 2 sermon; 4 chaise; 5 Coln[e], tea, conversed, prayer; 6 Matt. vii. 16; 7 chaise; 8 Southf[ield], supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Thursday 15

- 4 Prayed, sermon; 6 1 Jo. ii. 12, tea, conversed, prayer; 7.45 chaise; 9.45 tea, conversed; 10.45 chaise; 2 Otle[y], dinner, conversed, sermon; 5.30 tea, prayed, sermon; 7.30 prayed; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Friday 16

- 4 Prayed, writ Answer to [—] Appeal; 7.30 tea, conversed, prayer, Answer; 12 walk, Answer; 1.30 dinner, conversed, prayer, Answer; 5 tea, conversed, prayer, Answer; 6.30 prayed; 7 writ; 8 supper, conversed, prayer; 9.30.

Saturday 17

- 4 Prayed, Appeal; 8 tea, conversed, prayer, sermon; 11 letters; 12.30 dinner, conversed, prayer; 1.30 chaise; 4 Keighl[ey], visited, tea, conversed; 6 Matt. viii. 13, society, supper, prayer; 9.15.

Haworth circuit book giving the names. After Grimshaw's death it seems to have died out. Thomas Dixon's unpublished diary (he was one of the preachers in the Colne circuit) preserves the following:

The work of God at Burnley at this period was very young, but many in 1784 were converted. The great men of the place were angry, and agreed to banish the Methodist preachers from the town. The proprietor of the preaching-house sent us notice to quit the premises, and the rest of the gentlemen pledged themselves not to let us have another; but, about a month before the expiration of the notice, the Lord converted a man who

had a house of his own, which he gave to the preachers, and now we had a better preaching-house than before.

Soon after a chapel was erected. The name of the new convert was Peter Hargreaves, a joiner by trade. It was his workshop, in what is now called Muschamp Yard, that was used by the Methodists from the close of 1784 to the time of the erection of Keighley Green Chapel.

¹ These 'rests' were usually for literary purposes.

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Author Wesley, John.....HEELE, B.

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